American Labor Party
NEW YORK'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

KINGS COUNTY

129 MONTAGUE ST., BROOKLYN 2, N. Y. TRIANGLE 5-0070

LEO J. LINDER, *Chairman*
MINNEOLA INGERSOLL, *Co-Chairman*
JAMES GRIESI, *Secretary*
JOSEPH H. ZWILLINGER, *Treasurer*

PAUL TRILLING, *Executive Secretary*
SAM KANTER, *Organizational Director*

Vice-Chairmen

LESTER ZIRIN, *Executive*
ARTHUR E. BLYN
ADA B. JACKSON
BLANCHE KATZ
REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH
MURIEL NEUBURGER
RUSSELL NIXON
MARCY PROTTER
BERNARD RESWICK
MAX TORCHIN

August 26, 1952

Miss Edith Roberts
c/o United Freedom Fund
53 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Roberts,

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday concerning the request for Mr. Robeson's appearance in Brownsville on October 2nd, at the Parkway Theater.

The Parkway Theater has a capacity of 2200. For the past three years, the American Labor Party has held its traditional Election Rally in Brownsville to standing room only at the Parkway. This year, we are more anxious than ever because of the Presidential Campaign to assure an overflow crowd in this, the most important Jewish working class area in Kings County, which has a growing Negro population. The presence of Paul Robeson, together with Vincent Hallinan and Corliss Lamont who are scheduled to speak at the Parkway on October 2nd will be the assurance that is needed for an overflow crowd.

This year, we are departing from tradition in Brownsville. Our candidate for the Assembly is Mrs. Catherine Brown, mother of five children, the only Negro PTA leader in Kings County, an outstanding fighter for tenants' rights. This is the first time that we have run a Negro candidate for Assembly in this area. We are extremely anxious that no stone be left unturned to assure her the fullest possible support.

American Labor Party
NEW YORK'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

KINGS COUNTY 176
129 MONTAGUE ST., BROOKLYN 2, N. Y. TRIANGLE 5-0070

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MARCY PROTTER
BERNARD RESWICK
MAX TORCHIN

August 26, 1952

Miss Edith Roberts #2

I hope that you will give this request to have Mr. Robeson speak at our Rally the most serious consideration. Since the printing of leaflets advertising the meeting will await your reply, we should appreciate the earliest possible consideration of this request.

Very sincerely yours

Paul Trilling

Executive Secretary

PTE

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
BRONX COUNTY COMMITTEE

264

COUNTY HEADQUARTERS
HUNTS POINT PALACE
953 Southern Boulevard
BRONX 59, NEW YORK

Telephone: DAyton 3-8944

STEPHEN J. WHITE, Chairman

April 15,1954

Dear Friend;

On behalf of the Bronx County American Labor Party I wish to extend to you our sincere thanks for your cooperation in making our "Lift Every Voice" show the magnificent affair it turned out to be.

As artists you join hands with thousands of others in the grand effort to end discrimination in housing. Your appearance and performance helped cement the bond of fellowship among progressives and to help them find courage and strength from each other.

This event was historic because it was one of the few such affairs held in the recent period which reflected the fight back spirit so urgently needed in the fight against McCarthyism and war.

All of us look forward to the day in our country when an artist like you will sing, dance and perform for the people in an atmosphere which will allow for the greatest creative development of your talents.

In the meantime your cultural gifts utilized in the interest of the people's desire for peace, jobs and security will continue to play a most vital part in the realization of these objectives.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen J. White

Stephen J. White
Bronx County Chairman

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENCE 1944-55, n.d. 10/2

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

April 6,1944.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Thank you so much for your letter of April 4th.

It is very kind of you to invite me to participate in the Conference on the 14th, but unfortunately I have several engagements in Washington that day which make it impossible for me to attend.

I will certainly see if any member of my staff, who would be likely to be helpful to the Conference, is available, though at such short notice it may be a little difficult to find someone. May I write to you again in the course of two or three days?

Yours sincerely,

Halifax

Paul Robeson,Esq.,
Chairman,
Council on African Affairs,Inc.,
23 West 26th Street,
NEW YORK 10,N.Y.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

April 13,1944.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

I am so sorry that I have not been able to find a suitable representative to attend the Conference of the Council on African Affairs on April 14th. Obviously, it was necessary to send one with a special knowledge of the problems that were going to be discussed, and unfortunately it so happens that both the men whom I might have asked to go were not available; one has a previous engagement in New York, and the other is in California at the moment.

Yours sincerely,

Halifax

Mr. Paul Robeson,
Council on African Affairs,Inc.,
23 West 26th Street,
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED STATES
WAR
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION
224 WEST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

June 24, 1944

Mr. Paul Robeson
Shubert Theatre
Between 44 & 45th Streets
New York City

Dear Mr. Robeson,

You are no doubt familiar with July 7 as being known in China as "Triple Seventh," as this is the seventh day of the seventh month ending the seventh year of China's defensive war against Japan.

They have again requested a program of approximately 12 minutes from you made up of your songs and also a brief message of a minute or so.

We could use some recordings of yours for the musical portion if you would be kind enough to give us about 30 minutes of your time at Carnegie Hall Studio for your brief message. If you will suggest several songs which you may have recorded in Chinese, we would like to use them.

The recorded talk should be done as soon as possible as we must get the platter to the Coast in time for them to program it to China.

We trust that you can accomodate us in this respect and may we hear from your secretary, Mr. Andrews at your earliest convenience?

Sincerely,

Ken Michael

Kenneth Michael
Pacific Radio Bureau (CIrcle 6-4400
Ext. 472)

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
DA

January 5, 1945

My dear Mr. Robeson:

Your letters of December 15, addressed to the President over your signature as Chairman and that of Mr. Max Yergan as Executive Director of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., transmitting the resolution on Africa, has been referred to the Department of State for reply. It is with appreciation that I note your complimentary references to the President's leadership in the promotion of international cooperation, and your endorsement of the steps taken thus far toward the development of an international mechanism to insure world peace and security.

You are aware, I feel sure, that the Department of State recognizes the importance in world affairs of the problems of the dependent peoples, in Africa and elsewhere. It is the intent of this Government, as it is of the other governments which participated in the Dumbarton Oaks discussions, that the proposed United Nations Organization should protect and promote the welfare of all peace-loving peoples. The broad framework for this purpose was outlined at Dumbarton Oaks. The details, as these may affect specific groups and functions, will be filled in as discussions among interested governments progress.

The

Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman,
Council on African Affairs, Inc.,
23 West Twenty-sixth Street,
New York 10, New York.

FOR VICTORY
BUY
UNITED
STATES
SAVINGS
BONDS
AND
STAMPS

1 The Government of the United States realizes that the problems of the dependent peoples are of a unique nature, requiring special consideration and treatment. The appropriate divisions and committees of the Department of State are devoting serious attention to these problems with a view to devising practicable solutions which will insure the greatest tangible advancement possible and which will be based upon the fundamental principles of equitable and just treatment for all peoples.

You will find particularly pertinent to the points raised in your resolution the statement incorporated in the memorandum on "Bases of the Foreign Policy of the United States", which former Secretary of State Cordell Hull released to the press on March 21, 1944:

> 2 "There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples, of mandatories, of trustees, or of other agencies, as the case may be, to help the aspiring peoples to develop materially and educationally, to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines."

May I add in closing that your constructive interest in the efforts now being made to assure a better world for all peace-loving peoples of whatever race, creed, or political status is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

San Francisco, California
June 6, 1945

My dear Mr. Robeson,

Your telegram to President Truman regarding the proposals for colonial trusteeship now being considered for inclusion in the United Nations Charter have been referred to me at San Francisco.

I want to thank you most cordially for your expression of appreciation of the work of our Delegation on this question and to assure you that we have at all times insisted that the Conference should agree to the inclusion in the Charter of provisions for the political, economic and social advancement of peoples who are not yet self-governing. We shall continue to support the traditional American principles which have been so well exemplified in our relations with the Philippines.

I would add that we have pressed the Conference to accept as one of the basic objectives of the trusteeship system the promotion of the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants and their progressive development toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people and as may be provided in each trusteeship arrangement.

I believe, therefore, that you will agree that the essence of your proposal is being fully supported by our Delegation at San Francisco.

Sincerely yours,

E R Stettinius Jr

Chairman
United States Delegation

Mr. Paul Robeson,
23 West Twenty-sixth Street,
New York, New York.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

San Francisco, California
June 25, 1945

My dear Mr. Robeson,

Your telegram of June 12 to President Truman, referring to your previous message of May 15 and advocating that the principle of independence for all colonial peoples be incorporated in the Charter, has been referred to me by the White House.

You must have been pleased to learn that there has been added to that part of the Charter dealing with trusteeship a new section, a copy of which I am enclosing, which lays down general principles for the administration of all dependent territories and their peoples. This new section, with whose principles this Delegation has always been in accord, was adopted unanimously by the competent Committee of the Conference and included as one of its chief precepts the obligation on the part of states "which have responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government . . . to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions", according to the special circumstances of each territory and its peoples.

This

Mr. Paul Robeson,
23 West Twenty-sixth Street,
New York, New York.

This clause will, I trust, meet with your approval as a satisfactory recognition of the need to take account of the political aspirations of the world's peoples who are not at this time fully self-governing.

Your continued interest in this subject is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

E R Stettinius Jr

Chairman
United States Delegation

Enclosure.

att Please note and confer
with M. Y.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO
THE UNITED NATIONS

20 Grosvenor Square
London, W. 1
January 19, 1946

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Thank you for your letter of January 10, signed also by Dr. Max Yergan, enclosing a copy of a resolution adopted at a mass meeting of American citizens, held on January 7 under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., "on behalf of African famine victims in the Union of South Africa".

Let me assure you that appropriate notation has been made of the views set forth in the resolution and I appreciate your courtesy in making it available.

With specific reference to the section of the resolution referring to the subject of trusteeship, I should like to point out that the question of the disposition of individual territories is not a subject for discussion at the present meeting of the General Assembly but is a question which the states directly concerned in the case of each individual territory will have to consider in individual negotiations. As announcements made at the current session of the General Assembly have indicated, preliminary negotiations on these matters with respect to certain of the African mandated territories have already begun.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.

Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman,
Council on African Affairs, Inc.,
23 West Twenty-sixth Street,
New York 10, New York.

UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

OCT 29 1946

October 28, 1946.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 22nd, addressed to Senator Austin, requesting that he receive the delegation to express the views of certain organizations on the resolution adopted at a conference called by the Council on African Affairs Inc. October 16th.

Your resolution has been presented to the Committee considering the subjects it covers. We will try to arrange for a delegation to discuss the matter with the appropriate members of the U.S. Delegation in the near future.

Very sincerely,

Chester S. Williams

Chester S. Williams
Public Liaison Officer.

Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs Inc.
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York.

REPUBLIC OF
LIBERIA

CENTENNIAL COMMISSION
FOREIGN OFFICE TECHNICAL DIRECTOR 1927 11th STREET N W WASH 1 D C
U S A PHONE DECATUR 2480

April 28, 1947

APR 29 REC'D

Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman
Council on African Affairs
23 West 26th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Congressman William L. Dawson, Attorney Perry W. Howard and Mr. Frank L. Stanley have accepted the co-chairmenship of the proposed National Committee for the American celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Liberia.

This Committee will be comprised of chairmen of State Liberian Centennial Committees, heads of national organizations and persons interested in Liberian-American affairs. Knowing of your interest in Liberia, we invite you to accept membership on this important committee.

Liberia will observe its centenary of independence on July 26, 1947. Due to the close historical ties in existence between this West African republic and the United States, it is quite appropriate that the citizens of this country take cognizance of the small nation's having reached its centenary.

Beyond prompting the American celebration of the Liberian Centennial, it is hoped that this committee will assume leadership in stimulating United States participation in the Liberian Victory Exposition to open at Monrovia in November, 1948.

It is desired that this committee be constituted as soon as possible. Therefore, its co-chairmen have requested that we urge you to acknowledge this invitation by telegram (to the signer of this letter) as soon as possible. The committee should launch its publicity program not later than the first of May.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Hilyard R. Robinson
Technical Director

Moss H Kendrix

Moss H. Kendrix
Public Relations Officer

MHK:R

CENTENNIAL VICTORY EXPOSITION MONROVIA 1947-49

rec'd Jan 11, '49

33 East 304th St.
Shanks Village
Orangeburg, N.Y.

Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs
New York City

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The Columbia University Chapter of the NAACP is preparing to bring to the Columbia campus a full awareness of the important contributions the Negro people have made and are continuing to make to the growth and extension of American democracy. We welcome Negro History Week, February 5-12, as a big opportunity to highlight those contributions and to give other students the truth about the struggle of the Negro for full and unqualified democratic rights in all fields of human endeavor. Such knowledge which cannot be gotten from most classrooms will serve as an active force to combat white supremacy on campus and to inspire our members to smash the quota system at Columbia, expose Gen. Eishenhower for his racist views, and to bring more democracy to Columbia. Our chapter is in the beginning stages of rallying many students on campus as to the real meaning of the Phi Kappa Psi case and to demand the end of discrimination by the university itself and all student organizations.

We would appreciate it very much if you could speak and sing on the campus any day, any time in the afternoon during Negro History Week. We know that your presence there would be a great encouragement to help us carry on the fight we are planning. If you can come, would you please let me know at your earliest convenience?

Sincerely yours,

George B. Marks III

Chairman, Local Affairs Committee
Columbia Chapter, NAACP

Find it necessary to sail
Friday evening. Uncertain
if I can come to Univ.
Fri. noon, ~~but if you~~ call
Council Thursday afternoon for verification
~~this can be settled fre~~ - But if meeting
can be arranged at that time

January 26, 1949

Mr. George P. Marks III, Chairman
Local Affairs Committee
Columbia Chapter, NAACP
33 East 304th Street
Shanks Village, Orangeburg, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Marks:

Thanks for your recent letter.

I am quite certain that I shall be able to get up to the campus on one day between the 5th and 12th. I will drop you a note within the next few days to let you know the exact time and date. Thanks for the invitation and for the work of the chapter in its assault on discrimination in the university.

All the best to you,

PAUL ROBESON

PR:mpm

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26TH STREET • NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

May 23, 1949

Dear Council Member:

If you have not already seen it, please look at the editorial entitled "Robeson Speaks for Robeson" in the May 1949 issue of the Crisis. The editorial reads like something written by George Schuyler or someone of his type.

As for the editorial as a whole, I think the very pettiness of the author's efforts to belittle Robeson will offend rather than win the support of Crisis readers who know who and what Robeson is. But I am concerned with one paragraph in the editorial which reads as follows:

"While Negroes in Dixie were struggling to do something about conditions here and now, Mr. Robeson was lavishing his attention on an outfit called the Council on African Affairs, long ago labeled a Communist front by the Department of Justice. While his people in Mineral Wells, Tex., and Bessemer, Ala., and Waycross, Ga., were battling as best they knew how and yelling for help, Mr. Robeson was writing and talking about Africa, singing Russian work songs, and dispensing the comfort-to-be when and if the Soviet cabal replaced the Talmadge-Rankin cabal."

The Council on African Affairs needs no defense against such a snide and cheap attack. But that the organ of a responsible organization like the NAACP should be utilized to disseminate such a vicious expression is certainly something to be challenged, and challenged vigorously.

I am therefore writing to ask that you send whatever statement you deem called for by this editorial to the editors of the Crisis and also to the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, and to take whatever further action you may think proper on it.

Very truly yours,

W. A. Hunton

WAH:mpm

264

53 West 125th Street

April 17, 1951

The Secretary
South African Peace Movement
(Provisional Committe)
P.O. Box 525
Johannesburg, Union of South Africa

Dear Friend:

I wish to convey my warmest greetings and my wishes for the maximum success of the Transvaal Peace Congress being held this month in Johannesburg.

It is indeed good to know that people of all races and faiths are working together in South Africa for the cause of world peace and democratic brtherhood. We in the Council on African Affairs are well aware of the conditions against which you struggle and have endeavored to rally American progressives to support your just demands. The building of a peace movement in the face of all that you suffer in South Africa is an accomplishment of which you may well be proud.

Here in the United States, from which the "white supremacy" rulers of your country secure financial, military and political support, we also face grave difficulties. As you probably know, the government refuses to allow me to travel outside the United States. My colleague, the venerable scholar Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, faces trial soon because of his work on behalf of world peace. Others have already gone to jail or face prison terms for fighting in the same cause. Nevertheless, we are not afraid nor are we faltering. On the contrary, every attack of our adversaries brings us new supporters and new strength.

That great strength of the common people in your land and my land and in country after country throughout the world is the surest guarantee of our final victory -- justice and democratic rights for all men and peace for the world.

Fraternally yours,

Paul Robeson

May 4, 1951

Mr. S. M. Shah
10 Parekh Mahal
Churchgate Street
Bombay, India

Dear Friend:

I am happy to send my warmest greetings to the delegates attending the All-India Peace Conference being held in Bombay a week hence, and I trust the results of the Conference may be seen in the added strength brought to the world peace movement by the great democratic and liberal forces of India.

One of the reasons why I am barred from travelling abroad is that I have long denounced the imperialist oppression of the peoples of Asia and Africa. And today when my own country, the United States, is the leader in such imperialist exploitation and aggression, I must most certainly raise my voice in condemnation.

I want you to know that there are many thousands of Americans who stand with you in your demand for Hands Off Asia and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Asian soil. In the great May Day demonstration held here in New York this week this was one of the main slogans on the banners and on the lips of the marchers.

Discrimination and violence against the Negro people here mounts daily. Police state repression of the American workers and the American people increases ominously. Reaction is in the saddle, and the reactionaries quibble among themselves in their lust for power and more power, profits and more profits. But though our adversary is formidable, we refuse to step back an inch. Every attack of our adversary brings us new strength and new supporters. I am sure that it is the same with you in India.

That great strength of the common people in your land and my land and in country after country throughout the world is the surest guarantee of our final victory -- justice and democratic rights for all men and peace for the world.

Yours fraternally,

Paul Robeson

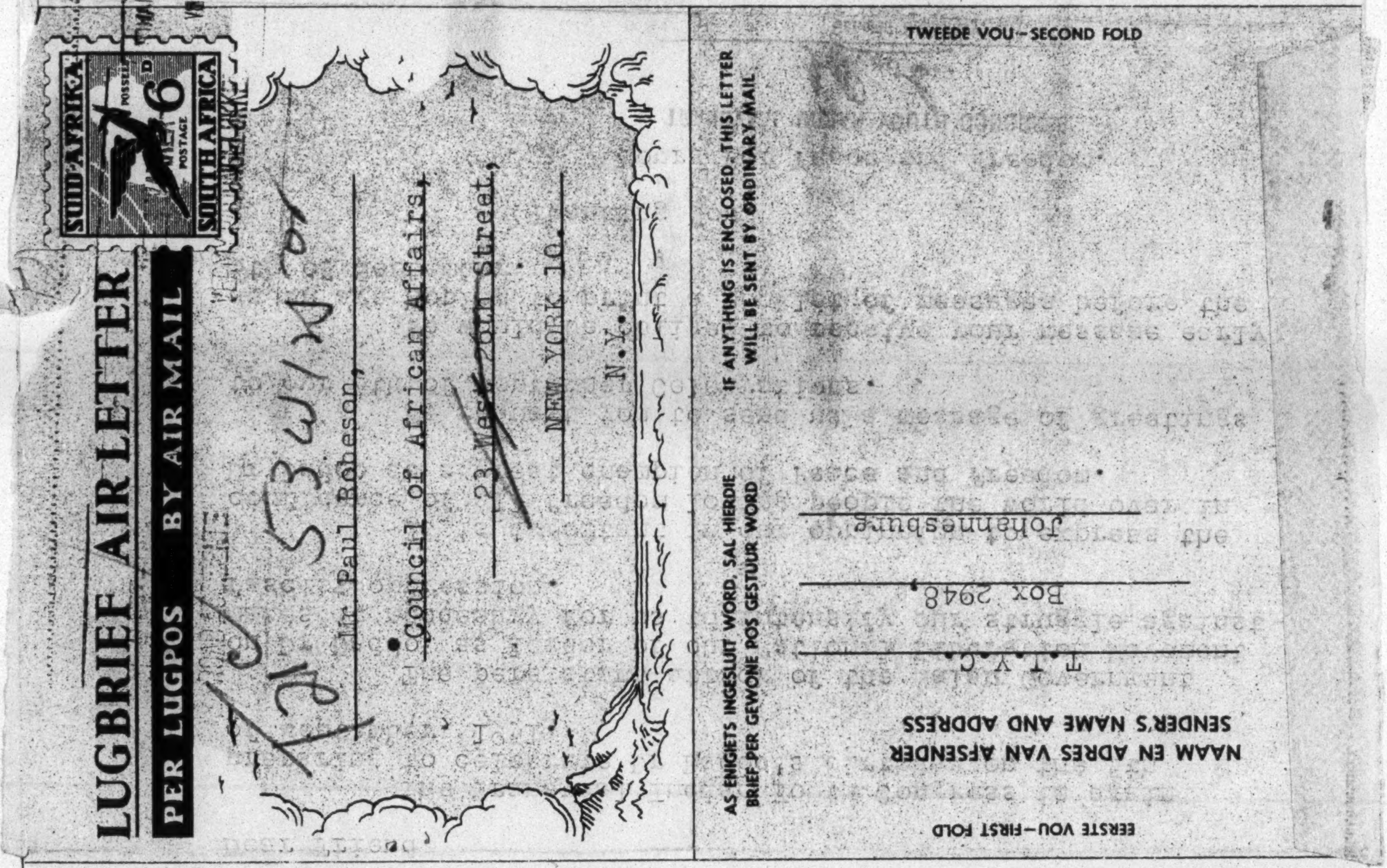
BEST AVAILABLE COPY

TRANSVAAL INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

Tel address:
"SATYAGRAHA"

P. O. Box 2948,
JOHANNESBURG

1st August, 1951.



LUGBRIEF AIR LETTER

PER LUGPOS BY AIR MAIL

SUID-AFRIKA SOUTH AFRICA 6D POSTAGE

Mr Paul Robeson,
Council of African Affairs,
23 ~~West 26th~~ Street,
NEW YORK 10.
N.Y.

c/o 53 W/26 St

TWEEDE VOU—SECOND FOLD

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

AS ENIGIETS INGESLUIT WORD, SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER
SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS

T.I.Y.C.
Box 2948,
Johannesburg

EERSTE VOU—FIRST FOLD

LUGBRIEF AIR LETTER

PER LUGPOS — BY AIR MAIL

SUID-AFRIKA
POSSEEL
AIR POSTAGE 6D
SOUTH AFRICA

7210

53W125 or

Mr Paul Robeson,

Council of African Affairs,

~~23 West 26th Street,~~

NEW YORK 10.

N.Y.

AS ENIGIETS INGESLUIT WORD, SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

EERSTE VOU—FIRST FOLD

NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER
SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS

T.I.Y.C.
Box 2948,
Johannesburg

TWEEDE VOU—SECOND FOLD

Tel address:
"SATYAGRAHA"

TRANSVAAL INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

P. O. Box 2948,
JOHANNESBURG

1st August, 1951.

LUGBRIEF AIR LETTER

PER LUGPOS BY AIR MAIL

SUID-AFRIKA
POSSEEL POSTAGE 6D
SOUTH AFRICA

53 W/125 St

Mr Paul Robeson,
Council of African Affairs,
~~23 West 26th Street,~~
NEW YORK 10.
N.Y.

AS ENIGIETS INGESLUIT WORD, SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

EERSTE VOU—FIRST FOLD

NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER
SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS

T.I.Y.C.
Box 2948,
Johannesburg

TWEEDE VOU—SECOND FOLD

Tel address:
"SATYAGRAHA"

TRANSVAAL INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

P. O. Box 2948,
JOHANNESBURG

1st August, 1951.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

TEL. ADD.
"SATYAGRAHA"

P. O. Box 2948,
Johannesburg

1st August,51

Mr Paul Robeson,
c/o Council of African Affairs,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10,
N.Y.

Dear Friend,

The Transvaal Indian Youth Congress is again preparing to celebrate Dr Dadoo's birthday on the 5th of September, 1951.

The persistant attack of the Malan Government on Dr Daddo, as leader of our National Liberation Movement makes it neccesary for us to intensify our struggle against fascist oppression.

It is important in our oppinnion to express the confidence of all freedom loving people the world over in Dr Dadoo as a great champion of Peace and Freedom.

We request you to send us a message of greetings to our 5th of September Celebrations.

We would be obliged to receive your message early, as we are hoping to print a booklet of messages before the 5th of September.

Thanking You,

Yours for Peace and Freedom,
TRANSVAAL INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS.

General Secretary.

Dadoo is
personal friend
S.A.-Indian people unity
struggle for peace
Attack on Malan Govt

AIR LETTER LUGBRIEF

BY AIR MAIL PER LUGPOS

SOUTH AFRICA POSTAGE 6 POSSEEL SUID-AFRIKA

DURBAN

Mr. Paul Robeson,
~~33 West 46th Street,~~ 53 W 125
NEW YORK 10, U. S. A.

Postage Due 7 Cents
Foreign Sect. G.P.O.N.Y.

5 Cents

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

*AS ENIGIETS INGESLUIT WORD, SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

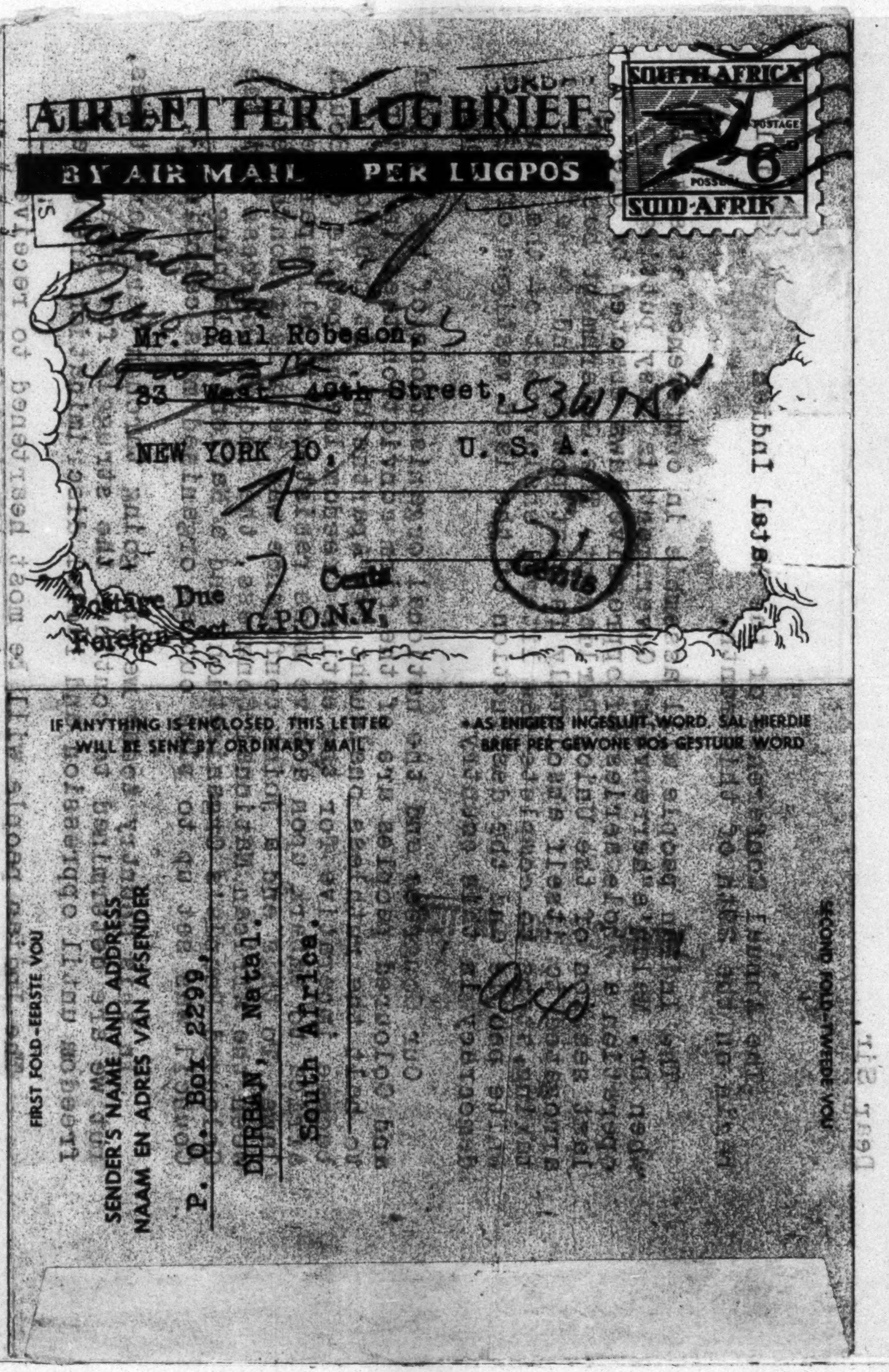
FIRST FOLD–EERSTE VOU

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS
NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER

P. O. Box 2299,
DURBAN, Natal.
South Africa.

0040

SECOND FOLD–TWEEDE VOU



AIR LETTER LUGBRIEF

BY AIR MAIL PER LUGPOS

SOUTH AFRICA SUID-AFRIKA POSTAGE 6

Mr. Paul Robeson,

83 ~~West 49th~~ Street, 53 W 125

NEW YORK 10, U. S. A.

Postage Due 7 Cents
Foreign Sect G.P.O.N.Y.

5 Cents

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

AS ENIGETS INGESLUIT WORD, SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

FIRST FOLD–EERSTE VOU

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS
NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER

P. O. Box 2299,
DURBAN, Natal.
South Africa.

SECOND FOLD–TWEEDE VOU

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS.
(Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894)

Tel. Address: "NICELY"

P. O. Box 2299,
DURBAN. Natal
South Africa.
4th September, 1951.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
23 West 49th Street,
NEW YORK 10,
U. S. A.

Dear Sir,

The Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress will begin on the 29th of this month.

The Indian people will assemble in conference at a time when Dr. Malan's "herrenvolk" Government is busy putting into operation a whole series of oppressive laws enacted by the last session of the Union Parliament. The Government has now arrogated to itself absolutely fascist powers and is daily taking steps to complete the literal enslavement of the non-white people and the destruction of the last vestiges of democracy in this country.

Our Congress and the national organisations of the African and Coloured peoples are of the firm conviction that in order to halt the ruthless onslaught of "Apartheid", it has now become imperative for the entire freedom-loving people of South Africa to embark upon active mass resistance to all apartheid laws. To this end a joint conference was held last month between the African National Congress, the Indian Congress and the Coloured People's Organisation, and a National Planning Council was set up to plan out an organised mass campaign.

In this country today we are going through very dark times, but we are determined to continue the struggle for human freedom until oppression and racial discrimination are ended.

The Indian people will be most heartened to receive a message from you on the occasion of the Annual Conference of our Congress. We shall be most grateful if you will kindly send it to reach us by the 25th of this month.

Yours respectfully,

GENERAL SECRETARY.

1280

WESTERN UNION

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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HB 53 W 125

NYASALAND AFRICAN CONGRESS AND PROTECTORATE COUNCIL REPRESENTING COLONIAL OPPRESSED AFRICANS OF THE COUNTRY MET COLONIAL SECRETARY OF STATES DISCUSSED FEDERATION AND REJECTED STOP DELEGATION TO VICTORIAFALLS ALSO REJECTED UNANIMOUSLY STOP GOVERNMENT PICKED TWO AFRICANS FOR VICTORIAFALLAS CONFERENCE STOP THESE DELEGATES DONT REPRESENT COUNTRY STOP ASK HELP WORLD OPINION REPORT CASE UNO TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL STOP NYASALAND NORTHERNRHODESIA AFRICANS DEMAND ALL AFRICAN REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT =

NYASALAND AFRICAN CONGRESS .

August 28, 1952

Mr. Jack E. Wilson
1457 East McArthur Blvd.
Oakland, California

Dear Mr. Wilson:

I have your letter of August 19 addressed to Mr. Robeson. By the time your letter reached this office, however, he had left for California.

No doubt, Mr. Robeson would be interested in your plan, especially in light of recent developments in Africa. I sincerely hope that you were able to see him while he was in San Francisco with Mrs. Bass and Mr. Hallinan.

Enclosed is a copy of the June issue of the newsppaper FREEDOM - Mr. Robeson is theeditor - containing an article on Africa.

Sincerely,

Edith Roberts
for Mr. Robeson

Jack E. Wilson
1457 East MacArthur Blvd.
Oakland 2, California
KELLOG 42567

Dear Friend of the People Mr. Robeson:

I inquire of the health of you and your family. I hope and work for the privilege of meeting you personally.

Deep in my heart and mind I'm convinced of victory-total victory-for our side. The decadent, demoralized, arrogant, greedy capitalist swine are deep into their twilight. So I work harder Paul.

Since my youth I've dreamt, planned and worked for the bringing about a gigantic Union of African Peoples; Peoples Union of Africa. This is a most oppurtune time for fulfilling our destiny - Complete freedom for our beloved brothers in Africa.

The ruthless extermination of the African peoples must and will be stopped. The African peoples are yearning, seeking and pulling for leadership and more leadership. The past and present crimes of the depraved, greedy dogs of Imperialism must and will be punished.

These (self appointed) spineless, holier-than-thoug~~h~~ degenerates, these "self appointed gods" are not infalliable; Ruthless, clever, but not infalliable Paul.

The "socalled" Christian, Democratic, freedom loving United Imperialist Nations will not go unpunished. The German ~~colonis~~ Imperialist and their massacre of thousands upon thousands of Herreros of S.W. Africa; Portugese trail of crimes - dastardly, unforgivable crimes through~~t~~ Angola, Mozambique ect. Lake Nyasa - ah lovely Lake Nyasa. If we could stand on her shores we'd watch with torn hearts, the water splash against her shores leaving the lingering echo of the Chilembwe revolt 1916.

Mr. Robeson it is highly - most highly important that I have an audience with you - soon, very very soon. I desire to show and explain to you a plan, an elaborate plan including the continent of Africa.

Having read many of your inspiring articles - my strength and faith in the future increases momently, thank you Paul.

The African Land, the rich bowels of her earth, will not be prostituted much longer.

Yes, we are fighting a viscious, unprincipled enemy Paul. I have - like many, many others - dedicated my life to the defeat of these slaughterers; these mad facist worms.

I shall appreciate being able to see & converse with you for at least a half-an-hour. Knowing how busy your crowded schedule keeps you - I shall hope for the best.

At the Vincent Hallinan "Coming-out" Party I shall try to at least make myself known to you. Or ask Nat Janish (of A.F.) to introduce me and endeavor to arrange my meeting you - I prefer meeting you at some responsiblet persons residence, secretly or as near to it as possible. My plan is well imbedded in my mind - just a National Geographic map of Africa is all I need to show you, my plans.

It is probable - very probable you will find my plan - quite interesting Mr. Robeson. I have worked quietly on this plan. Numerous African students in the Un-United States were amazed, thrilled, inspired by just the slightest talk and basics of this plan. Yet it was highly important that I sound and appeared non-official and novice.

Thanks again for the enjoyment, courage, inspiration and hopes your "fighting" articles have given me.

Militantly we will fight!

Most Sincerely and Unitedly
Your friend, Jack E. Wilson

Jack E. Wilson
1457 East MacArthur Blvd.
Oakland 2, California.

Dear Mr. Robeson;

Your writings in the publication Freedom have always been inspiring to me.

I have spent several years working out a gigantic plan, that will, when put into action bring about the establish~~ing~~ment of a glorious Union of African Peoples.

Conditions today afford us a most favorable opportunity Mr. Robeson.

Your determined and constant fight against the slimmy, decadent, sick imperialist pigs - has stirred the hopes of all people yearning for brotherhood and peace with our glorious Soviet friends.

The slurring remarks, the cruel barbaric crimes against us must not go unpunished. The pendulum swings in our favor - we must work harder ever harder to bring about the total defeat of filthy, rotten-minded capitalist swine.

Well the "save-the-world" boys have gotten together and decided to really prostitute the bowels of our Mother Africa. Well I've spent several years brewing up a little surprise for them. I want no publicity none whatever. The foundation of my plan is not based on blind fanaticism - the plan is based on the weaknesses of the degenerate, arrogant "holier-than-thou" vultures. Thru their stupidity our strength lies.

I have several african student friends here - they extend their sincerest best wishes to you Paul. I desire the pleasure of meeting you soon, its highly important Paul.

Sincerely + unitedly your friend;
Jack E. Wilson

Dear Paul;

please inform Edith Roberts thank I recv'd. her letter and remain grateful.

Jack Wilson

I have a plan whereby *every* African student in U.S. and Canada would recv. every coming issue of Freedom and Newsletter - SPOTLGT. on AFRICA. When financially able I shall visit your office as there many things I wish to discuss with you Paul.

Sincerely

J. W.

Codrington Road
St. Johnston Village
ANTIGUA
16th September 1952

Mr. Paul Robeson
Chairman
Council on African Affairs.

Dear Mr Robeson,

I am a young negro West Indian who aspires to be like you. I am 19 and am a senior at the Antigua Grammar School where I am just finishing an education leading up to pre-Varsity standard. I am a friend of Mr. GEORGE WESTON, an Antiguan who spent many years in America and who is at present fighting to eradicate the imposed system of values in the Caribbean which are totally inimical to the spiritual progress and independence of Caribbean. I asked him for your address.

I admire you greatly from the many lives I have read of you, and it is a privelege of mine to defend you in my class. For I think you are a negro patriot, but our teacher vilifies you. Not only you, but countless other people in the Caribbean and elsewhere who fight for justice and freedom. So if we are not careful, we black boys and girls grow up hating men like you.

I have read fairly widely of great men of colour and books written by ~~them~~ them. Mr Du Bois books have been pointing out a new aspect of Imperialism to me. I did not read until recently your ~~ad~~ June 1949 address to a welcome home rally. It is not easy to get such pamphlets in the West Indies. I was inspired — — because I feel like you do, but we cant talk like that in the Caribbean, especially young men like me. If we did we would be victimised in some way or other. In my own case I am expecting to be employed after school. But if I gave vent to my heart, if I cried out aloud at the injustices, if I called a spade a spade, I would be politely told that there were no vacancies and I would be left stranded in unemployment. For once one opens his mouth he is a marked man. Antigua is a very small island and its out of the question to seek employment in any other island. Hostile insularism and the same system of covert victimisation would hound my every step.

I write to you for inspiration, help, encouragement and hope. I am not afraid of fighting — for someday I will fight. However, I feel ~~that~~ I should start a levelling off of truth now. Truth ~~demands a~~ demands a levelling off. I feel that I should start ~~declaring~~ telling my people where they stand; I feel it is high time for me to cry out to the ages that we have been wronged; I feel it is time we started making our Masters tremble. The W.I. are going the wrong way. Equivocating, insincere and selfish leadership is spoiling and perverting the philosophy of our struggle. An inferiority complex, too, is battered into us from school upwards.

Upon reading books by great Negro leaders in your country I would be swept with a feeling of hate for the people who are wronging my people; the thoughts and resolutions that ran through my soul would adopt the pungency of acid. But what! No sooner had that happened than I found that I could not attend a British run school with a pro-Colonial peoples feeling in me. The maddening thoughts that whirled through my brain could not be set down in a class thesis. If I wrote condemning oppression the teachers would take me up and deliver lectures, use cajolery and in general imbue ~~me~~ me (or anyone) with a feeling that the stand taken is a most despicable one and is to be shunned. And you cant pass exams with pro-Colonial peoples thoughts in your head. The overall result in my case is that I have had to suppress my anti-imperialistic thoughts and gradually adopt the Masters way of thinking and looking at things. But I know I'm wrong.

If I had myself alone to think of ~~I~~ I would fight like hell. But I've got to requite my father and mother who've made so many sacrifices for me — and if I talk out and am victimised I could never requite them or help my brothers and my sisters — on the other hand, sir, I must fight, we must fight, every negro who can should.

I am leader and founder of the West Indian Youth Federation League, an organisation with nationalistic aims and objects. It is dedicated to help it the fight for the realisation of the National destiny of the Caribbean peoples. It tries to instil a spirit of nationalism in the youths; it is Caribbean scope, but so far only three islands have branches. We are confident of ultimate progress since the Federation of the British West Indies is in the air.

I should like to lead the youths of the West Indies, Through the West Indian Youth Federation League, in a colossal smashing effort along lines most auspicious to the progress of Colonial peoples in general. I do not wish to ~~perpetua~~ be a means of perpetuating the subtly enervating philosophy of the Masters. But you know I may do so unconsciously or be forced through expediency so to do.

Being dependent upon them for employment later on ~~and~~ I can not fight valiantly, I can not denounce them. I have to pad my courage with the cotton of compromise.

Could you not tour the Caribbean some day Mr Robeson? You may not be popular in some quarters but ~~to~~ we need someone like you to come down here to re-orientate the philosophy of our struggle — to waken up the embers of pride and a new spiritual tradition in our country.

I admire your work and wish to associate myself with it. You are a great leader and I wish to follow in your footsteps.

For my fight I would wish to be independent of the Masters. I need spiritual inspiration and if possible the prospect of material succour which could make me reward my parents while I fight.

I would be grateful if you would write encouraging me. With all my best wishes for continued courage, valour and ferocity in your great work.

Yours faithfully
Garfield T.B. Burton

GARFIELD T.B.BURTON

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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Advance

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18th March, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
53 West 125th Street,
NEW YORK 27,
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

As you will see from the enclosed editorial, Advance is preparing a special May Day issue, a twelve-pager with a larger circulation than usual.

We would very much like to have an article written by you in this historic issue.

I telegraphed you a few days ago, and in anticipation of your agreement I am writing now to suggest the topic.

The Geneva Conference will be taking place at about the time of our issue, and we would be grateful if you could write a general international review of the forces of peace - the progress since last May Day, the hopes for the Conference, China's role, and future prospects.

The article would be complementary to one we are requesting from the Dean of Canterbury on "How May Day will be celebrated all over the world," and to other articles on national topics by leading South African liberatory writers including Dr. Dadoo, Walter Sisulu and Moses Kotane.

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

L. Forman

Acting Editor
Advance.

BY AIR MAIL

AIR LETTER

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

6d
IFE BRONZE
NIGERIA

Mr. & Mrs. Paul Robeson,
Freedom Associates Inc.,
139 West 125th. Street,
New York 27,
U.S.America.

← First fold here →

← Second fold here →

To open cut here →

Sender's name and address:-

To open cut here →

THE FEDERATIONOF NIGERIAN WOMEN ORGANISATIONS.
The Grammar Schooll,
Abeokuta,
Nigeria,
March 23rd., 1954.

Mr. & Mrs. Robeson,
The Negro History Works,
139 West125th. Street, New York 27,
N.York, America.

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Robeson,

I thank you indeed for your greeting card which arrived only a few days ago, and also for the different information magazines, pamphlets and different kinds of Releases which are giving us first hand informations about all that are going on in other parts of Africa and America.

We always admire the sing of Mr . Robeson , all our school children used to be delighted whenever the sound of his voice caught their ears from the air.

We tell our women here ~~here~~ a lot of the struggles that you are making to right the wrong over there, they too are trying to follow your footsteps., many of them had been inprisonned and they used to be very happy and proud when~~ere~~ ever such occasion occured.

I hope I shall one day have the priviledge of meeting yo you both. I wish you further success.

With my kind regards and best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Funmi Ransome Kuti

Apr 15, 1954

My heartiest May Day Greetings to all ~~the~~ who struggle for democracy in South Africa. There as here in ~~the~~ United States our fight for ~~the~~ ~~the~~ freedom ~~and~~ dignity of all men is ~~a~~ key part of ~~the fight~~ battle for world peace.

Paul Robeson

for a Free Africa

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
Suite 6 • 139 West 125th Street • New York 27, N. Y. • MO 6-8700

Paul Robeson, *Chairman*
W. E. B. Du Bois, *Vice Chairman*
Rosalie L. Pinckney, *Treasurer*
W. A. Hunton, *Secretary*

MEMORANDUM April 20, 1954

from : the Secretary of the Council
to : You
about : the expansion of the Council's work

Yes, our Newsletter now has a "new look." We hope you like it. It's been adopted to attract and interest a great many more people than we now reach -- to step up the circulation of this publication, which is needed today more than at any time during the eleven years it has been published.

That is only one of the steps the Council is taking to improve the effectiveness of its work.

This Saturday, April 24, the Council is calling together representatives of churches, trade unions and other organizations in New York and neighboring states in an all-day Working Conference in Support of African Liberation. This Conference, to be held at Friendship Baptist Church in New York City, is expected to provide the basis for achieving a higher level of service in the cause of African freedom.

Still another step we have taken to enable the Council to do a bigger and better job is the enlargement of the Council's executive staff. Our officers are happy to announce that Mr. Edward L. Nelson has accepted the post of Organizational Director of the Council. Formerly Executive Secretary of the Douglass Lincoln Fraternal Society and a well-known figure in civic and fraternal circles, Mr. Nelson will devote himself primarily to the advancement of the program adopted on April 24th at the Working Conference, as well as assuming responsibility for the general organizational work of the Council.

And now about YOU. The realization of the plans we have for expanding the Council's work depends upon the cooperation and support given by our present friends.

We will need your help in specific action campaigns to be announced immediately following the Conference on April 24th.

We will need more funds. If you have not yet sent in your contribution or pledge for this year, please do, and make it as generous as possible. If you've already done so, we thank you again -- and if you can add to it, you have our triple thanks!

Most especially we will need more members and subscribers, to widen the Council's influence. And in this connection we come back to the subject of the Newsletter's "new look." We want you to show this issue to your friends (additional copies, 10¢ each, are available), and get at least one of them to sign up with us on the enclosed blank. But quick.

Thank you.

Alphaeus Hunton

for a Free Africa

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, INC.
Suite 6 • 139 West 125th Street • New York 27, N. Y. • MO 6-8700

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* ROSALIE L. PINCKNEY, *Treasurer*
W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

May 18, 1954

Dear Friend:

I wish that every Council member and every reader of our Newsletter could have been present with us at the Working Conference in Support of African Liberation held in New York on April 24th. I am sorry that I could not provide you with a report of the proceedings much sooner.

We had present some 114 delegates and observers. We would have liked many more, particularly from trade unions and churches, but we were gratified that delegates and observers came not only from the New York area but also from Washington, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Connecticut and Boston. It was a gathering of men and women, Negro and white, devoted to the cause of African freedom and eager to speak out and help organize others to act in support of that cause.

There is not space to tell of the stirring addresses by our Chairman and Vice Chairman, Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois*(see the Newsletter) and the contributions of others who spoke during the morning and afternoon sessions. You will, however, find attached here the principal Conference documents which were discussed and acted upon by the Conference delegates.

I wish to stress, as it was emphasized on April 24th, that we did not come together just to talk and listen - the Conference was not an end in itself, but simply the means toward planning and organizing to expand and strengthen the work of the Council. Therefore, even though you may not have been at the Conference, we invite and urge you to regard the decisions reached there as the common property of all who stand for African freedom.

It is in this spirit that we ask you to study carefully two of the attached documents, the Proposals for a Kenya Aid Program and the Declaration in Support of African Liberation.

We would like you to discuss both of these with others in your community, in the church, trade union, professional, civic or fraternal organizations to which you may belong. How can endorsements of the Declaration be secured? How can support for the Kenya Aid Program be developed?

Please let us have your suggestions and comments. Please ask for any information you want if you don't get it fast enough as the Kenya Aid Campaign gets underway. Please, above all, let us know that we have your cooperation. If we do, we can be sure that the decisions of the April 24th Conference will be translated into effective action in support of African Freedom.

[illegible]

Very sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton

W. A. Hunton,
Secretary.

* The complete text of Dr. Du Bois' address may be obtained by forwarding ten cents to this office to cover the cost of postage and handling.

Spotlight on Africa Newsletter—Monthly, $1 a year—dedicated to African Liberation

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
UMBUTHO WESIZWE — LEKHOTLA LA SECHABA
(HEAD OFFICE)
All Communications to be addressed to the Secretary-General.

PHONE 33-4069
P.O. BOX 9207

38, MARKET STREET,
JOHANNESBURG.

9th November, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
Council on African Affairs,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street,
NEW YORK 27. N.Y.

Dear Sir,

The African National Congress will be holding its 42nd Annual Conference from the 16th to the 19th December, 1954, at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, to consider and decide upon the present situation in the country, and to make preparations for the great assembly of the Congress of the People which will draw up a Freedom Charter for the people of South Africa.

We are inviting messages of good-will and support for the struggle we are conducting in defence of fundamental human rights and against the increasing oppression and racial discrimination of the Nationalist rulers of this country.

The Annual Conference assembles at a most critical time when, solely in pursuance of the policy of Apartheid, 85,000 non European people are being threatened with forcible removal from their established homes and with the loss of their freehold rights; when many critics of the Nationalist policy and leaders of our people have been deprived of their freedom of speech and association; when progressive newspapers have been banned; when the undisputed right and function of the Church to proclaim the truth is being threatened; and when the African is being forced to accept a type of education the purpose of which is to make him an inferior and incomplete human being.

We wish to assure you that your message will give the Conference that encouragement and inspiration which must come from the knowledge that in this historic and vital struggle, the African National Congress is not without friends and allies.

Yours faithfully,

O. R. Tambo
for SECRETARIAT.

December 4, 1954

To My Friends and Brothers
of the African National Congress:

It is a great privilege for me to send you greetings on the occasion of your 42nd Annual Conference. I send also warmest greetings to your President-General, Secretary-General and your other leaders who have been barred from taking part in this Conference and in the work of the Congress.

We note especially this period of your struggle, note the most violent fascist-like attacks upon your basic freedoms, upon your profound hopes for a different South Africa.

In America, the position of the Government has been subjected to the sharpest criticism in the general press and especially among the Americans of African descent. We shall do all we can immediately to move great masses into the struggle behind you. This can be done.

Americans of one kind see Africa, and particularly South Africa, as the continent of today and the future. This America of Industry and Finance, seeks in subtle ways to deprive African workers and the African people of the fruit of their land.

But there is another America -- and in relation to events in South Africa, the overwhelming majority of the American people of all groups recognize and will more deeply understand the demands of your Congress.

Americans are being forced to see a new world coming on, a new world getting stronger and stronger. They see hundreds of millions in India pressing on. They have seen 600 million of the Chinese people become a major power. They see new Peoples' Democracies leaping into struggles for their freedom. So they understand your aspirations, and great sections of opinion here can and must be moved into action -- in the United Nations, through our Council, and in many parallel ways.

There should be and must be much closer and stronger bonds between us because of the very nature of our common struggle for human decency and dignity, for the welfare and freedom of all men,

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

and for an enduring peace based upon democratic cooperation among all peoples. I shall continue to do all that I can toward the strengthening of these bonds and toward the final achievement of these goals.

I have been very happy to learn that my recorded voice is heard among you, and has perhaps contributed in some small way to your great courage and strength in carrying forward your banner in the face of the most cruel persecution and oppression. But I wish that my contribution, that the contribution of all of us here in the United States who support your just cause, could be much greater.

I know that I am ever by your side, that I am deeply proud that you are my brothers and sisters and nephews and nieces — that I sprang from your forbears. We come from a mighty, courageous people, creators of great civilizations in the past, creators of new ways of life in our own time and in the future. We shall win our freedoms together. Our folk will have their place in the ranks of those shaping human destiny.

With my most earnest hope for the success of all your undertakings,

MEMORANDUM

From : The Council on African Affairs.
To : All Readers of Spotlight on Africa.
Subject: The BIG PUSH.
Date : January 17, 1955.

As we start off 1955 we have endeavored to bring you Spotlight on Africa in a handier and more readable format and with considerably fuller coverage of the many-sided problems and struggles of the people of Africa.

As a consequence of the additional expense involved in this, we have been compelled, much to our regret, to raise the annual subscription price to $2 (or six months for $1) as of January 1st. (Council members will continue to pay their annual dues of $2 and will receive Spotlight without further charge.)

If you like this new Spotlight -- and we certainly hope you will -- you can help insure its continuance by doing three things:

--renewing your own subscription NOW, if you have not done so within the past six months;

--asking your friends to subscribe, or giving them gift subscriptions. To everyone sending in four full subscriptions ($8) -- and this may include your own renewal -- we will present a free copy of Derek Kartun's AFRICA, AFRICA!

--sending us the names and addresses of five likely subscription prospects to whom we can send sample copies of Spotlight.

The reverse side of this sheet may be used for listing your subscribers or subscription prospects. We hope that you will lend a little of your thought and time to help us in this Big Push to widen the readership of Spotlight on Africa. That is one way of making a contribution to the cause of AFRICAN FREEDOM.

Please let us hear from you -- soon.

Alphaeus Hunton
Editor

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AIR LETTER

MR. PAUL ROBESON,

53 West, 125th Street,
New York City,

NEW YORK - U.S.A.

AS ENIGIETS INGESLUIT WORD, SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

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NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER
SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS

Natal Indian Congress,
P.O. Box 2299,
DURBAN - South Africa.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:

NICELY - Durban,
South Africa.

P.O. Box 2299,
DURBAN.
18th January, 1955.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

The Eighth Annual Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress will be held at Durban, South Africa on the 25th, 26th and 27th March, 1955.

We are passing through a critical phase in our struggle for the emancipation of our people from tyranny and dictatorship. Last year has seen the consolidation of the Nationalist Government under Dr. Malan and more and more insidious, harsh and undemocratic legislations have been passed. Last year has also seen the declaration of the four sponsoring organisations, the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation to conduct the campaign for the Congress of the People which will be a mass assembly of delegates representing the length and breadth of the country to formulate a FREEDOM CHARTER.

In the prosecution of this campaign we have witnessed Nationalist Government bannings and deportations of the leaders of our democratic organisations. But the strength of our organisation is such that we shall continue with the campaign relentlessly, until freedom is won. This will in no way stop the Annual Conference from being held nor stop the struggle of the oppressed millions in this country for freedom.

For the first time in the history of the Natal Indian Congress our Conference will find ten of our prominent leaders missing as a result of bannings imposed on them varying from 2 to 5 years.

In the past you have favoured us with a message of goodwill and support and on this occasion of our 8th Annual Conference we will greatly appreciate it if you will let me have a similar message.

Yours fraternally,

(Dr) G.M. Naicker
PRESIDENT.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

Mr. Paul Robeson,
53 West, 125th Street,
New York City,
NEW YORK - U.S.A.

AFRICAN TOBACCO WORKERS' UNION
DURBAN BRANCH

55/63 Anglo African
House,
317 Smith Street,
Durban. South Africa.
20th January, 1955.

~~The Secretary~~,
Mr. Paul Robeson,
53 West, 125th Street;
NEWYORK CITY,
NEW YORK. U. S. A.

Dear Friend,

You are no doubt aware that 354 members of our Union were involved in a dispute with the employers - Messrs United Tobacco Company, during which 28 members including the Chairman, Secretary and the National Organiser were arrested for having participated in a strike involving African workers.

Under the unjust, anti-Trade Union, Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, Africans, as you know, cannot under any circumstances take part in a strike.

When the 28 members who were arrested, appeared before the Durban Magistrate, they were fined a total of £235.

Our legal representatives feel that we have a good chance of winning the case if the matter is taken on appeal. However, the Union having spent over £2000 during the strike is not in a position to meet the added legal expenses.

We require urgently, in order to take this matter to the Supreme Court a large amount of money and we appeal to your organisation to contribute so that an important Trade Union principle could be defended.

Kindly send any donation to our Attorney:- Mr. R.I. Arenstein, Temple Chambers, Masonic Grove, Durban. South Africa.

We trust that your organisation will give this appeal its favourable and sympathetic consideration.

Yours fraternally,
AFRICAN TOBACCO WORKERS UNION.
P.G. Mei
P.G. MEI
BRANCH SECRETARY.

TELEPHONE 33-9193

P.O. BOX 2948

NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL
OF
CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

Sponsoring Organisations:
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
S.A. INDIAN CONGRESS
S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS
S.A. COLOURED PEOPLES ORGANISATION

37 West Street,
JOHANNESBURG,
South Africa.

20th April,1955.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
c/o Dr. Herb Shaw,
169 Pfeifer Street,
San Franscisco,11,
CALIFORNIA. U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

The National Action Council has asked me to approach you and ask you to record the "CALL OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" for us.We want tp play your recording at the opening session of the Congress of the People which will take place on June 25th and 26th, 1955, to open the proceedings.

One of our local Supporters has set this"Call" to music , and the music is enclosed herewith.We leave it to your judgement whether it would be better to sing the "Call" to this music, or merely to speak it, or possibly to speak it with several voices for the chorus parts. If the recording could be done on tape, perhaps you would also like to add to it your personal message to the Conference, which we, and all those present at the Congress of the People will greatly value and appreciate.

We hope, if the tape arrives soon enough,to get one of the local companies to press discs of it, together, perhaps with some liberation songs; and to use the discs both to raise funds and to enable delegates to take the discs back with them to the areas from which they came, and to recreate for those at home something of the atmosphere and message of the Congress of the People.For this, it is essential that we have from you,together with the tape, a letter clearly granting us the copyright of the recording, and stating that no other rights whatsoever have been or will be given to any other people.

You will appreciate, then,that this is urgent. Could you please do your best to speed it up, and send us the tape by air-mail.We will, of course, meet all the expenses involved in the whole thing.

With our best wishes for Peace and Freedom,

Yours for freedom,

M. Moolla

for: NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE
will take place

- when all the peoples' demands for inclusion in the Freedom Charter have been gathered in;
- when the whole country has been awakened to speak of freedom, and the call for elections has been made;
- not later than June, 1955 — at a date and place still to be announced.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE
will be organised

- by 50,000 Volunteers, who will give their time to carrying through the campaign as directed;
- by a network of committees in every village, town and factory, representing and uniting all sections and all races.
- by the National Action Council, composed of all national bodies that agree to act as sponsors.

DO THESE THREE THINGS — NOW !

ONE: SEND IN YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS TO A PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, stating that you are interested and would like to assist.

Transvaal Committee, Box 11045, Johannesburg.
Natal Committee, Box 2299, Durban.
Western Cape Committee, Box 4552, Cape Town.
Eastern Cape Committee, Box 1294, Port Elizabeth.
O.F.S. Committee, 3397 Masito Street, Bloemfontein.

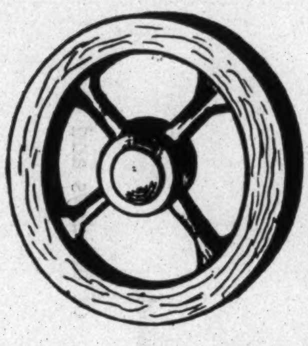
TWO: FORM COMMITTEES to campaign for the Congress of the People.

THREE: GATHER GROUPS to send in their demands for the Freedom Charter.

●

DO NOT THROW THIS LEAFLET AWAY! PASS IT ON TO A FRIEND. DISCUSS IT WITH OTHERS. SEE THAT IT IS READ BY MANY PEOPLE.

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, BOX 11045, JOHANNESBURG.



This Call to the CONGRESS of the PEOPLE

is addressed to all South Africans, European and Non-European.

It is made by four bodies, speaking for the four sections of the people of South Africa:— by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured People's Organisation. It calls you all to prepare to send your chosen spokesmen to:

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE,

a meeting of elected representatives of all races, coming together from every town and village, every farm and factory, every mine and kraal, every street and suburb, in the whole land. Here all will speak together, freely, as equals. They will speak together of the things their people need to make them free. They will speak together of changes that must be made in our lives, our laws, our customs and our outlooks. They will speak together of freedom. And they will write their demands into

THE FREEDOM CHARTER.

This Charter will express all the demands of all the people for the good life that they seek for themselves and their children. The Freedom Charter will be our guide to those "singing tomorrows" when all South Africans will live and work together, without racial bitterness and fear of misery, in peace and harmony.

THIS IS A CALL for an awakening of all men and women, to campaign together in the greatest movement of all our history.

Our call is to you—the People of South Africa. We invite all Union-wide Organisations to join as sponsors of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, and to take part in its direction. Those who are not afraid to hear the voice of the people will join us. We will welcome them, and work together with them as equals.

We invite all local and provincial societies, clubs, churches, trade unions, sporting bodies and other organisations to join as partners in the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE Committee, and to share the work. Those who are not afraid to speak of freedom will join us. We will welcome them, and work together with them as equals.

We invite all South African men and women of every race and creed to take part as organisers of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE and awaken others to its message. Those who are prepared to work together for freedom and the Freedom Charter will join us. We will welcome them, and go forward together with them to freedom.

OUR CALL IS TO YOU!

- **Give your time to spread the message of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.**
- **Become a Volunteer to organise for freedom.**
- **Tell your neighbours and workmates of the nation-wide elections that are coming.**
- **Rouse the people to discuss what they want of freedom.**

LET US WORK TOGETHER FOR FREEDOM!

WE CALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA
BLACK AND WHITE—LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM!

WE CALL THE FARMERS OF THE RESERVES AND TRUST LANDS.

Let us speak of the wide land, and the narrow strips on which we toil.
Let us speak of brothers without land, and of children without schooling.
Let us speak of taxes and of cattle, and of famine.
LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE MINERS OF COAL, GOLD AND DIAMONDS.

Let us speak of the dark shafts, and the cold compounds far from our families.
Let us speak of heavy labour and long hours, and of men sent home to die.
Let us speak of rich masters and poor wages.
LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FARMS AND FORESTS.

Let us speak of the rich foods we grow, and the laws that keep us poor.
Let us speak of harsh treatment and of children and women forced to work.
Let us speak of private prisons, and beatings and of passes.
LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

Let us speak of the good things we make, and the bad conditions of our work.
Let us speak of the many passes and the few jobs.
Let us speak of foremen and of transport and of trade unions; of holidays and of houses.
LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND THE PREACHERS.

Let us speak of the light that comes with learning, and the ways we are kept in darkness.
Let us speak of great services we can render, and of the narrow ways that are open to us.
Let us speak of laws, and government, and rights.
LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE HOUSEWIVES AND THE MOTHERS.

Let us speak of the fine children that we bear, and of their stunted lives.
Let us speak of the many illnesses and deaths, and of the few clinics and schools.
Let us speak of high prices and of shanty towns.
LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER

ALL OF US TOGETHER — African and European, Indian and Coloured. Voter and voteless. Privileged and rightless. The happy and the homeless. All the people of South Africa; of the towns and of the countryside.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM. And of the happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM. And of how to get it for ourselves, and for our children.

LET THE VOICE OF ALL THE PEOPLE BE HEARD. AND LET THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE PEOPLE FOR THE THINGS THAT WILL MAKE US FREE BE RECORDED. LET THE DEMANDS BE GATHERED TOGETHER IN A GREAT **CHARTER OF FREEDOM.**

WE CALL ON ALL GOOD MEN AND TRUE, to speak now of freedom, and to write their own demands into the Charter of Freedom.

WE CALL ALL WHO LOVE LIBERTY to pledge their lives from here on to win the Freedoms set out in the Charter.

WE CALL ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO PREPARE FOR:

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE — Where representatives of the people, everywhere in the land, will meet together in a great assembly, to discuss and adopt the Charter of Freedom.

Let us organise together for the Congress of the People.
Let us speak together of Freedom.
Let us work together for the Freedom Charter.

LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER TO FREEDOM!

TM 11-54

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK • ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* • W. E. B. DU BOIS, *Vice Chairman* • ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer* • W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

I am sure you must know about the heroic resistance struggle which has been going on in the Union of South Africa. Over 4,000 black and brown men and women have deliberately broken the Jim-Crow laws and been sent to jail, and 28 men, virtually the entire leadership of the major African and Indian organizations conducting this struggle, are now on trial and face ten years imprisonment and hard labor.

Some months ago when this campaign was announced and we in America pledged our support, the foremost African and Indian leaders in South Africa, Dr. J. S. Moroka and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, respective heads of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, cabled me word that the millions of non-white South Africans were "greatly elated and inspired by news of the American expression of sympathy and support for our struggle against racism and Malan fascism."

Though it has had far too little notice in the American press, the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in South Africa is an historic and tremendously important development. It has tremendous significance for us in America who are fighting against the forces of white supremacy, fascism and war, because these forces of American reaction support and abet the Malan government and its policies.

The Council on African Affairs is now conducting a campaign to rally American support for our South African allies and brothers in the cause of democracy and peace. As a result of contributions already collected from supporters throughout the country, it has been possible for the Council on African Affairs to forward a first installment of $900 to the National Assistance Fund in Johannesburg which is jointly sponsored by the organizations resisting the Malan government's oppressive policies. We hope to be able to send more urgently needed funds to South Africa, at least $5,000.

Will you please help make this possible by putting your check or a ten dollar bill in the enclosed return envelope? This is a small way of demonstrating our appreciation of the courage and heroism of those who are helping to fight our battle in South Africa.

Your sincerely,

Paul Robeson

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Mrs. Johnnie Mae Parks
614 East 62 Street
Chicago 37, Ill.

Dear Mrs. Parks:

I have heard through John Gray about plans for Chicago's celebration in April of the launching of the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in South Africa. He told me that I would be hearing from someone in Chicago about it but as no word has yet come I am taking the initiative in writing you.

First, I would like to know about the program and activities that have been planned and in what way we might be helpful in providing information and materials.

Secondly, I would like to know if there has been consideration of specific ways in which the celebration activities could be linked with and used to promote the sale of our pamphlet "Resistance Against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa," the subscriptions to the "Spotlight on Africa" Newsletter, and memberships in the Council. (A discount rate is allowed on the pamphlet. The sale price is 35¢. On 50 or more you can have it for 25¢.) If there hasn't been consideration of this matter I earnestly hope that there will be.

The final question is whether you plan to arrange showings of the film "South Africa Uncensored," and if so, on what dates. We can send the print for the dates desired if the request is accompanied by check in payment of the rental fee of $6.00 per showing, and if we have your promise to return it to us immediately following the showings. (I will not raise again here the old issue of the payments due us for the previous loan of the film — though naturally we are not happy about it.)

One final point: John told me about the fact that April 26th was being celebrated as the Defiance Campaign Anniversary. If this is so it is in error. It was on April 6th that the nationwide rallies took place in South Africa to announce the Campaign and secure pledges of support. The Campaign actually started and the first arrest occurred on June 26th.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Hunton
Secretary

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AMERICAN NEGROES IN THE WAR

Address delivered by

PAUL ROBESON

at the

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM ON CURRENT PROBLEMS

November 16, 1943 New York, N.Y.

Distributed by the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the Indiana State CIO

I am here today to discuss the problems of the Negro American.

As for all Americans any approach to these must be viewed in the light of the new historical necessity dictated by our full participation in the World War II. For we live in a period of human history when the greatest, the most sacred, the most human task has become the destruction of Fascism in whatever form, wherever it may be found, and the ushering in of a new epoch in our civilized life.

RISE OF FASCISM

As a Negro American, I can understand the importance of this task because I have seen Fascism grow from its early days - days when, as a young American abroad, I had little understanding of what was to come. Much later with the rise of Hitler, I sang for refugees, went through Germany in 1934 where I encountered trouble that might well have meant my life - saw the great antithesis of this monstrous ideology of Superior Race and the enslavement of mankind, and its eventual destroyer; - For in the same year 1934, I visited the Soviet Union where I found new life, not death, freedom, not slavery, true human dignity, not inferiority of status. Upon my return to Western Europe and to England, I saw the suffering about me with different eyes. I realized that the suffering of my own people was related to the sufferings of equally oppressed minorities. Later I saw Austria in its dark days, Norway and Denmark on the edge of destruction. I saw Spain in its travail, and helped struggle against the policy of those who sacrificed the Republican State and by so doing, made necessary the needless sacrifice of thousands of precious lives.

During this period the lessons to be learned were very clear; the danger ever present. For good and sufficient reasons these lessons and this danger were not easily comprehended.

Other peoples, however, besides the direct victims, of axis aggression also have a genuine awareness of the democratic significance of the present

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conflict. Their awareness is born of their yearning for freedom from an oppression which has pre-dated Fascism, and their confidence that they have a stake in the victory of the forces of democracy.

The American Negro has such an outlook. It dates from the Fascist invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. Since then, the parallel between his own interests and those of oppressed peoples abroad has been impressed upon him daily as he struggles against the forces which bar him from full citizenship, from full participation in American life.

There are three things in the American scene which today arouse the bitterest resentment among black Americans and at the same time represent the greatest handicap upon his full participation in the national war effort. First is their economic insecurity which they know to be the result of continuing discrimination in employment even now, coupled with other forms of economic exploitation and social discrimination in urban communities such as Harlem.

Second, is the segregation and inferior status assigned to Negroes in the armed forces, and their complete exclusion from most of the women's auxiliary services. Added to this are the insults and acts of physical violence nurtured by the segregation policy, which have been inflicted upon them in many of the camps and camp communities, even in areas which, before the coming of the army camps, had been free from racial prejudice. This is a shameful condition. Several appeals have been made to the President, from whites as well as Negroes, urging him to issue an executive order against racial discrimination and segregation in the armed services. Such an order is as essential to the morale and fighting spirit of our war machine as to the morale and productive capacity of our industrial machine.

Third, is the poll tax system of the South, which operates to maintain undemocratic elements in places of authority not only below the Mason-Dixon line but in our national life as a whole.

It is not my purpose to discuss these evils. I only want to say that every day Americans continue to tolerate these conditions, just that much more difficult is America's task in winning this war and that much farther removed are all Americans from winning a people's peace.

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE

Some progress has been made in righting these wrongs. The most positive action has been in the accomplishments of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. And let it be said to the credit of our Commander -in - Chief, that he has twice interceded to prevent this agency from being rendered powerless. The Marines and Air Corps have abandoned their policy of excluding Negroes, the Navy has cracked the door for them, and some Army officers are doing their best to change the pattern of distinction between white and black American soldiers. But these gains are pitifully small, indeed, - when measured against the loss of manpower, the lowered morale, the interracial friction and national disunity which characterize America at war.

And yet there are some who deplore the Negro's present day struggle for democracy and equality as endangering the national unity and our war effort. They point to the trouble, (so they say) that the FEPC has stirred up in the South, and to the disgraceful race riots - insurrenctions or pogroms would be more accurate - in many industrial centers, which resulted, (so they say) from Negro militancy.

Such people do not understand the basis of this conflict. The Negro asks that we be clear about the great moral and practical issues involved. Do we want to fulfill our historic destiny and build a good world and a good life for the many (as is clearly possible)? - abolish inequalities in great measure; provide tremendous opportunities for the hitherto oppressed, or shall we follow the Fascist idea of dog eat dog and let the many starve - live endlessly in poverty,--- deny the fundamental equality of all men (we'll excuse genius) and their equal potentialities given equal opportunities.

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The objectives of the first way have been well expressed by our President and Commander-in-Chief, by our Vice-President, by the great Leader of the Soviet People, and much less desiredly expressed by the great English Leader, Mr. Churchill, whom, however, I sincerely believe the English people will push on to broader and more inclusive objectives.

Again the Negro asks that we be clear about whose freedoms and opportunies are concerned. First, the freedoms and opportunities of the underprivileged and oppressed everywhere; the underprivileged in many as yet not fully democratic lands, including our own; the people laboring in mine and mill and in the field; the minority peoples, be they white or black, yellow or brown, of whatever religion or creed.

Attacks upon the representatives of the laboring people, upon these minorities which, in the last analysis, are Fascist attacks. We have seen many in recent months, --vicious ones upon labor. - We can recall Detroit, Los Angeles, (and so terrifying for one who, as the son of a slave, was reared and nurtured upon the abolitionist tradition, and for whom Boston Common and Brattle Hall symbolize the height of human striving for free men in a free world) -- we must now include Boston itself. To paraphrase a famous statesman: "Freedom is indivisible", and to attack any minority group is to attack every other section of our richly differentitated yet to be fully-unified America. All Americans must be as outraged at these cowardly attacks as if upon themselves.

Today's militant protest of the Negro people, as illustrated in the recent election of the Negro Communist to New York City's Council and the general trend of the Negro vote toward acceptable candidates rather than party labels - this militant protest represents the development of a clearer understanding among Negroes of their goals, their allies and their enemies. Negroes know that their rights can only be achieved in an America which has realized all of its democratic ideals. They know that their own struggle is bound up with the struggle against anti-Semitism and against injustices to all minority groups. They know that those sections of organized labor which have enlisted membership on a plane of strict equality constitute the Negro people's chief allies in the struggle for democratic rights, and they know, too, that the winning of the war against Fascism is the first and fundamental requirement toward the realization of a democratic America.

Secondly, others concerned with new freedoms and new opportunities which must be realized as quickly as humanly possible, are the Colonial peoples of the earth.

MANY PEOPLES NOT YET IN THE WAR

In other continents, Asia, Africa and India, and in the islands of the Caribbean and the Pacific, black, brown and yellow peoples are likewise alert to the issues of this war. Our Japanese enemies, taking full advantage of this fact, are seizing every opportunity to try to convince these peoples that they, the Japanese, and not we, the members of the United Nations, are their true liberators.

The great majority of these peoples, expecially in Africa, are on the sidelines of the war. They have not been mobilized to any appreciable extent by their colonial administrators in either the military or production services. Their participation now in the United Nations' war effort - just as in the case of the American Negro - is the measure of the kind of victory and the kind of peace that is in store for them.

Let me read to you something that a Negro leader in South Africa recently said: "I know like anybody else that although we are fighting for Democracy, we do not enjoy democratic rule in this country, but I look with hope to the influence that will be exerted by America and Russia towards our rights, as I think that if the Allies win, a new order of government will be brought about.."

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"I look with hope to the influence that will be exerted by America and Russia toward our rights." Those words represent the thought of millions of colonial peoples throughout the world.

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

This last quotation brings to mind that once again as in Munich, we stand at another crossroad in this Fascist struggle but this time the lessons to be learned and the ever present danger are much more easily comprehended, and a great responsibility lies with us here in our great America. I feel it my duty as an American to press the need for collaboration and friendship now and in the postwar world with the great peoples of Soviet Russia, for Negroes hate Fascism to the death, and of all its destroyers, the Soviet people have been the most potent and self-sacrificing. In their blood they are wiping much of this monstrous thing from the face of the earth. We either collaborate with the Soviet Union, England, China (our decisions must deeply influence the other nations concerned), or we can pursue a selfish path which can only lead to further imperialistic ambitions and wars which in my belief, could well lead us to disaster.

MOSCOW AGREEMENTS IN RIGHT DIRECTION

In Moscow we have just made an auspicious beginning in the right direction but already the attacks have begun and in high and powerful places. The struggle is on its way to be won, but it can be delayed and in essence, lost, if we are not fully aware. As for Negroes, anyone who, in view of the world's suffering - and on the other hand, of the possibilities of a decent life for all (measured in a purely scientific manner by our experts) I repeat, anyone who still says "No" to the end of the war and its causes, and insists upon an impoverished world - this person is not an anti-Fascist, and is, whatever the reasons, an enemy. They are many and powerful. One of the greatest hopes today lies in the spirit of the oppressed themselves. The underground peoples in France, in Yugoslavia, in Norway, in Denmark, in Czechoslovakia. The oppressed everywhere - yes, here in Boston, Detroit, Los Angeles, in the South - are determined to have liberty, opportunity and human dignity. Thanks to the blood of our boys and that of our Allies', and at this point no one could cavil at my singling out the Soviet Union. Thanks to these sacrifices the hitherto oppressed will have this liberty, opportunity and dignity.

People can take hope from the words of their Commander-in-Chief, President Roosevelt, spoken on the second anniversary of the signing of the Atlantic Charter:

"WE ARE DETERMINED THAT WE SHALL GAIN TOTAL VICTORY OVER OUR ENEMIES, AND WE RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT OUR ENEMIES ARE NOT ONLY GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN: THEY ARE ALL THE FORCES OF OPPRESSION, INTOLERANCE, INSECURITY AND INJUSTICE WHICH HAVE IMPEDED THE FORWARD MARCH OF CIVILIZATION."

These words let all Americans remember.

(End)

For Release Friday A.M., June 7, 1946.

ADDRESS BY PAUL ROBESON
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY, JUNE 6th.
SPONSORED BY THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

- - - -

I have spoken for other causes on other occasions in this great hall. And while they were all important causes about which I was keenly concerned, I think I can say that never before have I faced such an audience as this with the sense of responsibility, of urgency, of intimacy with you that I now feel.

The Negro - and I mean American Negroes as well as West Indians and Africans - has a direct and first-hand understanding, which most other people lack, of what imperialist exploitation and oppression is. With him it is no far-off theoretical problem. In his daily life he experiences the same system of job discrimination, segregation, and denial of democratic rights whereby the imperialist overlords keep hundreds of millions of people in colonial subjection throughout the world.

The one basic difference is that here in America the Negro has the law-at least partially and in some sections of the country - on his side, and he has powerful allies in the ranks of white organized labor directly involved in his daily fight for justice. In Africa, in the West Indies, and in Asia, the colonial peoples wage a desperate struggle for recognition simply as human beings - as human beings to whom human rights are due. And these colonial peoples fight alone in each country - alone except for the help which reaches them from afar, from world-conscious labor in free countries and from other anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces.

And that is why we are gathered here tonight. Because our own rights and liberties - even though limited - are far, far greater than those of our brothers in colonial bondage. Because we must exercise the greater strength which we have to help win freedom for them. And also because in that very process of helping others, we add to our own strength and bring nearer full freedom for ourselves.

Besides people like those of us who are here tonight, there is another category of Americans, quite few in number, but extremely powerful, who are interested in Africa. They are concerned, however, not with the people of the continent of Africa, but with the wealth that they can extract from it, and from the labor of the people there. These American financiers and corporation heads have their own ideas about the future of Africa, and they don't include the idea of freedom. You can be sure of that. And another thing you can be sure of is that they're not losing any time in putting their ideas into action.

Our government, reports indicate, is getting uranium from the Belgian Congo for atomic bombs. American companies are prospecting for oil in Ethiopia and for minerals in Liberia. Mr. Firestone now has competitors in the latter country. These manifestations of a new and heightened interest in Africa on the part of American Big Business represent a challenge to the rest of us.

The race is on - in Africa as in every other part of the world - the race between the forces of progress and democracy on the one side and the forces of imperialism and reaction on the other. And Africa, with its immeanse undeveloped and unmeasured wealth of resources, is a major price which the imperialists covet and which we, the anti-imperialists, must defend.

We on the anti-imperialist side are handicapped by lack of money, lack of powerful organization, lack of influence in state and international affairs. But, although the enemy has all the advantage and has a head start in the race, it is yet possible for us to catch up and win. It is possible to win if the majority of the American people can be brought to see and understand in the fullest sense the fact that the struggle in which we are engaged is not a matter of mere humanitarian sentiment, but of life and death. The only alternative to world freedom is world annihilation - another bloody holocaust - which will dwarf the two world wars through which we have passed.

We have been hearing a lot of talk about a coming war. It has been defined by some of the bolder reactionaries in brutally clear terms as a war of the United States and Great Britain against the Soviet Union. This war-mongering is the logical consequence of the get-tough-with-Russia policy preached and practiced by those who direct American and British foreign policy.

"Stop Russia!" the brass voices cry in chorus, and the men behind the voices hope that the people will be afraid and will turn against their wartime ally. Their frantic cries mask the program of imperialist aggression which these men themselves are seeking to impose upon the world.

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/The "Stop Russia" cry really means - stop the advance of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa toward independence; stop the forces of the new democracy developing in Europe; stop the organized workers of America from trying to hold their ground against their profit-greedy employers; stop the Negro people from voting and joining trade unions in the South. "Stop Russia" means - stop progress - maintain the status quo. It means - let the privileged few continue to rule and thrive at the expense of the masses./

A day or two ago Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister said, and I quote, "If we do not want to have total war, we must have total peace." For once I agree with him. But Mr. Bevin must be totally blind if he cannot see that the absence of peace in the world today is due precisely to the efforts of the British, American and other imperialist powers to retain their control over the peoples of Asia, the Middle East, Europe and Africa.

We must indeed win the peace - a total peace - but we can do it only by using methods exactly the opposite of those pursued at present by the British Foreign Office and our own State Department. To win total peace there must be total freedom.

At San Francisco, a year ago, it was the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov, who said, "From the viewpoint of the interests of international security, we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence."

But we are still waiting for the first European power in Africa to declare that its African subjects may exercise the right of self-determination and achieve self-government in the next ten years, the next twenty years or even the next 100 years.

The colonial rulers will tell you that the Africans will not be ready for self-government in any forseeable future. They lie. They would delude you into believing that the African peoples had no governments, no culture before the European came to Africa. They would delude you into believing that Africans are content to remain under European tutelage, and that this tutelage must continue indefinitely.

You have heard from other speakers tonight what sort of tutelage the rulers of Africa provide. How can they dare pose as so-called guardians of the Africans? How can they dare claim the right to continue in that role? The Soviet Union has demonstrated how it is possible to wipe out colonialism and all that that word connotes within a single generation. No wonder the imperialists cry "Stop Russia!".

That cry must be drowned out by the voice of the American people demanding Big Three Unity for Colonial Freedom !

To arouse all sections of our population to the urgency of that demand has been the purpose of this meeting. But we do not in any sense regard our job as finished with the close of this great rally. On the contrary, my friends, the Council on African Affairs regards this job as having just begun. With your help, with the cooperation of the organizations with which you are associated and with the support of millions of like-minded peoples throughout our country and in other countries, we shall win the fight against the forces of imperialism.

Tomorrow is our day, the day of the common people. By God's grace and our united strength we shall win freedom and peace for ourselves and for all the oppressed peoples of the earth.

* * * * *

ADDRESS OF PAUL ROBESON

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, SEPT. 12, 1946

Two years ago, Negro voters demonstrated an understanding of political issues surpassed by no other group of Americans when they gave their overwhelming support to the reelection of President Roosevelt. Mr. Dewey and his cohorts did their best to woo and win the Negro vote with all sorts of fine promises, including enactment of permanent F.E.P.C. legislation. But it didn't work. The Negro voter knew what he wanted. He knew that Roosevelt had it, and Dewey didn't. And he knows today that Dewey still doesn't have it.

The fundamental issue in the state and local elections throughout the country this fall is basically the same as in the 1944 campaign. The fundamental issue was and still remains simply this: whether or not we are to go forward to a genuine people's peace, with democratic rights and an abundant life for all ~~[illegible]~~ men and women regardless of race, creed, color, or class - and not simply for the people of America, either, but for hundreds of millions in Africa, Asia, and Europe as well.

This meeting here tonight is testimony to the fact that we, the people, are positively determined to win that kind of peace for ourselves and our children. And let me tell you that my own people, the 15 million Negro citizens of this country, are among the most determined front-line fighters in this struggle. For they are, in the most nakedly literal sense, fighting for their very lives!

The recent swelling wave of lynch murders and mob assaults against Negro men and women represents the ultimate limit of bestial brutality to which the enemies of democracy, be they German Nazis or American Ku Kluxers, are ready to go in imposing their will upon us. Are we going to give our America over to the Eastlands, Rankins and Bilbos? If not, then stop the lynchers!

What about it, President Truman? Why have you failed to speak out against this evil? When will the federal government take effective action to uphold our

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constitutional guarantees?

To date not a single arrest, indictment, or conviction in the recent lynchings has been made. Resolutions and appeals unnumbered have been sent to the Washington, asking these questions. Impatient for action, the people will now go to Washington themselves on Monday, September 23, in a mighty American Crusade to End Lynching.

Please note the phrase I just used - an **American** Crusade to End Lynching. This demonstration and the general campaign against lynch law and discrimination are not and must not be regarded as the special or exclusive concern of Negroes. I particularly call upon the progressive forces of organized labor, traditional allies of the Negro and other oppressed peoples, to throw their full strength into the fight to end lynching. This is an inseparable part of labor's campaign to organize the South - and, indeed, to maintain labor's hard-earned rights **everywhere** in the United States against the drive of reaction.

And let us clearly understand what and whom we mean when we speak of the forces of reaction. We do not mean merely the foul-mouthed poll-taxers who disgrace our Congress, or the hooded, cowardly might righters who do their dirty work for them in Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina.

The poll-tax Congressmen could not have killed the F.E.P.C. and repeatedly blocked anti-poll tax, anti-lynching legislation without the faithfull support of the Tory Republicans in Congress; and it is the same unholy alliance that was responsible for Congress bowing in so servile and obscene a manner to the interests of Big Business and bringing our domestic economy to its present sorry state.

Mr. Dewey, leader of the Republican Party, knows all this, or course, but it wouldn't be smart politics for him to admit that he does. Wendell Wilkie never learned about smart politics; he called a spade a spade, and so he was black-balled by the big bosses of the Republican Party. Mr. Dewey is much smarter. When a Long Island policeman gave a perfect imitation of the Southern technique of "keeping the Negro in his place," killing two Negro veterans in cold blood, Mr. Dewey tried desperately to ignore the matter. When public pressure finally forced him to order an investigation, four months after the shameful occurrence, the result was one of the most insulting and outrageous white-wash jobs in the history of New York State law.

And so it should be emphasized and re-emphasized that Ku Klux Klan reaction in the South is supported and backed by the more subtle but equally dangerous and far more powerful reactionary forces right here in New York State and in all sections of our country.

It frequently happens that you can observe some things better from a distance than at close range. We here in the United States see this or that aspect of the day's news which affects us individually most directly - the attack upon minority peoples, the struggle for labor's rights, the threat of inflation, and so on. But people in foreign lands see all these things in relation to, and as part of, a picture of America's powerful vested interests, fully in control of America's governmental policy, driving head on toward American imperialist domination of the world.

Our attempt to bolster up rotten and outworn political systems in Greece and other European countries, where the people for the first time are able to grasp democracy; our pussyfooting on the whole question of Jewish refugees and the Palestine question; our infamous record in China and Indonesia; our complete abandonment of Roosevelt's policy of aiding the progress and liberation of colonial peoples of Africa and Asia; our openly avowed objective of maintaining the mightiest military force in the world, with military bases under our exclusive control all around the world - is it any wonder that America's "reservoir of good will" among foreign peoples is running dry and that she is instead becoming the most hated and feared nation in the world.?

Our newspapers try to tell us that everything obnoxious in our foreign policy is made necessary because the United States must block the alleged or fancied schemes of the Soviet Union to dominate the world. The keystone of American foreign policy thus becomes hostility toward the Soviet Union, instead of friendship with that ally, which is the supremely essential need of a world yearning for the peace and security promised by the United Nations.

The Ukrainian delegate, Dimitry Manuilsky, warned the Security Council of the United Nations just the other day that "The shadows of Munich are rising again." Let us heed that warning! Let us put a halt to the anti-Soviet hysteria which serves as a smokescreen for imperialist aggression. We want no repetition of Munich.

In closing, let me remind you of a very commonplace observation which we are prone to forget: namely, that America's domestic policy and America's foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. It is up to us, the American people, to make sure that the coin is the real article, not a counterfeit.

The 1946 elections must see the people of this country take over the direction of the affairs of this nation from those in public office who by choice, dictation, or out of ignorance, permit the shaping of our domestic and foreign affairs along the pattern followed by our so recently vanquished fascist enemies.

America must be true to its birthright and heretage of freedom and democracy for all peoples.

DRAFT - ROBESON SPEECH - APRIL 25, 1947

(Statement elaborating what was said about quitting concerts, this leading into general discussion as follows:)

Everybody in America today is faced with the necessity of taking a stand on the side of the Roosevelt policy of world cooperation and progress or on the side of theTruman doctrine of world domination by America. The Truman administration is making every effort and is backed up by all the big newspapers and organs of opinion to make you subscribe to the Truman doctrine. They say that if you don't support that policy you're disloyal, subversive, communist and you can't hold any job in the government or be an officer in any trade union or live in America, in fact. The witch-hung against the Communists and the smashing of labor's rights are the guns pointed at your heads demanding that you say, "Ye, mein Fuehrer". Where does the Truman doctrine stem from. We know, of course, ~~that~~ the parentage of Churchill, the man who vowed never to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Truman's speech, as Churchill has properly reminded us, is merely a re-statement, an affirmation of the infamous Fulton, Missouri speech made by the old British Tory.

There is another side of the parentage of the Truman doctrine which is less known - that of General Smuts, Churchill's man Friday. When Smuts was in this country last fall trying to get the United Nations to approve of the annexation of South West Africa by his country, he was the over-night guest of the President in the White House. Our papers didn't tell us much about that incident but it was reported in full detail in the South African press. This is what happened and I quote from the newspaper published in Cape Town:

"After dinner serious discussions took place when the President, General Smuts, General Eisenhower and the President's military and naval aides and General Smuts' side, Major McIldowie, adjourned to the President's study and talked about world developments.

"General Smuts was listened to with great attention when he told President Truman and General Eisenhower that with Europe in its present state, and with Asia passing through its present phase, the United States had a great and important part to play in

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world stabilisation."

Yes, the Truman doctrine owes its origin in part to these Tory gentlemen I have mentioned and to other reactionary leadership abroad, but far more important is the fact that the Truman doctrine was inspired by the big business interests and imperialist minded military and political advisors to the President right here in America itself. The Admiral Leahys and John Foster Dulleses and the Henry Luces are the ones to whom I refer. Make no mistake, this is a doctrine rooted in American reaction, a doctrine which can only culminate in fascism and war.

To one who is a Negro or is sympathetic to the struggles of Negroes or to the struggles of oppressed peoples anywhere in the world there can be nothing more fantastically hypocritical that the rationalisation or justification of the Truman doctrine. The President said that it was necessary to intervene in Greece and Turkey, in other countries because it was necessary for the United States to support "the way of life that is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty." Why go all the way to Greece and Turkey to bolster up such a way of life. Why not begin right in Mississippi or, in fact, in New York State? And is the President ignorant of the fact that there are hundreds of millions of colonial peoples who, through the tyrannical and ruthless control of a minority, are deprived of every vestige of democratic rights?

The ancient fiction of the white man's burden has been exploded In its place we now have the "anti-communist burden" as justification for world empire. This too will fool noone. I would like to read you the comment on Truman's policy of a newspaper published by Africans in South Africa: "With the atom bomb in one hand and billions of dollars in the other, American imperialism is out to conquer and dominate the world. The unhappy people of Greece are to be the first victims: just when they were beginning to think that now the British troops are leaving they could get rid of their Fascist government and enjoy a little freedom. But President Truman, in his notorious speech, made it clear that Greece and Turkey were just the beginning of a world-side drive to export 'the American way of life' - i.e. Wall Street capitalism."

Last June at a meeting in MadisonSquare Garden, sponsored by the Council on African Affairs, I made this statement and I make it again now: "The 'Stop Russia' cry really means - stop the advance of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa toward independence; stop the forces of the new democracy developing in Europe; stop the organized workers of America from trying to hold their ground against their profit-greedy employers; stop the Negro people from voting and joining trade unions in the South. 'Stop Russia' means - stop progress - maintain the status quo. It means - let the privileged few continue to rule and thrive at the expense of the masses."

It is particularly about the consequences of the Truman doctrine upon the colonial peoples of Africa and the world that I want to talk. I feel that there has not been enough attention to this aspect of the present crisis. I feel that it is not sufficiently realized even among many of us who consider ourselves progressive that at the very center of the present world crisis of imperialism versus democracy is the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom. The jockeying for power in the Middle East, the grabbing of military bases all around the world, the undercover but sharp rivalry for foreign markets - all these things converge in the one aim of maintaining and expanding the domination of colonial semi-colonial peoples for the purpose of bigger and better profits.

Oh, but aren't the British withdrawing from India and Burma? Aren't the Dutch being kicked out of Indonesia? Haven't we given the Philippines their independence? Superficially, yes. Actually, no. The new imperialism is content with maintaining economic and military controls and yielding the concession of an illusion of political independence. It is the economic and military control that rally counts for the imperialists. But what of Africa? We have in that continent as yet no sign even of illusions of political independence. Political controls as well as economic and military domination are being strengthened. Africa is today the stronghold of the old imperialism, an imperialism which makes no pretence of granting democratic concessions. The European powers show no sign of relinquishing their hold in Africa. And let me say that it is not merely the European powers that are involved. With Firestone in Liberia and Sinclair Oil in Ethiopia and Goodyear, General Motors, General Electric and other corporations in South Africa and Wall Street capital playing a big part in draining the continent of all its great mineral and agricultural resources, this country too is deeply involved in the imperialistic exploitation of Africa.

This is something worthy of thoughtful consideration. Africa has figured prominently in two world wars and the militarists are now mapping the strategy of Africa's participation in World War III. The United States is establishing permanent military bases in Liberia and the British and French and Belgians are doing likewise or at least providing for the possibility for the same in their colonies. Central Africa is to be the cushion or defense in depth of a war against the Soviet Union which might develop in the Middle East Black Sea area. These are no secrets. They have been openly published.

There is one thing that the military strategists fail to take into account and that is exactly why they lost their strongholds in Singapore and other impregnable forces of Southeastern Asia in the last war - the one thing they have failed to take into account is the human factor. It is assumed that African labor will be available to build and mann these bases in the event of war. It is assumed that leaders of Africans will submit to be used as cannon-fodder by their respective rulers. It is assumed that Africa can be mobilized to play its part in World War III, according to the blueprints now drawn up.

I say that these are all false assumptions. I say that the African people will not take part in any war on the side of imperialism against the Soviet Union or against the new democratic governments of Europe. King George may tell the Rhodesian parliament what role that colony is expected to play in the empire defense plans, but if Africa is to be held for King George and Churchill, it will not be the doing of the African people.

I wonder if it is expected that American troops will be available for this job. If we can send military advisors and aid to the Middle East, why not to Africa too?

Why do I say the African will not fight in a war against the SovietUnion? I say it because from all sections of that continent there have come newspapers, letters, messages by mouth, telling of the great admiration which black men everywhere have for the practice of racial democracy in the Soviet Union. They know about this not only from what they have read - many of them cannot read - but from the reports brought home by African seamen on wartime convoys to the Soviet Union, by African soldiers who took part in the European campaign, and by African labor leaders who have seen and talked with Soviet representatives at conferences of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In these and other ways the people of Africa have learned that the land of socialism is their friend and not their enemy.

And though you may not hear very much about it in the newspapers that you read, it is nevertheless a fact that the people of Africa are involved like the rest of the world in the great present-day struggle between imperialism and democracy. Nationalist uprisings are taking place in Madagascar, North Africa and other sections and there have been widespread strikes in every part of Africa.

The Truman doctrine is intended to isolate and suppress the revolt of colonial peoples just as much as it is intended to block the road to democracy in Greece, Turkey, Italy, Fance and the rest of Europe. The British failed dismally at this job and are now trying to hand it over to America. The American government likewise failed at the same job in China. Nevertheless, the vested interests in this country will not abandon their hopeless schemes of reaction because to do so means their acceptance of defeat and relinquishing power to the masses of Americans and to the masses of the peples of the world to run their own affairs in their own way. They will not willingly relinquish and abandon their plans. But they must if we unite against them.

We shoulf feel - you and I - a sense of awe, when we consider the fact that the struggles of Greeks and Turks and Africans, Chines and Indians and peoples everywhere to win for themselves can accomplish little or nothing if we in America fall down on our job. I don't think ~~that~~ this has really struck home to most of us. I don't think we understand that is is American reaction, American imperialism, that is today the ~~cornersto~~ cornerstone of reaction and imperialism everywhere in the world. Yes, the Churchills and the Smuts and the others depend on Truman to keep their rotten system of exploitation from falling apart. Millions asked for aid to the reactionary regimes ~~of~~ in Greece and Turkey represent only a small fraction of the several billion dollars expended through various agencies of our government, notably the Export Import Bank and Treasury Department toward the end of preserving the status quo throughout the world. Is it any wonder that the President, Executive Director, and Vice President of the World Bank ~~are~~ Wall Street people and that the Chairmanship of the Trusteeship Council likewise went to an American?

The Dutch, the British, the French needed American assistance to hold on to their imperial preserves. They got it. But now they are beginning to fear that the title of their holdings may pass into the hands of their creditors. The new giant imperialism that is America bestrides the world and threatens to swallow up all these lesser imperialists which require assistance to be maintained. The Mediterranean is to become an American lake instead of the British one. And the Empire life-line linking Asia with Britain is to become an oil pipe line linking the Middle East with America.

Of course, it is not the intention of the American imperialists actually to annex all these areas. That is a little too much bother. A couple of hundred islands in the Pacific will suffice for the present, as long as economic and military control are established, as I have said before. The loot is in the bag.

Our answer to all these schemes must be as Henry Wallace so ably put it: "Millions to feed the hungry! Not one cent to armed tyranny." "No imperialist adventures. Support the United Nations."

The United Nations is the arean in which the world struggle against reaction must be fought out. The United Nations is the testing ground for the achievement of world unity and progress. If the United Nations is preserved and strengthened, it will be impossible to divide the world into two opposing segments. But if that world organization is by-passed, clubbed, destroyed, by any one state assuming the right to dictate to the rest of the world, then there can be no outcome save bitter defeat of everything which mankind has aspired toward. It is not because we consider the United Nations today perfect that we should support it, but because we want to make it stronger, better able to do the job it was designed to do - of preserving peace and promoting the welfare of all peoples throughout the world. To say that there is no hope in the United Nations is to say that we are ready to die tomorrow in another world war.

True, the record of the U. N. in many respects is pretty depressing. Looking at it through the eyes of the colonial peoples, we see that at San Francisco the imperialists succeeded in almost completely brushing aside the concept of genuine aid to colonial peoples toward the achievement of their freedom as conceived by Roosevelt and planned at the Yalta Conference. At the meeting of the U.N. in London, we saw the Security Council refuse to take action to investigate the suppression of the Indonesian people's fight for freedom. At Lake Success we saw the imperialist powers get a trusteeship system established made to their own order and over the strong protests of the Soviet, Indian and other anti-imperialist representatives there. And we have no illusions that the Palestine problem will be settled at the special U. N. Assembly meeting beginning next week.

And yet, in spite of all this, I say that we should not give up the fight to make the U. N. a functioning people's organ. One reason for believing that something can be done is the creditable showing made at Lake Success in exposing and defeating the South African government's proposals despite all the efforts of the United States and

British representatives to save Smuts from embarrassment. The significance of that victory should not be underestimated. The issues at stake were the fundamental con questions of racial discrimination and colonial annexation. And on those issues a clear-cut victory was won by those governments opposing imperialism and discrimination. The questions,at issue, however, are not yet finally settled. The South African government has done nothing to date to correct the grievances set forth by the Indian government. And Smuts has ignored the invitation of the United Nations to place South West Africa under trusteeship and has, in effect, proceeded with the incorporation of the territory as an integral part of the Union, giving parliamentary representation to the white residents of South West Africa.

This flouting of the United Nations has not yet, so far as I know, brought the slightest squeak of protest from the State Department in Washington. They are not concerned with "free governments" in that area of the world, apparently.

So we will have a job to do next September all over again when the South African questions come up once more and on that front as well as ~~on~~ the control of armaments and atomic energy and the many other problems before the U.N., we have got to be organized for action. It seems to me especially significant that the largest crowd ever to attend a meeting of the Security Council was out at Lake Success to hear Gromyko reply to Austin on the question of American intervention in Greece and Turkey. Even the New York Times admitted that an informal poll of those present there that day showed that the majority supported Gromyko's stand.

There is no question about what the majority of the American people want, despite all the efforts of the loud-mouthed press to confuse and distort public opinion, It isn't enough, however, just to want something. Right now the important thing is to make those demans heard - and loudly - by our government and by the United Nations.

The People's hopes and aspirations must be translated into effective action. And that is the basic reason why we are meeting here tonight. That is the program to which the Council on African Affairs is dedicated.

Yes, you will be called subversive agents of Moscow as Mr. Henry Wallace was if you take a fearless stand on the right side. But if the only alternative to being a supporter of the Truman doctrine of world domination is to be labelled a "red", then I for one welcome that label and I will consider myself in pretty good company along with the peoples all over the world who are trying to create something new and worthwhile in human society.

Let us not be afraid of redbaiting. I refer particularly to organised labor when I say that, for there have been dangerous signs of compromise and capitulation. Labor cannot defend itself by trying to disown allies who are not regarded as completely respectable. It can defend itself only by forming the strongest alliance with all those who fight for labor's rights. Let us not be on the defensive. This is the time to take the offensive.

Let us not isolate ourselves by fighting along for those things which we regard important for every group. I appeal to labor, to professionals, workers, to Negroes, to Jews, to people of every race and faith and nationality, to close ranks and join in the fight for the one big thing without which nothing else can be won. We stood together and won the war against the fascist axis. That was the first front. We have not get to open the second front - fight against the fascists at home. The place is here - the time is now. Let us march together to victory.

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

April 25, 1947
Draft

[illegible]

~~Yes, the Truman doctrine owes~~ The administration's newest foreign policy its origin in part to ~~these~~ Tory gentlemen ~~&~~ like Churchill and Smuts [illegible] but far more important is the fact that th~~e~~is policy ~~Truman doctrine~~ was inspired by the big business interests and imperialist-minded military and political advisors to the President right here in America itself. ¶ The Admiral Leahys and John Foster Dulleses and the Henry Luces are the ones to whom I refer. Make no mistake, this is a doctrine rooted in American reaction, a doctrine which can only culminate in fascism and war.

To one who is a Negro or is sympathetic to the struggles of Negroes or to the struggles of oppressed peoples anywhere in the world, ~~there~~ can be nothing more fantastically hypocritical than the attempted ~~rationalization or~~ justification of the ~~Truman~~ new global doctrine. ¶ We are told that this country must ~~The President said that it was necessary to~~ intervene in Greece, ~~and~~ Turkey and ~~in~~ other countries because it ~~was~~ is necessary for the United States to support "the way of life that is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty." ¶ Why go all the way to Greece and Turkey to bolster up such a way of life. Why not begin right in Mississippi or, in fact, in New York State? And is the President ignorant of the fact that there are hundreds of millions of colonial peoples who, through the tyrannical and ruthless control of a minority, ~~are~~ deprived of every vestige of democratic rights?

The ancient fiction of the "white man's burden" has been exploded. In its place we now have the "capitalist's anti-communist burden" as justification for world empire. This too will fool none. ~~I would like to read you the comment on Truman's policy by a~~ description of the American Century foreign policy is given ~~newspaper published by Africans in South Africa: "With the atom bomb in one hand and billions of dollars in the other, American imperialism is out to conquer and dominate the world. The unhappy people of Greece are to be the first victims. Just when they were beginning to think that now the British troops are leaving they could get rid of their Fascist government and enjoy a little freedom. But President Truman, in his~~

~~notorious speech~~, ~~to Congress~~ ~~made it clear that Greece and Turkey were just the beginning of a world-wide drive to export 'the American way of life' - i.e. Wall Street capitalism."~~

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It is particularly about the consequences of the Truman doctrine upon the colonial peoples of Africa and ~~the world~~ Asia that I want to talk. I feel that there has not been enough attention to this aspect of the present crisis. start I feel that it is not sufficiently realized (~~even~~ among many of us who consider ourselves, progressive) that at the very center of the present world crisis of imperialism versus democracy is the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom. ¶ The jockeying for power in the Middle East, the grabbing of military bases all around the world, the undercover but sharp rivalry for foreign markets - all these things converge in the one aim of maintaining and expanding the domination of colonial and semi-colonial peoples for the purpose of bigger and better profits.

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¶ No, the European powers show no sign of relinquishing their hold in Africa. And let me say that it is not merely the European powers that are involved. ~~With~~ The Firestone Corp is in Liberia, ~~and~~ Sinclair Oil corp is in Ethiopia, ~~and~~ Goodyear, General Motors, General Electric and other American corporations are in South Africa, ~~and~~ We're getting uranium from the Belgian Congo for our atom bomb. Wall Street capital is playing a big part in draining the whole continent of ~~all~~ its great mineral and ~~agricultural~~ other resources, ~~this country too is deeply involved in the imperialistic exploitation of Africa.~~ From all this it is obvious that the U.S.

But there's more to it than this. A new characteristic of colonial imperialism is the reliance upon colonies as military outposts, as bases for attackers. No other explained

~~This is something worthy of thoughtful consideration.~~ Africa has figured prominently in two world wars and the militarists are now mapping the strategy of Africa's participation in World War III. ~~The United States is establishing permanent military~~ bases in Liberia and the British and French and Belgians are doing likewise ~~or at least providing for the possibility for the same~~ in their colonies. According to the British War Office, Central Africa is to be the cushion or defense in depth of a war against the Soviet Union which might develop in the Middle East Black Sea area. These are no secrets. They have been openly published.

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~~The~~ one thing that the military strategists consistently fail to take into account and that is exactly why they lost ~~their strongholds in~~ Singapore and other allegedly impregnable fortresses in ~~forces of~~ Southeastern Asia in the last war - the one thing they have failed to take into account is the human factor. It is assumed that African labor will be available to build and ~~man~~ these bases in the event of war. It is assumed that African colonial troops ~~leaders of Africans~~ will submit to be used as cannon-fodder by their respective rulers. It is assumed that Africa can be mobilised to play its part in World War III, according to the blueprints now drawn up.

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Why do I say the African will not fight in a war against the Soviet Union? I say it because from all sections of that continent there have come newspapers, letters, messages by mouth, telling of the great admiration which black men everywhere have for the practice of racial democracy in the Soviet Union. They know about this not only from what they have read - many of them cannot read - but from the reports brought home by African seamen on wartime convoys to the Soviet Union, by African soldiers who took part in the European campaign, and by African labor leaders who have seen and talked with Soviet representatives at conferences of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In these and other ways the people of Africa have learned that the land of socialism is their friend and not their enemy.

And though you may not hear very much about it in the newspapers that you read, it is nevertheless a fact that the people of Africa are involved like the rest of the world in the great present-day struggle between imperialism and democracy. Nationalist uprisings are taking place in Madagascar, North Africa and other sections and there have been widespread strikes in every part of Africa.

The Truman doctrine is intended to isolate and suppress the revolt of colonial peoples just as much as it is intended to block the road to democracy in Greece, Turkey, Italy, Fance and the rest of Europe. The British failed dismally at this job and are now trying to hand it over to America. The American government likewise failed at the same job in China. Nevertheless, the vested interests in this country will not abandon their hopeless schemes of reaction because to do so means their acceptance of defeat and relinquishing power to the masses of Americans and to the masses of the peples of the world to run their own affairs in their own way. They will not willingly relinquish and abandon their plans. But they must if we unite against them.

We should feel - you and I - a sense of awe, when we consider ~~the fact~~ that the liberation struggles of ~~Greeks and Turks and Africans, Chinese and Indians and~~ peoples everywhere in the world ~~to win for themselves~~ can accomplish little or nothing if we in America fall down on our job. I don't think ~~that~~ this has really struck home to most of us. I don't think we fully understand that it is American reaction, American imperialism, that is today the ~~cornerston~~ cornerstone of reaction and imperialism everywhere in the world. ~~Yes, the Churchills and the Smuts and the others depend on Truman to keep their rotten system of exploitation from falling apart. Millions asked for aid to the reactionary regimes of in Greece and Turkey represent only a small fraction of the several billion dollars expended through various agencies of our government, notably the Export Import Bank and Treasury Department toward the end of preserving the status quo throughout the world.~~ Is it any wonder that the President, Executive Director, and Vice President of the World Bank ~~are~~ are all Wall Street people and that the Chairmanship of the Trusteeship Council likewise went to an American?

The Dutch, the British, the French needed American assistance to hold on to their imperial preserves. They got it. But now they are ~~beginning~~ beginning to fear that the title of their holdings may pass into the hands of their creditors. The new giant imperialism ~~that is America~~ of American Power bestrides the world and threatens to swallow them up. ~~all these lesser imperialists which require assistance to be maintained~~. The Mediterranean is to become an American lake instead of ~~the~~ a British one. And the Empire life-line linking Asia with Britain is to become an oil pipe line linking the Middle East with America.

Of course, it is not the intention of the American imperialists actually to annex all these areas. That is a little too much bother. A couple of hundred islands in the Pacific will suffice for the present. As long as economic and military control are established, as I ~~have said before~~, the loot is in the bag.

Our answer to all these schemes must be as Henry Wallace so ably put it: "Millions to feed the hungry! Not one cent to ~~armed~~ tyranny!" "No imperialist adventures! Support the United Nations!"

The United Nations is the ~~[illegible]~~ arena in which the world struggle against reaction must be fought out. The United Nations is the testing ground for the achievement of world unity and progress. If the United Nations is preserved and strengthened, it will be impossible to divide the world into two opposing segments. ¶ But if that world organization is by-passed, ~~[illegible]~~ corrupted, destroyed, by any one state or group of states assuming the right to dictate to the rest of the world, then there can be no outcome save bitter defeat of everything which mankind has aspired toward. ¶ It is not because we consider the United Nations today perfect that we should support it, but because we want to make it stronger, better able to do the job it was designed to do - of preserving peace and promoting the welfare of all peoples throughout the world. To say that ~~there is~~ no hope in the United Nations is to say that we are ready to die tomorrow ~~in another world war~~.

~~True, the record of the U. N. in many respects is pretty depressing. Looking at it through the eyes of the colonial peoples, we see that at San Francisco the imperialists succeeded in almost completely brushing aside the concept of genuine aid to colonial peoples toward the achievement of their freedom as conceived by Roosevelt and planned at the Yalta Conference. At the meeting of the U.N. in London, we saw the Security Council refuse to take action to investigate the suppression of the Indonesian people's fight for freedom. At Lake Success we saw the imperialist powers get get a trusteeship system established made to their own order according to their own specifications and over the strong protests of the Soviet, Indian and other anti-imperialist representatives there. And we have no illusions that the Palestine problem will be settled at the special U. N. Assembly meeting beginning next week.~~

~~And yet, in spite of all this,~~ I say that we should not give up the fight to make the U. N. a functioning people's organization. One reason for believing that something can be done is the creditable showing made at Lake Success in exposing and defeating the South African government's proposals despite all the efforts of the United States and

British representatives to save Smuts from embarrassment. ¶ The significance of that victory should not be underestimated. The issues at stake were the fundamental ~~con~~ questions of racial discrimination and colonial annexation. And on those issues ~~a~~ the majority of the members of the United Nations voted right! ~~clear-cut victory was won by those governments opposing imperialism and discrimination.~~

¶ The questions, ~~at issue~~, however, are not yet finally settled. The South African government has done nothing to date to correct the grievances set forth by the Indian government. And Smuts has ignored the invitation of the United Nations to place South West Africa under trusteeship and has, ~~in effect~~ on the contrary, proceeded with the virtual incorporation of the territory as an integral part of the Union, giving parliamentary representation to the white residents of South West Africa.

no ¶ This flouting of the United Nations has not yet, so far as I know, brought the slightest squeak of protest from the State Department in Washington. They are not concerned with "free governments" in that area of the world, apparently.

So we will have a job to do next September all over again when the South African questions come up. ~~once more and~~ On that front and on the question of colonial trusteeship, as well as on ~~the control of armaments and atomic energy and~~ the many other problems before the U.N., we have got to be organized for action. ~~It seems to me especially significant that the largest crowd ever to attend a meeting of the Security Council was out at Lake Success to hear Gromyko reply to Austin on the question of American intervention in Greece and Turkey. Even the New York Times admitted that an informal poll of those present there that day showed that the majority supported Gromyko's stand.~~

There is no question about what the majority of the American people want, despite all the efforts of the loud-mouthed press to confuse and distort public opinion, It isn't enough, however, just to want something. Right now the important thing is to make those demands heard - and loudly - by our government and by the United Nations.

The People's hopes and aspirations must be translated into effective action. And that is the basic reason why we are meeting here tonight. That is the program to which

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

Speech of Paul Robeson

at

RALLY OF COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Friday, April 25, 1947
71st Regiment Armory
New York City

I am here to help the work of liberation of many peoples, and if the work of the Council has been important up to this time, one can't evaluate what it must do today and in the future.

We have heard the dramatization, we have heard many speakers, and there are just two or three points that I would like to make. They can't be driven home too often. We do live today in a time of imperialism.

What do we mean by imperialism? We were pretty clear after World War One. We were pretty disillusioned. We saw what it meant -- the enslavement of people all over the world, in Asia and India and Africa. Slavery by occupation -- going in, and taking peoples, and making slaves of them, like in the South Africa of Smuts.

And we saw many other kinds of imperialism, sort of controlled from afar, financial controls by the cartels, keeping in a kind of "shush" the peoples in many lands. This included the peoples of many of the Balkan countries, who are struggling today to maintain their freedom. This included China, Mexico, Haiti, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Hawaii. We were very clear about what that meant.

And we went into a war not long ago to erase fascism from the world. What is fascism? Is it a lot of wise guys, like Hitler, who just are bloodthirsty? No, it's the philosophy of the superiority of one people over another. And secondly, it's the concentration of power in the hands of the few, of the cartels, of the economic royalists Roosevelt hated, a concentration of power that they will not let go.

That is what fascism was in the last war, and it reached its highest concentration in those fascist lands of Hitler and Mussolini.

But there were other aims in that war, stated by our great leader, President Roosevelt, restated by Mr. Wallace, that it was a war to the death against fascism and against the perpetuation of any kind of imperialism, because during that time the very slogan of the "Century of the Common People" -- where did that slogan come from? It came in answer, by Mr.Wallace, to a concept of Mr. Luce's in Life Magazine that this was an "American Century" -- a century that he didn't quite define at that time.

But we went into this war on the side of the common people -- and we must remember the character of that war if we are to understand our America today. That war was a great civil conflict, a great civil conflict with a minority of fascists on the one hand, and a great majority of anti-fascists of all kinds on the other -- liberals, socialists, communists, anarchists, people from all over, who fought against this kind of thing -- and in a sense, the cooperative philosophy of the cooperative movements, for example, perhaps in the Scandinavian countries -- who fought against the scourge of fascism; many, many kinds of people who were determined that a few people, in the name of counter-revolution, should not take over.

What do I mean by that? I mean, that in Spain they had elected a liberal government to power that took the lands from the landlords to give them to the peasants -- and we saw Franco and a counter-revolution walking.

But ultimately the forces of freedom won, and we sided with the forces of freedom. And out of that struggle came many other kinds of nations, many other kinds of governments, governments that we like to call "peoples' governments", governments that are there in the interest of the great majority of the people -- in Yugoslavia, in Czechoslovakia, in Russia, in China, and in many other parts of world.

Now, somewhere behind the words of imperialism, the use of the term, what was the real question? The question was, the freedom of people, the freedom of people. Of whom -- of a few people? No. It's so simple, that one hardly, hardly sort of feels the need to state it. It's a very simple thing -- the freedom of all the people, the freedom of all the people.

Imperialism doesn't like this. Many people who speak in the name of democracy don't understand it. Mr. Luce says that we must have the "American Century", that we must carry into being that rugged and naked imperialism of Mr.Byrnes, for the preservation of Mr. Luce's rights.

But the common man needs much more than preservation; he needs the extension of freedom, he needs the realization of freedom. One-tenth of the people, the Negro people, don't have freedom; many Jewish-speaking in this land don't have freedom. Many Spanish-speaking people don't have freedom. The sharecroppers in the South don't have freedom. We still have to implement that term before talking of taking that way of life into other parts of the world. We must see that it's freedom here, now! (Enthusiastic applause)

So that the struggle for freedom is a wide one. They say that the peoples' governments established in Europe oppress minorities. But whom do they oppress? They oppress the remains of fascism. And I think this is a very, very fine oppression. (Loud applause) Would you let Hitler or Goebbels walk around? Would you be holding back on the de-Nazification of Germany? Would you be associating with fascists of any part of the world, if you had anything to do with it? I don't believe so. So many governments today are oppressing the fascists until there is true freedom. (Applause)

Now, if I can illustrate that by just one more point. One time, at the end of the Civil War, in the days of Reconstruction, the colored slaves, newly emancipated former slaves, with white people of the South, the free white workers as well, were building a rich South. Read Howard Fast's "Freedom Road" if you want to know what I mean. They were building unity. How did they do it?

The Northern troops were occupying the South, just like we occupy Japan and Germany. And so, these freedmen were able to implement, somewhat, their road to freedom. And then there was a deal made, as Fast makes clear, and the Northern troops were withdrawn; and the Klan walked in, to keep the Negroes in slavery and serfdom until this day.

Now, if somebody at that time would have said to the Negro people or the white workers of the South, with their first chance of a decent life, "I think you'd better keep those soldiers here, until you are strong enough to take care of yourselves", I don't think they would have worried about some vague freedom of speech. I think they would have said, "Yes, keep them here until we can defend ourselves, and so that the Klan and other groups cannot come in and destroy our freedom". (Applause)

So it isn't just a question of concentrating of power, or of a dictatorship. It depends on why they are there, if they are there to suppress fascism, if they are there to protect themselves; if Tito can say that King Peter can't get back, like King George did -- that's different. (Loud applause)

But now, as I say, today we have a restatement of the Luce spiel -- the American Century all over again. And we will go very wrong, unless we in America examine very carefully all our ideas, unless we examine very carefully the nature of this fascism that we have just defeated, unless we examine very carefully the nature of the fascism that has, again, begun to march. And I might say that there's no clearer, or was no clearer example of fascism that I have ever seen -- and I have seen a lot of it in many parts of the world -- than I saw in Peoria the other night. Nor did I see, have I seen, a clearer example of what Americans must weigh very carefully -- the use of certain fascist techniques to confuse the people.

The main one, of course, is the use of the red bogey, the Communist bogey, to break the back of the whole liberal movement in our country.

Because I was listed along with a thousand other liberal people by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as one "invariably found supporting the Communist Party and its front organizations", the Peoria City Council, under pressure from the reactionary forces who had been waging a long war against labor in that town, went on record barring me from making any public appearance in that city.

To enforce their edict, the whole city was subjected to terroristic control. The whole CIO was immobilized. The Negro community was intimidated. Progressive people in general were fearful of lifting a finger to enable me to appear before an audience anywhere in the city.

I might say, however, that just today I received an invitation from the Ministers' Alliance in Peoria to return in the very near future. (Enthusiastic applause)

All this, it should be remembered, resulted from the witch-hunting activities of the Un-American Committee. If Peoria officials could bar me on the basis of what the Rankin Committee said about me, they could also bar Henry Wallace, Orson Welles, Senator Pepper, General Evans Carlson, former Ambassador Davies and hundreds of others who, by virtue of supporting one organization or another, have been declared un-American by the Un-American Committee, without any trial whatsoever. But I have never been on the witness stand anywhere, and I didn't have a lawyer in any kind of a trial.

If this could happen in Peoria, it may also happen in Albany -- it's just about to -- and in other cities. And not simply to me, but to any American who believes in democracy and says so fearlessly. This is the heart of the issue. Whether I am or am not a Communist or Communist sympathizer, is irrelevant. The question is whether American citizens, regardless of their political beliefs or sympathies, may enjoy their constitutional rights.

If the government is sincerely concerned about saving America from subversive forces, let our officials from the President on down, stop worrying about the Communists whom they suspect of subversive activities and start doing something about the fascists who are openly parading their disdain of civil rights and democratic procedures here in America today. (Stormy applause)

I myself, in my experiences throughout the world in the struggle for freedom, in France, Norway, Spain, in many other parts of the world -- as I say, it is a struggle against fascism with anti-fascism. And the first to die among those anti-fascists, in the thousands, the first to die to save the lives of American boys as they came up into France, by the millions, were Russians, who died, many of them, before they were Communists. (Applause) So in France, and so in many other parts of the world.

And if any American liberal, today, fails to defend the rights of Dennis, to defend the rights of a fine man like Josephson; to defend the rights of perhaps the most articulate voice, Louis Aragon, the greatest poet of France and a Communist... (Stormy applause, several words not heard)

And so, one must defend everyone who has fought against fascism, and that includes Dennis, that includes Josephson, that includes Eisler, that includes (every Communist in the United States) (? --- not heard clearly, due to applause.)

There are many more things that I wanted to say, but it's late -- about the fate of Africa -- and that won't be settled tonight -- and about the fine showing made at Lake Success in defeating the Smuts proposals, and we will continue in the fight.

I would like to say to the fine youth, that I love so much, the youth of the American Youth for Democracy, they must fight to get back on every college campus in these United States. (Tremendous applause)

And perhaps, as a final remark, I want to make it very clear why I said, some time ago, that I would be giving my time in the forefront, in a little more direct participation, in the struggle. It might have seemed strange two months ago; it doesn't seem strange today.

I, however, am going to function exactly as I have tonight, at other times. I will function as an artist, but no longer stand sort of, up there, doing just acting and concerting. I am going to sing, yes, as an artist to give of my talents. But I give of my talents to the people. I continue the people. I come from the people, and from the side of the people! (Terrific applause)

And I say, so very clearly, that I only want to give what I can to the people. I want nothing back but the kind of affection that comes to me tonight, the kind of feeling that you're there -- that's what allows me to do what I do -- because you are there! I want no political office of any kind, nor will I ever seek one.

I stand here, fighting only in my own way, as an artist, against fascism, wherever I see it raise its head. And since I have seen it raise its head here in own land -- we fight it, you fight it, I fight it, all of us fight it -- to the death!! (Tremendous and enthusiastic applause, stormy ovation)

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Address by PAUL ROBESON
at Meeting of
The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
New York, November 16, 1950

I am proud to be here tonight, proud to be a member of this organization devoted to friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In these days of stress and struggle it is necessary that our friends across the seas, our friends in many parts of the earth, know that there is a very important section of our nation which understands the world in which we live: which recognizes that this is a world of decisive change, that the roads to freedom are many, and that to secure that freedom for tens of millions peace not war must prevail.

Whatever the attempted confusion of the Dulles's and the Mac Arthur's, this section is the basic America. The instigators of war do not speak for us. All up and down this land are people of varying faiths, varying political beliefs, youth, women who want life not death, masses of workers, the great body of the Negro people -- they want peace! In an atmosphere of hysteria and terror they eagerly look for some way to express their deep desires.

No, this is not the America of the Dulles's and the Mac Arthur's -- not the America of evil forces which would, if they could, turn back the march of men and women toward a new liberation. No, this America which we here represent is the America of those who throughout our history have been the guarantors and the defenders of our historic tradition and dream of freedom and equality.

This struggle in which we are today engaged has been long and continuous. For millions of us, white and black, it has been a struggle bitterly waged for the most basic rights of citizenship, for the simplest secure standards of living, - often for survival. For it is the people - French, Scotch, and English indentured servants; immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe; brave Jewish people from all parts of the world; workers from the West Indies, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Latin America; and all throughout our history, from before Columbus, the Negro people - these are the ones upon whose backs and, for a long period, upon whose unpaid toil, the basic wealth of this nation was built.

People like ourselves in other parts of the world have taken their destiny into their own hands. They build today not for the few, but for the many. They create for the individual, but for a new kind of human being, living at a higher level. They use the newly discovered scientific power for abundance and plenty - not to destroy humanity's centuries-old, hard-won achievements.

Today we are helping to decide whether we shall have fascist brute rule or equality and friendship among peoples and nations, - the enslavement of master-race theories or liberty and freedom for the American people, particularly the Negro people, and their colonial allies throughout the world.

And we of America have a grave responsibility. For in the years since the end of the war, the American trusts and the government they control have everywhere moved against the people who are trying to break through to liberation. Today these neo-Fascists move with arms against the brave people of Korea, and they threaten the Indo-Chinese, the people of the Malay states, and - very hesitatingly, to be sure - dare to challenge the mighty Chinese people's revolution.

These acts cry out to the world that our nation, these United States, born in battle for freedom against imperialist tyranny, bids fair to become itself the first enemy of freedom and the chief tyrant of the mid-century world.

These evil men by their deeds warn more than half the world's population who people the vast continents of Asia and Africa and South America that until the course of our foreign policy is changed they can no longer look to this government for help in their battles for a new and independent life. And so with the masses of Western Europe. There they signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal in the tens of millions. They serve notice that no war-mongers here in the United States can bludgeon the world into self-determination. The peoples of the world meet today in Warsaw in a great People's Republic, to fashion the means of peace - a peace we decent Americans must implement to the full.

It will be our task to mobilize the real America we know exists - mobilize it by reaching deep down into the masses of the workers, white and black, exposing the false leaders of labor and supposed progressive thought - whether it be a Murray or a Green, whether it be a Reuther, or whether it be a Wallace who has deserted the American people at their time of greatest need and daily moves further into the camp of his hitherto war-mongering enemies who will use him and finally fling him aside in utter contempt.

Our duty is to hold fast and firm, to accept courageously our historic tasks of helping to preserve our own democracy and to work peacefully with the new democracies springing up all over this earth. We wither join in friendship or we will be left behind. For in every subject land, in every dependent area, hundreds of millions have set their eyes upon new stars that rise in the East. They have chosen as models for their conduct and aspirations the brave people and stalwart leaders of the Soviet Socialist Republics, of the new Peoples Democracies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania; of the new North Korean Republic seeking to unify a long-suffering people; of the Republic of the Chinese people. They say to our atom-toting politicians: - Send your guns and tanks and planes to our oppressors if you will; we will take them away from them and put them to our own use - we will be free in spite of you, if not with your help!

This challenge of the colonial world has deep meaning for the Negro peoples of the world. Africa, groaning already as it does under the strain of deepest poverty and human misery, Africa - source of thousands of tons of uranium annually for these United States, source of one-half of the world's gold and chrome, one-fifth of its manganese, eighty per cent of its cobalt, sixty per cent of its cocoa - offers untold wealth to the would-be new imperialists.

But the African peoples are moving rapidly to change their unbearable conditions. And 200 million Africans on that great continent are an important part of the colonial tidal wave that is washing upon the shores of history and breaking through the ramparts of imperialist rule everywhere. It was an important day in the history of laboring men and women of the world when these African workers - railroad men, miners, mechanics, share-croppers, craftsmen, factory workers - clasped hands with white, brown, yellow, and other black workers around the world and formed the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The masses of the American Negro people are sullen - they are not being fooled by attempts to measure their misery by the gifts to a few. They "laugh to keep from crying" when they hear would-be leaders chosen by their age-long oppressors explain that all is well with the Negro people, that they are doing just fine.

No, they look at the ghettoes. They look at southern plantations. They recall the daily insults. They look at their brothers and sisters on the West Indian sugar plantations. They look at a United Nations which harbors a South Africa headed by a Malan.

And they gather their strength. They wait for courageous, militant leadership. They await an honest program devoted to their liberation. They await the outstretched hands of their allies of all colors in a common struggle for full democracy in the land of their birth. They saw the beginning of such a struggle in the Civil War days of their supposed liberation and in the contemporary Mississippi of Willie McGee and the Virginia of the Martinsville Seven, at Peekskill, and in many struggles of labor for its rightful share of the wealth it alone creates. We must find - and we are finding - the organizational means to mobilize this tremendous power of the Negro people for peace, for an America of the people, for an America which will recognize that colonial peoples are going to have freedom, not new slavery, which will recognize that today as in China, so tomorrow great parts of Africa will demand and take their long-awaited freedom and maintain it thenceforth. No power will hold them back.

No American reaction can tell these colored peoples of the world not to be friends with the peoples of the Soviet Union. For they hear and get to know of the vast changes in this land. They see as do many others, people of their own kind building a life undreamed of, while they still live in poverty and subjection, - in some cases just across the border, whether it be Iran, Iraq, or Japan. For many of the peoples of the Soviet Union are colored. They were in bondage before 1917. Within one generation they have become people's Republics, full citizens and equal partners in this one-sixth of the earth. The other colored peoples want to know these Soviet people better. They want to learn and to receive the benefits of such a society, and they want to enjoy some abundance and a decent life - not destruction, serving as bases in an atomic war.

So we in America who are in the vanguard must not be frightened by anyone. What a travesty in the last election: Helen Gahagan Douglas, Tydings, Bowles defeated for being too Communistic. Really! But this should show the American people how gullible they have become. As for the basic issue, Americans must recognize that there are millions and millions of people who are Communists and hundreds of other millions in the world who proudly advance under Communist leadership. I have had the privilege of seeing the liberty-loving, peace-seeking partisans in Europe and in many parts of the world; and though many are not, it is also true that many are Communists. They represent a new way of life in the world, a new way that has won the allegiance of almost half the world's population. In the last war they were the first to die in nation after nation. They were the heart of the underground anti-fascist movements, and city after city in Europe displays monuments to their heroism. They need no apologies; they have been and are the solid core of the struggle for freedom.

Rather than be timid and afraid, if American progressives and Americans of the left would rally together with our allies, in the next immediate days, we could create an atmosphere where the brave Communist leaders of the American working class - men like Eugene Dennis, Henry Winston, Ben Davis, Gus Hall, Bob Thompson, Gil Green, Irving Potash, Carl Winter, Jack Stachel, Johnny Gates, Johnny Williamson - could get counsel. We could create an atmosphere where their gallant lawyers in the original trial would be freed of impending jail, - an atmosphere where all Americans could again breathe freely. For mark it well: if the eleven are not freed, the American working class, the Negro people, liberals of every persuasion will not escape. For these leaders are a part of the world's vanguard. History will record that in our generation they helped make the finest contribution to our continuing democratic heritage.

Let us unite here in these United States, we who are the true America - Quakers, Churchmen, workers, liberals, honest intellectuals, artists, the Jewish masses, the Negro masses, Catholic workers who remember the struggles in Ireland, who remember Kevin Barry; Italians who remember Garibaldi - all - all of us unite with our friends allover the world - with those meeting tonight in Warsaw - to beat back the attacks against the people's living standards, the attacks on their very lives. Let us help stop the drive toward fascism. Let us halt the chariot of war in its hacks!

This is history's challenge to us. We cannot - we must not fail.

Speech of PAUL ROBESON

(preliminary remarks complimenting the work of Alpha Phi Alpha etc.)

I want to talk to you today about the thing which preys most on my mind, something which is bigger than my personal life or yours, bigger than the work of any one organization however great, bigger even than any single country.

It may surprise some of you that I am going to talk this way. I know that it is often said by people who don't like what I stand for - and sometimes even a few of my friends - that I ought to stick to my work as an artist and leave politics alone. I wish I could afford that luxury, but conditions being what they are, I am afraid I can't. In fact, I don't think any of us can afford it.

Looking around, I see scientists worried about what uses their discoveries are to be put to, and taking action to prevent the exploitation of their research for destructive purposes. I see physicians becoming more and more concerned not merely with the cure of disease itself, but with the cure of the underlying social causes of disease, and so it goes in every other field. Should it be expected then that an artist, a singer, an actor should be indifferent to those things in our world which stifle and degrade culture?

Yet, in spite of all this we still find some people who say that we ought to leave medicine to the medical men, business to the businessmen and politics to the politicians, and those who refuse to adhere to this way of thinking run the risk of being called crackpots, radicals or reds. Well, I have been called so many things that I have long ago ceased to be worried by such name calling.

When I am asked what my political faith is, I say that I am an anti-fascist. I believe that the essence of today's social conflict, whether at home here in the United States or in the world at large, is democracy versus fascism. I believe that this is as true now as it was during the war. Why? Simply because we have not yet won the freedoms for which millions of people all over the world fought and died. Simply because, although the Hitlers and Mussolinis are gone, there still remain powerful people in

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America, Britain, France, South Africa, China and elsewhere, who are determined that those freedoms shall ~~not~~ be won by the masses of mankind.

The only freedoms that these powerful people believe in are freedom of enterprise, freedom to exploit other people, and freedom to amass immense profits and great fortunes on the basis of such exploitation. Such a philosophy of selfishness and oppression is, at bottom, identical with Hitlerism. It must lead finally, unless curbed and crushed, to another holocaust of war which few, if any of us, will be able to survive.

What are the possibilities of curbing and defeating this drive of the fascist forces here and abroad to retain power for themselves? What is the strength of the forces on the side of democracy? I had the opportunity to travel through Europe just after the end of the war and in the past few months I have talked with people and observed what they are doing in many parts of our own country and countries adjacent to the United States. From what I have seen and heard, I would say that the great majority of the people are far from satisfied and are more determined than their enemy, the vested interests of wealth, to win a better life for themselves.

I felt this very keenly at a great mass meeting in Madison Square Garden last June, organized by the Council on African Affairs, of which I am chairman. I was thrilled by the way in which thousands of Negro people at that meeting responded to the appeals made on behalf of their oppressed brothers in Africa. I felt the same sprit again when thousands of Negro and white citizens took part in the American Crusade to End Lynching, converging on our nation's capitol in a mighty demonstration of protest. I felt it again at the great convention held by the Southern Negro Youth Conference a short time ago in Columbia, South Carolina.

These are just a few samples of what is going on. You could multiply them many times, citing such things as the militant struggles being waged by our Negro veterans' organizations to obtain their due rights as citizens, and the sign of a new day in the South indicated by the courageous manner in which ordinary Negro people came forward at Jackson, Mississippi, faced Mr. Bilbo and accused him of depriving them of their right to vote.

Yes, my friends, if the reactionaries are on the march, so also are the forces of democracy. Let us look outside of America. There we find the same picture. Mr. Churchill and his right hand partner, General Smuts, assisted by the so-called labor government of England, desperately struggle to prevent the crumbling of the British Empire. The French and the Dutch, likewise cling to their colonies though making slight concessions but the colonial peoples will not be satisfied with anything short of full freedom. Their determination to achieve that goal is, in my opinion, one of the decisive and most important factors of the present day world. We cannot know completely of the desperate efforts and self-sacrifice of the colonial peoples in this struggle because the news we get in our big business newspapers is fragmentary and distorted. That is espectially true of the iron curtain shutting out news about the great mass strikes and militant struggles which have taken place in Africa since the end of the war.

Fortunately this iron curtain was at least partially shattered at the recent meeting of the United Nations when the regime of white supremacy in South Africa was, for the first time, fully exposed to the world. The Council on African Affairs takes pride in the part which it played in bring about the defeat of th attempt by General Smuts to annex South West Africa to the Union of South Africa, and the victory in bringing the South African government to account for its discrimination against Indians resident in that country. On the latter question our own American delegates together with the British delegation, came to the assistance of South Africa, seeking to sidetrack the issue by having it referred to the International Court of Justice. It is one of the most hopeful and promising signs of the vitality and potentiality of the United Nations organization, that a two-thirds majority of the member states voted against Britain, the United States and South Africa, and established the important precedent that the new world organization and and will do more than give mere lip service to the principle of racial equality.

It is no accident that the leading role in this victorious fight against General Smuts was led by the delegations representing India and the U.S.S.R. Here was a dramatic demonstration of a people just emerging from colonial bondage joing in with a people whose record during the short period since the Russian revolution establishing socialism, has been one providing full equality of opportunity and rights for all racial, religious and national minority peoples included in the great state which covers one sixth of the world's surface. And let us not forget also that playing a major role in the United Nations debate on South Africa on the right side of the question were also the new democratic states which have been born in Central Europe since the end of the war, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and also many of the semi-colonial countries in our own hemisphere as well as in the Middle East, which are today seeking full independence.

This pattern of the new alliance between the democratic states of Europe and the U.S.S.R. on the one hand, and colonial and semi-colonial peoples on the other hand, will become increasingly evident to all of us in the days ahead.

And where does our own country stand in relation to all this? If we look at our government's role in extending loans and credits and even guns to the powers which are trying to maintain their empires - if we look at the sorry part we are playing in maintaining the authority of an oligarchic despotism in Chica - we we look at the American policy of converting food relief to hungry peoples abroad into a political weapon against thos whose politics our State Department doesn't like - and if we look at the commanding part played by the War and Navy departments of our government in determing our foreign policy on questions like the virtual annexation of former Japanese islands, there can be - in the light of all these things - little question but that America, since the death of Roosevelt, has turned about-face in its foreign policy. Instead of working to achieve a world of full cooperation which would make for peace and security, our government today appears headed toward a world dominated by American business interests. Even Britain and Canada are getting a little worried about the made-in-America world pattern and are seeking to disentangle themselves from America's headlong policy.

It is we, the ordinary people of America, who have the task of changing that policy. When the new Congress starts its work in the next few days, we are determined that it shall pass anti-lynching legislation and end poll tax tyranny in the South. We are determined that we shall get a permanent F.E.P.C. and the rights of all labor will be protected and preserved. These are extremely important tasks. But let us, at the same time, demand that our Congress reshape America's foreign policy to conform with the principles of democracy which are in the tradition of our country, even though too often omitted in practice. If the Democratic party and Republican party cannot do this job, cannot give us what the people demand, then it will be necessary for the people to form a new party of their own, based on the broad ranks of labor, of the Negro people and of all sections of our population who truly want a democratic America and a peaceful world.

The hour is late and events are moving at a tremendous pace. It is suicidal for us to continue in the old ways of thinking and action. In the present ideological war between democracy and fascism, our only hope lies in the speedy and effective welding of a united front both nationally and internationally, of all the peoples on the side of democracy. I call upon you and all the people whom you individually represent, to ake your place in that united front.

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the Council on African Affairs is dedicated.

Yes, you will be called subversive agents of Moscow as Mr. Henry Wallace was if you take a fearless stand on the right side. But if the only alternative to being a supporter of the Luce-Truman doctrine of world domination is to be labelled a "red", then I for one welcome that label and I will consider myself in pretty good company along with the peoples all over the world who are trying to create something new and worthwhile in human society.

Let us not be afraid of redbaiting. I refer particularly to organized labor when I say that, for there have been dangerous signs of compromise and capitulation. Labor cannot defend itself by trying to disown allies who are not regarded as completely respectable. It can defend itself only by forming ~~a~~ the strongest alliance with all those who fight for labor's rights. Let us not be on the defensive. This is the time to take the offensive.

Let us not isolate ourselves by fighting ~~alone~~ alone only for those things which ~~we regard important for every group~~ each group regards as important to itself. I appeal to labor, to professionals, ~~workers~~, to Negroes, [illegible] Jews, ~~to~~ and people of every race and faith and nationality, to close ranks and join together in the fight for the one big thing without which nothing else can be won. We stood together and won the war against the fascist axis. That was the first front. ~~We~~ Now we have ~~not yet~~ to open the Second Front - the fight against the fascists, at home. The place is here - the time is now. The stakes are life or death Let us march together ~~to victory.~~ with the will to live!

All of the experiences of my life from my days of struggling to acquire an education, down through my work in the theatre and on the concert stage, have led me to know one definite thing. Art, human fellowship, security and peace for the common man - none of these things can exist where there is racial discrimination and exploitation of man's labor. Knowing and believing this, I have been compelled to devote more and more of my time to the fight against the reactionary forces, the racial bigots and imperialists who make it impossible for art, culture or anything else that is good, to flourish. That is why I am here talking to you this evening.

It takes no political expert to observe what is happening today in our Congress. The evil combination of the Taft school of Republicans and the Rankin school of Democrats ~~have~~ has succeeded in crippling one measure after another of that program for the general social welfare which was drafted by President Roosevelt. The sabotage of the O.P.A., opening the doors to national inflation and another 1929 depression, is only the latest of such victories for the reactionaries in Congress. The filibustering defeat of the F.E.P.C. and the refusal to take action against the Poll Tax evil are just two of the many crimes of our Congress which have particularly embittered my own people.

While knifing all such progressive and democratic legislation, the Taft-Rankin coalition has carried forward an insidious and dangerous campaign against such organizations and individuals in the country who espouse these democratic measures. To aid the anti-fascist people of Spain, to protect the civil liberties of all groups in this country, in the eyes of these reactionary forces, is un-American. And the leaders of such groups fighting these battles for the people find themselves hailed into court. This is a travesty of American democracy.

The tide of reaction in Congress is reflected in the rising tide of prejudice and brutality against minority groups in this country. The Ku Klux Klan is being revived. A whole community of Negroes is terrorized in a Tennessee town and Negro war veterans are wantonly shot down in a town just a few miles outside of New York City.

Turning to the international scene, it appears to me that the same sharpening of the conflict between progressive and reactionary interests and principles is evident. There is the same effort on the part of those who shape the foreign policies of several of the Western capitalist powers to make time stand still or indeed to turn back the clock and keep the millions of people in the far-flung colonial empires and vassal states, in their former condition of servitude.

There is much talk in the papers we read about the difficulty of getting along with the Soviet Union, about the necessity of taking a "firm stand" against the Soviet Union's so-called expansion. It is even labelled imperialist expansion. Mr. Byrnes of South Carolina, departing for the meeting of foreign ministers abroad, expressed pessimism on the outcome of the meeting and, using a line from a well known Negro spiritual, said that he was "standing in the need of prayer." My own view is that he and our administration stand in need of ridding themselves of the "get tough with Russia policy" outlined by Winston Churchill, which has characterised the proceedings in the Security Council to date.

I do not think anyone needs to define the Tory position, the old-fashioned imperialist system which Winston Churchil represents. The majority of the British people rejected such leadership in their election last year, and it seems strange to me that the American people should now be asked to follow such leadership.

In contrast with Churchill at the extreme right wing of conservatism, stands Stalin, the head of the Soviet state. I believe that we can understand better what is at the bottom of the anti-Soviet campaign of the Churchills and our own American Soviet baiters, if we look for a moment at what the Soviet Union stands for. It stands for and has carried out in practice these things: First, the abolition of that kind of land-lordism which preserved vast estates for the few while leaving the millions landless and dependent, providing instead for the utilization of the land and all other resources for the maximum benefit of the whole nation. Second, the abolition of the system of labor exploitation which amasses great wealth for the few at the expense of the toilers on the land and in the factories. And third, the abolition of all forms of racial, national and sex discrimination, which had been one of the mainstays of labor exploitation.

It is this policy and practice of the Soviet Union which the Churchills and Rankins fear. The issue today is whether these new economic and social policies ~~shall~~ have scope for development in the world, or shall even be permitted to continue within the confines of the Soviet Union. For so long as the Soviet Union stands as a symbol of what so many millions of the world's peoples need and demand, so long will the imperialists and exploiters of mankind be afraid of the Soviet Union and continue to rail against it. The "get tough with Russia" policy means, in essence, to make the world safe for the privileged classes and nations to continue their rule over subject millions.

Is our State Department concerned with protecting the rights of Iran and the welfare of the Iranian people, or is it concerned with protecting Anglo-American oil interests in that country and in the Middle East in general? Why does our State Department get into such a dither over the presence of Soviet troops in a country directly on the borders of the Soviet Union, while it keeps silent on the continued presence of British and American troops in country after country all around the world, far removed from either Great Britain or the United States? Our State Department finds nothing wrong with the so-called granted of independence to Trans-Jordania providing for the continued occupation of British troops, nor has ~~it supported~~ it heeded the demand of the Egyptian people for the withdrawal of British troops ~~in~~ from that country. All this, it seems to me, adds up to a confirmation of the Churchill policy for an Anglo-American bloc to maintain the imperialist status quo.

I want to say to you, with all the earnestness I can command, that the continuation of this policy can lead only to international chaos and war. The Anglo-American bloc may be upheld by 9 to 2 or 8 to 3 votes in the Security Council, but let us not be under the illusion that such diplomatic victories for the British Foreign Office and our own State Department affect anything in the real flesh and blood world in which we live. The peoples of Asia, of Africa and Latin America, the long suffering peasants of the European countries, and the second-class citizens in our own country will not desist from their mounting struggle to win the good things in life, even though the majority of the members of the Security Council are led to support decisions which are contrary to the progress and peace of the world.

I want to say a special word about one great bloc of people who have no representation whatsoever in the Security Council or indeed in the United Nations as a whole. I mean the 150 million colonial subjects of Africa ruled over by five European powers, the Union of South Africa and at least partially, by the United States. As was declared in a resolution adopted at the recent Win The Peace Conference in Washington, D.C., attended by several hundred delegates from all parts of the country and all walks of life, "It is imperative to break the

the conspiracy of international silence surrounding the question of freedom for the 150 million colonial subjects of Africa." The iron curtain of which Mr. Churchill speaks, applies most aptly to the high wall of ignorance separating us from the people of Africa. # True, there has been a little talk about the transfer of mandate territories in Africa from the League of Nations to the United Nations, which amounts to little more than taking one's money out of one pocket and putting it into another pocket. There has also been talk about the future of the Italian colonies, but I venture to say that the only reason this latter subject has attained any headline prominence is that the Soviet Union has politely indicated that she does not intend to leave the trusteeship jurisdiction of these colonies solely in the hands of other powers, but desires to demonstrate in Tripolitania the Soviet Union's understanding of the true meaning of trusteeship.

If I had more time, I would like to tell you in detail of the conditions under which the African labors and struggles to live, and of his present and increasingly articulate demand for participation in the affairs of the world on a plane of equality with other peoples. I would like to tell you also of the work of the Council on African Affairs in its support of this demand of the African people.

But I shall limit my remarks to one of the most pressing and important of the current issues facing the people of Africa now - the issue raised by the fascist regime in the Union of South Africa and its influence and claims upon other sections of the continent.

One of the members of General Smuts' own cabinet, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Hoffmeyr, in a recent address at the Witwatersrand University in South Africa, spoke of the fact that there had been no change in what he described as the "Herrenvolk mentality" of the white rulers of that country. That Herrenvolk mentality expresses itself in the most absolute suppression of the human rights of African and other non-white peoples in South Africa, and absolute suppression comparable only to the Nazi and fascist regimes. Yet with such a record, this state ~~lays~~ has the audacity claim ~~to~~ to the right to incorporate the mandate territory of Southwest Africa as a part of the Union of South Africa - to extend, in other words, its direct imperialist control over still more Africans without the necessity of accounting any longer to any international authority for what it does with these people.

This claim must be denied by the United Nations. The American people must insist that their delegation in the United Nations rejects this further step towards cementing an Anglo-American coalition for the preservation of world imperialism. When the South African delegate brings its demand before the peace conference or before the United Nations, let this be the opportunity for exposing to the world the inhuman, iniquitous and fascist regime which goes by the name of civilized government in South Africa. Let it be an opportunity for exposing the way in which millions of black people in that country are left to die a slow death of starvation while the government charges a duty of 25% on food whichis sent to their aid by liberal-minded Americans. Let it be an opportunity for lifting the iron curtain on the entire issue of freedom for all the African people regardless of the flag under which they live.

To bring these things about, to accomplish self-determination for all peoples as was promised in the Atlantic Charter, it is necessary for liberal-minded people of all religions and races and nationalities to mobilize for an offensive against those reactionary elements ~~holding~~ who now unfortunately are on the offensive. It is necessary to revive the spirit of unity nationally and internationally which carried us to victory over fascism. It is necessary to reassert and reassert ~~pointedly~~ boldly the democratic objectives for which the war against fascim was fought. We still have

a long

a chance to redeem the sacrifice for victory made by millions of our people and other people. But it demands courage, ~~and~~ It demands action, ~~and~~ It demands clarity of vision and a firm faith in the democratic way of life.

* * * * *

I am glad to be here tonight to add my testimony to that of the other witnesses from China, India, Africa and Greece whom you have heard.

I might as well begin with that part of my testimony which is personal and which arises out of the experiences I have had in combatting the forces of reaction just the last few days—not in those distant countries but right here in America. I want to tell you first about what happened in Peoria, Illinois, just a week ago tonight.

Peoria is a clear example of fascism at work in America. Peoria is a clear case of the Communist ~~boogie~~ bogey being used to break the back of the whole liberal movement in our country.

Because I was listed along with a thousand other liberal people by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as one who was "invariably found supporting the Communist Party and its front organizations", the Peoria City Council, under pressure from the reactionary forces who had been waging a long war against railroad strikers there, went on record barring me from making any public appearance in that city.

To enforce their edict, the whole city was subjected to terroristic control. The whole CIO was immobilized. The Negro community was ~~controlled.~~ intimidated. Progressive people in general were fearful of lifting a finger to enable me to appear before an audience anywhere in the city.

The City Hall was illuminated with floodlights that night and armed police were thick around the place. The atmosphere was tense as though in anticipation of a lynching. I escaped from Peoria only because my departure was a carefully guarded secret.

All this, it should be remembered, resulted from the witch-hunting activities of the Un-American Committee. If Peoria officials could bar me on the basis of what the Rankin Committee said about me, they could also bar Henry Wallace, Orson Welles, Senator Pepper, General Evans Carlson, former Ambassador Davies and hundreds of others who, by virtue of supporting one organization or another, have been declared Un-American by the Un-American Committee. If this can happen in Peoria, it may also happen ~~and~~ in Albany and in other cities, and not simply to Paul Robeson.

but to any American who believes in democracy and says so fearlessly. This is the heart of the issue. Whether I am or ~~I~~ am not a Communist or Communist sympathizer is ~~not the question~~ irrelevant. The question is whether American citizens, regardless of their political beliefs or sympathies, may enjoy their constitutional rights.

If the government is sincerely concerned about saving America from subversive forces, let our officials from ~~Truman~~ the President on down, stop worrying about the Communists whom they suspect of subversive activities and start doing something about the fascists who are openly parading their disdain of civil rights and democratic procedures here in America today.

¶ It is The responsibility of everyone who believes in democracy to speak out against the persecution of those who are truly the patriots of America. The Un-American Committee and the powerful forces of reaction standing behind that group ~~are~~ and behind the Congressional drive against labor and the Communists must be exposed. As long as those forces continue their ~~tyranny~~ dirty work, no one of us is safe.

I think it must be clear to all of us why at this particular time we have this wave of reaction stronger than in any other period of our history threatening the liberties of the American people. The suppression of labor and liberals is the first and essential step of any government bent upon a career of fascism and imperialism. This we know from what we saw only so recently in Spain and ~~in~~ Germany, in Italy, ~~and~~ Japan and other countries.

Omit

¶ I want to say that the ~~testimony~~ future of the nations whose struggles have been portrayed here tonight will be decided in very great measure by what happens here in American in this immediate period.

¶ The liberation of colonial peoples ~~of~~ in Africa and Asia and the achievement of democratic nationhood by the long oppressed peoples ~~of Europe and South America,~~ in both hemispheres of the world cannot be accomplished if we, the people of America, permit the schemes of the American Century crowd, the Henry Luces, to be carried through.

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As long as exonomic and military control are established, the loot is in the bag.

Our answer to all these schemes must be as Henry Wallace so ably put it: "Millions to feed the hungry! Not one cent to arm tyranny!" "No imperialist adventures! Support the United Nations!"

The United Nations is the arena in which the world struggle against reaction must be fought out. The United Nations is the testing ground for the achievement of world unity and progress. If the United Nations is preserved and strengthened, it will be impossible to divide the world into two opposing segments.

But if that world organization is by-passed, corrupted, destroyed, by any onr ~~es~~ state or grupp of states assuming the right to dictate to the rest of the world, then there can be no outcome save bitter defeat of everything which mankind has aspired toward.

It is not because we consider the United Nations today perfect that we should support it, but because we want to make it stronger, better able to do the job it was designed to do - of preserving peace and promoting the welfare of all peoples throughout the world.

To say that there is no hope in the United
to say that we are ready to die tomorrow.

I say that we should not give up the
the U.N. a functioning people's organizati
reason for believing that something can be
the creditable showing made at Lake Succes
and defeating the South African government
despite all the efforts of the United Stat
representatives to save Smuts from embarra

The significance of that victory sho
underestimated. The issues at stake were
questions of racial discrimination and col
tion. And on those issues the majority of
of the United Nations voted right!

The questions, however, are not yet
settled. The South African government has
to date to correct the grievances set fort
Indian government. And Smuts has ignored
of the United Nations to place South West
trusteeship and has, on the contrary, proce
virtual incorporation of the territory as
part of the Union, giving parliamentary re

That is the program to which the Council on African Affairs is dedicated.

Yes, you will be called subversive agents of Moscow as Mr. Henry Wallace was if you take a fearless stand on the right side. But if the only alternative to being a support of the Luce-Truman doctrine of world domination is to be labelled a "red", then I for one welcome that ~~labl~~ label and I will consider myself in pretty good company along with the peoples all over the world who are trying to create something new and worthwhile in human society.

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MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS PETITIONS, RESOLUTIONS 1949-55 10/4

Conference in Support of African Liberation
at Friendship Baptist Church, New York City
April 24, 1954

PROPOSALS FOR KENYA AID PROGRAM

The Working Conference in support of African Liberation adopts the following program in support of the efforts of the peoples of Kenya, East Africa, to secure full political, economic and human rights in their native land:

1. An Organizing Committee shall be formed from this Conference, consisting of at least one person from each organization and city here represented;

2. Members of the Organizing Committee residing in the metropolitan New York area shall constitute the Resident Committee;

3. The Resident Committee shall hold its first meeting not later than two weeks from the date of this Conference, and shall meet at regular intervals thereafter as the Committee deems necessary;

4. The Organizing Committee and Resident Committee are empowered to organize and conduct a campaign of direct assistance to the heroic peoples of Kenya, East Africa. As parts of that campaign this Conference recommends:

   A. That a nationwide Kenya Aid Committee be established, consisting of outstanding leaders and representatives of many walks of life;

   B. That a goal be set to raise the sum of $5,000 in the three-month period, June-August, 1954, to be sent to aid the freedom struggles of the peoples of Kenya;

   C. That quantities of dried milk, vitamin pills and first aid supplies be gathered and sent to help combat disease from malnutrition among the people of Kenya;

   D. That the Kenya Committee in London, England, be contacted to serve as distributing agency for the funds and materials raised in our campaign. The Kenya Committee is headed by several prominent Kenya Africans, including Peter Mbiyu Koinange, London representative of the Kenya African Union and the Columbia University-trained founder of Kenya Teachers' College, and son of an African chief who is now held imprisoned in Kenya.

5. Local Aid Committees should be established in each borough of New York City, in the metropolitan area, and in other parts of the country where it is feasible to do so;

6. In New York City and vicinity a series of monthly forums should be organized as a means of arousing public sentiment in support of the peoples of Kenya and the aid campaign;

7. The Kenya Aid Committee shall have the power to select officers and establish sub-committees as may be necessary to carry out the foregoing and other relevant objectives.

Resolution Adopted at
Conference in Support of African Liberation
at Friendship Baptist Church, New York City
April 24, 1954

DECLARATION IN SUPPORT OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

We fully support the aspirations of the peoples in all sections of the continent of Africa for the rights, dignity and full freedom to which all men and women are entitled. Efforts to block the speedy fulfillment of the just goals for which Africans strive, we are convinced, will inevitably lead in Africa as in Asia to tragic and bloody conflict threatening to engulf the whole world.

We therefore join in appealing to the United Nations, to those who directly rule Africa, and to our own Government to support and promote the following policies in the interest of African liberation and for the furtherance of the principles of democratic rights, social and cultural advancement, and fraternal fellowship and peace for all mankind.

We solemnly and respectfully urge endorsement, proclamation and implementation of these measures:

1. Uphold the right of Africans to assemble freely and to voice their grievances and aspirations. Insure respect for their right to live and go where they will in their own land. Abolish the practice of gross racial discrimination, in violation of the United Nations Covenant of Human Rights, in all African territories, and most particularly in Kenya, the Union of South Africa, and other territories where rule by tyrannical decree and armed might prevails.

2. Guarantee that economic planning and development in Africa shall in fact be for the welfare and progress of the African masses. Let African labor and African resources serve African needs instead of being exploited and expropriated for the benefit and profit of foreign interests. Give Africans back the land that belongs to them and control of their own economic destiny.

3. Let there be established and declared a specific time-limit for the achievement of full self-government in every colonial territory in Africa. Stop the extension and consolidation of European rule exemplified by the demand of the Union of South Africa for the annexation of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, as well as South West Africa; by the virtual annexation of territories under U.N. trusteeship by the trustee powers; and by the establishment of the white-minority-controlled Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

4. Let there be instituted immediately throughout Africa full suffrage rights and genuine representative government, unrestricted by racial, property or other qualifications. Stop the jailing and exiling of leaders in Kenya, Uganda, Morocco and other territories who voice the national aspirations of their people.

5. Condemn and forbid the establishment of military bases and the presence of military forces of any foreign power in any section of Africa, and brand such action as an infringement on the sovereign rights of peoples and as a provocation to war.

6. Bar the granting of technical, financial, or military assistance in any form to any government which, as in the case of Kenya, Morocco, Tunisia, or South Africa, is engaged in suppressing the just demands of Africans and other subject peoples for democratic rights and national self-determination.

We declare that Africa must be free!

(The Conference, in approving the above resolution, urged that steps be taken to secure for it the widest possible endorsement of organizations and individuals in the United States, Africa, and other lands prior to submission of the resolution to the United Nations. Endorsements should be forwarded to Dr. W. A. Hunton, Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y.)

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRICANS' STRUGGLE IN KENYA

Unanimously approved by the Conference in Support of African Liberation,
Friendship Baptist Church, New York City, April 24, 1954
And sent to the United Nations, U.S. State Department, and British Colonial Officials

Whereas, according to the British Colonial Secretary's own figures, British forces, up to March 1, 1954, had killed in action what were called "suspected Mau Mau terrorists" to the number of 3,649 in Kenya, not counting an untold number of others killed in non-combat action; and

Whereas, from October, 1952, up to Jan. 30, 1954, according to official figures, British authorities in Kenya had arrested 165,462 Africans, a large proportion of whom are still detained in concentration camps; and

Whereas, in addition, the most savage brutalities and tortures have been inflicted upon African suspects; outrageous sentences of death have been imposed upon Africans in Kenya for the mere possession of a weapon or for associating with a person who had a weapon; and whole communities of thousands of Africans have been subjected to collective fines and been dispossessed of their land, cattle and other possessions; and

Whereas, the authorities have jailed virtually every popular African leader in Kenya, have outlawed the representative political organization of the people, the Kenya African Union, and have annulled the limited trade union and civil rights previously won by the people;

Therefore, be it resolved that this Conference in support of African liberation voices its strongest protest against the crimes committed by the British in Kenya, and declares that peace and order can only be restored in that territory when the Government has met the demands of the Kenya African Union for the restoration of civil liberties, the abolition of racial discrimination and the granting of democratic suffrage and just governmental representation to the African people, the provision of trade union rights and a subsistence minimum wage for African workers, and the immediate release of all Africans against whom no specific criminal charges exist.

We most strongly urge the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders, the withdrawal of British troops, and the disbandment of all volunteer police and auxiliary military forces in Kenya.

We affirm that since the British Government continues to use force of arms against the Kenya Africans instead of redressing their grievances, it is the responsibility of the United Nations to take action to protect the people of Kenya against acts of genocide.

MESSAGE SENT TO LEADERS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference in Support of African Liberation, with delegates and observers present from New York and neighboring eastern seaboard states, warmly greets the officers and members of the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, and salutes them for the courageous and heroic struggle which they have waged in the face of fascist-like repression by the Malan Government.

We applaud the decision of the African National Congress to invite the cooperation of the South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Democrats and other organizations of the people in convening a great Congress of the People to frame a charter of freedom for all who live in South Africa.

We earnestly hope that the Congress will be successful in uniting all sections of the people of your country in voicing the true interests and needs of the oppressed and persecuted millions in South Africa.

We in the United States, who like you fight against the vicious code of white supremacy, recognize our common enemy as the arrogant and selfish interests who now threaten to plunge the whole world into war rather than yield freedom to people whom they have been accustomed to regard and exploit as inferior human beings.

We pledge continued support of your valiant struggle to save South Africa from fascism and make it a place where all people, regardless of color, may live in decency and dignity.

STATEMENT BY PAUL ROBESON
TO THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA

To my brothers and sisters, to the peoples of that great land from which my ancestors came, to the peoples of Africa - I send my heartfelt greetings.

Only my words, my voice can come to you. I cannot. I cannot accept your many kind invitations to come to Africa as I long to do. Nor can I go to Asia or Europe or even across our border to Canada. I am, so to speak, exiled in the United States by my government.

It is important for you to know why this is so. The government attorneys have been brutally frank in explaining. My passport is denied, they declared, "in view of appellant's (that is, my own) frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically - in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa...The diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler traveling under protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable."

And so because many of us here in the United States - fighters like our beloved Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who also is addressing you, because we champion the freedom of our people in Africa and in the United States, because we will not compromise one millionth of an inch on this issue, we are regarded as "political meddlers" in the eyes of those in power in America - in the eyes of that powerful section of America whose program of world domination and war is meeting with the determined resistance of hundreds of millions of peoples throughout the world.

That profit-greedy section of America - the big trusts and banks which look to Africa to replace what they have lost in Asia, stands today behind the regimes of Britain, France, South Africa, Belgium, and the other alien oppressors of the African people, back up these oppressors, spurring them on to greater and greater exploitation of Africa and its people, and supplying them with guns with which to crush African resistance. In Asia this section of America not only does these things, but itself leads the horrible and barbaric slaughter of the Korean people as well as attacks against the people of Malaya and Indonesia. They only wait greedily for the opportunity to let loose their vicious attacks upon great sections of the African people.

But there is another section of America, embracing all those who labor and are oppressed - the 15,000,000 black Americans and many millions of white allies. Despite the most tyrannical suppression of democratic rights in our country's history, and though standing in the shadow of American concentration camps, this section of America, the true America, continues in battle against the doctrine and practice of white supremacy, against imperialist domination, and against the government's war program.

I speak to you not simply as an individual, but as one of that democratic, progressive section of America which is the ally of the African and all other peoples' strivings for democratic rights and national self-determination.

As in America, so in Britain, France, Italy and other imperialist countries, there are progressive forces on the side of the people of Africa even though there voices sometimes may not be audible. But it is especially important to remember your other allies, strong allies, in areas of the world where peoples have only recently won their freedom and created new peoples democracies. I mean, the peoples of China, of India, of other sections of the Far and Middle East, and the peoples of parts of Central and Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union. They are all allies of African freedom, partners of yours in the common struggle for a democratic world of security and peace.

Among all these peoples with such varied beliefs and ways of life there is today one common aim - to save their national freedom, to save their personal liberties, to save their very lives and the lives of their children, by joining together to save world peace.

This is the theme and purpose of the great Congress of the Peoples for Peace which will assemble in Vienna on December 15th. It is my earnest hope that my fellow Africans as well as my fellow Americans will be well represented at that Congress for Peace.

We need only to look at the wars now in progress, in Korea, in Malaya, in Viet Nam, or at the near-wars threatening in Northeast and South Africa, to realize that the darker peoples of the world have a primary stake in halting military aggression. Through unity of all peoples of all colors in their action for peace lies the true path to the achievement of self-determination by colonial and subject peoples.

The great leader of French Africa below the Sahara, Gabriel D'Arboussier, has pointed out clearly the unity of the struggle for self-determination and the fight for peace. He states:

> "Numerous facts in our own countries of Black Africa prove that war preparations are already militating against the people's greatest aspiration--the right to self-determination. We see how liberty is being stifled and our rights suppressed. In the economic sphere, we see the seizure of our raw materials, which tends to enhance the poverty of our working population. Lastly, our countries are being made to supply troops, notably for the war in Viet-Nam. Hence we can see a direct connection between the situation at home and the French government's policy of preparing war.
>
> "And so each time a colonial or dependent people protests against the plunder of its raw material resources, and demands that its country be industrialized, it is fighting for peace. Each nation that protests against the recruiting of troops or demands the return of such troops to their native land, it is fighting for peace...."

The hour is critical. The forces of reaction are desperate. They will, if they can, force the people of the world to endure a blood bath which few of us may be able to survive. The peoples of the world, the people of Africa, too, must answer "No"! They will do so at the coming Congress of the Peoples for Peace. I say to you, stand up now while there is time and join with your allies in this expression for peace.

In the eloquent but simple words of the Appeal which has been issued for the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace I affirm:

> "Your will for Peace must be expressed.
>
> The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of the aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organizations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.
>
> The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.
>
> Peace can be saved!
>
> Peace must be saved!

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York

Dear Friend:

The following statement is brought to your attention with the hope that you will write to the officials named, indicating your endorsement of the letter or sending communications of your own.

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN
(Copies also sent to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Attorney-General J. Howard McGrath)

October 12, 1949

President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

A criminal assault was made against the American people and their rights at Peekskill, New York, on the night of August 27, 1949.

The criminal attack was repeated a week later on Sunday, September 4, in the same locality.

We declare that the record of what happened on those two occasions, as contained in on-the-scene press and radio reports, press photographs, and the testimony of assault victims and other eye-witnesses, proves conclusively that Governor Thomas E. Dewey and the responsible officials under his supervision are, at the minimum, guilty of gross negligence in the protection of the rights, property, and lives of American citizens.

We declare, further, that Governor Dewey has clearly demonstrated his unfitness to hold public office by the character of his statement of September 14 in which he made the astounding charge that the responsibility for the violence and lawlessness rested with the victims of the violence. Mr. Dewey sought credence for this transparently false and monstrous charge by the hackneyed reactionary expedient of characterizing the Peekskill "incident" as a Communist manoeuver.

It is apparent from the terms of reference which he laid down for it that Governor Dewey would like to make the pending grand jury investigation of the Peekskill riots another anti-Communist witch-hunt. As such it will in reality be another attack upon the rights of all Americans.

It is now evident to all that the present administration of the State of New York can not be relied upon to protect the basic constitutional rights of its citizens, and that appeal must now be made to the federal authorities. That is why we write to you, Mr. President, and declare that it is imperative that you instruct the Attorney-General and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice to launch an immediate investigation and prosecution of those who conspired, connived, and assisted in the Peekskill attacks on August 27 and September 4, in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Statutes: Title 18 - Sec. 51, 52 U.S. Criminal Code; Title 8 - Sec. 47 - Sub. 3, and Sec. 48, U.S. Code Annotated.

We wish to emphasize, Mr. President, that Peekskill is by no means an isolated instance of the violation of the constitutional rights of American citizens.

punishment meted out to the guilty officers.

Peekskill demonstrated what this mounting anti-Negro violence and contempt for human rights may develop into unless speedily checked. Peekskill was a reminder of Hitlerite Germany where fascism got its start with organized mob assaults, with official sanction, against the Jewish people, in the name of German "patriotism" and "anti-Communism".

The warning is clear, Mr. President. The Peekskill outrages are the product of that perverted Americanism which brands as un-American those who speak out for peace, who stand up for their constitutional rights and those of their fellow-men, or who are concerned with freedom for colonial peoples rather than with the raw materials that can be stolen from their lands.

We are convinced that the time has come to put an end to this cold war against the American people; the time has come to utilize the agencies of our government in actual fact toward promoting democracy at home and peace abroad. The eyes of the world are upon you, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours,

Officers of the Council on African Affairs,

Paul Robeson, Chairman
W. E. B. Du Bois, Vice Chairman
W. A. Hunton, Secretary
Estelle M. Osborne, Treasurer
Louise T. Patterson, Director of Organization

And also signed by the following:

C. B. Baldwin, New York
Charlotta A. Bass, Los Angeles
Dr. Walter N. Beekman, Brooklyn
Charles Chaplin, Beverly Hills, Cal.
Dr. Phillips Brooks, Brooklyn
Rev. G. Chilton Christian, Brooklyn
Archbishop Edwin H. Collins, New York
Felix A. Cummings, New York
Thelma M. Dale, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., New York
Dr. Clifford Davis, New York
Frank Marshall Davis, Hawaii
Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago
Dean Dixon, New York
Dr. Arnold Donawa, New York
Ernest Ellis, Detroit
Rev. Charles C. S. England, Brooklyn
Edward E. Fisher, Washington, D. C.
Aloncita J. Flood, New York
Kumar Goshal, Brooklyn
Shirley Graham, Long Island, N.Y.
E.Y. Harburg, New York
Oliver Harrington, New York
William Harrison, Boston, Mass.
Rev. Edler Hawkins, Bronx, N.Y.
Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit
Rev. James L. Horace, Chicago
Charles P. Howard, Des Moines, Iowa
Ada B. Jackson, Brooklyn
Thomas R. Jones, Brooklyn
Rockwell Kent, New York

John Howard Lawson, San Fernando, Cal.
Pearl Laws, New York
Dr. Catherine D. Lealtad, New York
Ray Lev, New York
Foster McCurdy, Cleveland, Ohio
George Marshall, New York
Larkin Marshall, Macon, Georgia
Mary Jane Melish, Brooklyn
Mrs. John F. Moors, Brookline, Mass.
Halois Walker Moorhead, New York
Willard Motley, Chicago
Capt. Hugh Mulzac, New York
Bishop D. Ward Nichols, New York
Aubrey Pankey, New York
William L. Patterson, New York
Dr. C.A. Petioni, New York
Irving Potash, New York
Lee Pressman, New York
Willard B. Ransom, Indianapolis, Ind.
Rev. Sandy F. Ray, Brooklyn
Rev. Benjamin C. Robeson, New York
Rev. James H. Robinson, New York
Therese L. Robinson, Washington, D. C.
Dora Shaw, New York
Mary Church Terrell, Washington, D. C.
Rev. Bishop Toliver, Chicago
Alcott L. Tyler, New York
Dr. Gene Weltfish, New York
Amos J. White, Jacksonville, Fla.
Lindsay H. White, New York
Doxey A. Wilkerson, Brooklyn

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

A PETITION

to the President of the United States
and the United States Delegation to the United Nations

As human beings we share the world-wide concern for finding the way to peace. As Americans we share the common concern of our fellow citizens as to our country's foreign policy and where it is leading us. As Negroes we have deep bonds of sympathy, growing out of a common experience of suffering and struggle, with the two-thirds of the world that is called colored and which has been or still remains under the domination of the United States, Great Britain, France and other countries in what is called the Western World.

We address this petition to you, Mr. President, and to this government's Delegation to the United Nations, because we believe that the policy our government is pursuing with respect to these hundreds of millions of subject peoples in Africa, Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean -- a policy reflected in the status of this country's own Negro citizens -- will decisively determine the issue of world war or world peace.

This petition is motivated by what in our view is the indefensible position on several important questions taken by the United States Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris, and also by certain recent Presidential pronouncements.

First, we deplore the fact that the United States Delegation has again, as in previous sessions of the U.N. General Assembly, refused to support the forthright condemnation of the vicious system of racial discrimination practiced by the government of the Union of South Africa. While the majority of the U.N. members assailed South Africa's "apartheid" policy, exemplified in the Group Areas Act, and urged suspension of that law pending settlement of the South African-Indian dispute, the United States Delegation abstained.

Again, the United States, having previously joined with Great Britain and South Africa in trying to prevent Rev. Michael Scott, delegated spokesman for the Africans of Southwest Africa, from speaking before the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N. General Assembly, abstained from the majority-supported resolution expressing "admiration and gratitude" to Rev. Scott and regret that the tribal chiefs of Southwest Africa had been prevented by the South African government from appearing at the Paris U.N. meeting. It is especially noteworthy that all but two of the nine abstaining votes on this resolution came from colony-holding powers of the Western World.

Does the United States Delegation's stand on these matters perhaps arise from fear of U.N. exposure and criticism of discriminatory practices in the United States? Or is it because of the close financial ties between this country and South Africa? Dr. Malan's government, a fascist government, has lately been the beneficiar of substantial United States loans from New York banks and through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. And were it not for the gold which the

United States takes from South Africa — not to mention manganese, uranium ore, copper and other minerals and raw materials — and were it not for the large investments of American corporations in that country, it is generally agreed that South Africa's slave-labor economy would quickly collapse.

Secondly, we deplore the major role played by the United States Delegation to the Paris U.N. General Assembly meeting in forcing through the decision of that body not to take up consideration of the Moroccan charges brought against France. According to the N.Y. Times (Dec. 4, 1951), Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Pakistani Prime Minister, told the U.N. delegates that the United States representative would have to bear responsibility for the further shedding of Moroccan blood.

The Western powers, he observed, always supported the general principle of freedom for colonial peoples but almost invariably voted against specific implementation of the principle; whereas the Eastern European countries had won the gratitude of the Asian countries by always supporting such implementation.

Did not this American support of the French on the Moroccan question result from the fact that it was with the French government, and without consultation with or the consent of the Moroccan people, that the United States government negotiated for the construction of a network of U.S. air bases in Morocco estimated to cost a half billion dollars? The London Economist (March 10, 1951) traced the outbreak of violence in Morocco and other Moslem areas to General Juin's efforts to liquidate the central national independence party of Morocco (Istiqlal) and purge the country of dissident elements "before American soldiers arrived to begin construction work on new air bases."

As in Morocco so in other areas United States political policy has been dictated by United States military objectives — to the detriment of the interests of the inhabitants. The N.Y. Times (Nov. 26, 1948) reported that "Considerations of military strategy . . . have determined the attitude that the U.S. Delegation has adopted on the question of the Italian colonies." And the Manchester Guardian (Nov. 14, 1949) observed that the Anglo-American solution of this question represented "a rather sorry example of the subordination . . . of native interests to Great Power interests." The U.N. grant of "independence" to Libya was in effect bought with agreements for the long-term maintainence by the United States of its Wheelus Air Base in Tripoli and for continued occupation of the territory by U.S.-British-French military forces.

Third, we are deeply disturbed, Mr. President, by the communique of January 9, 1952, on your talks with Mr. Churchill, with its reference to "a complete identity of aims between us" with regard to the Middle East, and to your agreement to "continue to work out together agreed policies to give effect to this aim." We ask whether this can mean anything except the continued application of pressure by every possible means, including the use of military force as in Egypt, in order to maintain Anglo-American influence and economic and military dominance in Iran, Egypt, and other Middle Eastern countries now striving for national independence.

"Some United States Middle Eastern experts," says Business Week (Oct. 27, 1951), "feel that the only policy that would have a chance of success now would be a barefaced return to old-fashioned gunboat imperialism — sugar-coated with a lot of economic assistance." Is this the agreed-upon Anglo-American policy, Mr. President?

A leading Negro newspaper, the Afro-American (Nov. 3, 1951), commenting editorially on our government's support of Britain in Iran and Egypt, states: "It appears that neither England nor the United States seems to be interested in the fundamental right of these darker nations to be supreme in their own territories and compel all foreigners to leave, if that is their desire."

The present state of affairs in North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia points up the urgent importance of the declaration by India's representative, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, to the U.N. General Assembly on October 25, 1946: "The use of troops against the national aspirations of people for the protection of imperial vested interests, and virtually as armies of occupation threatening both weaker peoples and the world peace as a whole, calls for unreserved condemnation by the United Nations, and for the demand that all such troops shall be withdrawn." Such action by the United Nations is now imperative. Will the United States support it?

Fourth, we object to the continued alliance of the United States with Britain, France, and other colonial powers in the Trusteeship Committee at the Paris U.N. Assembly meeting in opposing, as at previous sessions, various proposals for the advancement of the interests of colonial peoples. The N.Y. Times (Jan. 16, 1952) reports that a "unique" development of the Paris meeting was the fact that "the small nations took the initiative and carried a series of resolutions on dependencies that at best are unwelcome to the Western Powers."

Among the colonial resolutions opposed or not supported by the United States Delegation was one asking the nations administering U.N. trust territories to set deadlines for the independence of those areas. This has been repeatedly demanded ever since the establishment of the trusteeship system, and repeatedly opposed and defeated by the colony-holding powers. Here is one instance of what Sir Zafrullal referred to as the readiness of the Western Powers to endorse the general principle of colonial liberation while consistently opposing action on specific issues toward that end.

Fifth, we regard it as a deplorable backward step that the United States at the Paris U.N. meeting won its fight by the narrow margin of 30 to 24 votes, to exclude economic and social rights from the proposed U.N. Covenant of Human Rights, to be left for inclusion in a separate and later convention. The United States Delegation argued that to include economic, social and cultural rights in the same covenant with political rights would prevent some countries from ratifying the instrument because state-guaranteed economic rights tended in the direction of the welfare state.

This seems to us to be an evident effort to appease the Dixiecrat and other reactionary elements in our government who have for so long blocked enactment of effective Fair Employment Practices legislation. We believe with the opponents of the United States position that political freedom is impaired if not negated unless it is accompanied by effective guarantees of economic and social freedom. The Negro people in the United States certainly know this.

Another instance of apparent appeasement of the anti-democratic forces in the United States is the insistence of the American Delegation upon inserting a qualifying provision in the Covenant of Human Rights virtually relieving federal governments, such as the United States, of responsibility for violations of the Covenant in the component units of the federal government -- for example, in the state of Florida or Mississippi.

We cannot review here the numerous weaknesses, attributable mainly to the United States Delegation and relating especially to discrimination and the rights of colonial peoples, which have been incorporated in the Declaration and Covenant of Human Rights. This circumstance led U.N. Assistant Secretary General Henri Laugier in April, 1950, to charge openly that delegates in the Commission on Human Rights were favoring a limited and weak Covenant of Human Rights.

The Negro people of the United States are deeply concerned with the achieve ment of effective international safe-guards for human rights — for themselves and for darker peoples throughout the world who are the victims of the racist doctrine of white supremacy. From this racism stems the failure of our government to protect the lives and rights of its Negro citizens -- in Cicero, Illinois; in Groveland and Mims, Florida; and from it stems also the inhuman repression of non-white peoples in Asia and Africa by the Western powers. Those non-white peoples most assuredly want none of the "American way of life" experienced by 15 million Negro Americans. Nor can the continued rule of racism in the United States be ended as long as the enslavement of darker peoples throughout the world continues.

In your recent State of the Union Message, Mr. President, you declared, "The peoples of Asia want to be free to follow their own way of life." We agree wholeheartedly, and we would add that the peoples of Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and other lands want the same. However, the quoted sentence in its context actually meant that the peoples of Asia must be "free" to remain within the Western sphere of influence. It seems to us truly extraordinary that in both your State of the Union and Budget Messages to Congress you could deal with the subject of the hunger and need of the Asian and other peoples without once even mentioning the root cause of their miserable condition — namely, their long-suffering subjection to Western economic and colonial overlords.

In the above-mentioned Messages to Congress you placed great emphasis, Mr. President, upon the aid programs which the United States can provide for economically backward peoples. But, as is well known, these same peoples have a deep suspicion of this aid; long before Point Four was conceived they had a popular saying that their overlords were willing to do most anything for them except get off their backs. These peoples realize that in order to use economic or other assistance for its own benefit, a nation must first of all be free to determine its own economic and social goals. As an African leader has recently said, "Self-government and independence must be the initial capital to be invested in the non-self-governing territories."

We submit, Sir, that though it may be possible for the Western Powers to find and bribe puppet-spokesmen among oppressed nations, it is impossible either to bribe or coerce whole peoples whose national consciousness and will to freedom have become articulate. This is the inescapable meaning of national revolts today sweeping Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

If America's name is not to be hated throughout the world wherever people struggle for liberty, our government must completely revise its foreign policy and give concrete evidence, through its conduct in the United Nations and in all areas of international economic, political and military relations, of its genuine and unequivocal support of the principle of national self-determination.

The policy now being pursued, the policy of bribery and coercion to make the American or Western way of life prevail, can lead only to national and international disaster. This policy if continued, we believe, will surely lead only to more Koreas. Peace cannot be won with either guns or dollars. The only conceivable world of lasting peace is a world of free peoples living together in mutual cooperation, equality, and respect.

We petition you to work to build such a world. We urge:

1. that our government go on record condemning, as a flagrant violation of human rights and serious threat to world peace, the racist program of the government of the Union of South Africa exemplified in the Group Areas Act, and that it use its full influence to press for the South African govern-

ment's adherence to the recommendations of the United Nations respecting South West Africa and the grievances of Indians in South Africa;

2. that our government seek the fullest and speediest implementation of the Charter provisions and recommendations of the United Nations relating to the advancement of the welfare and freedom of colonial peoples;

3. that our government strive for the creation and adoption of a U.N. Covenant of Human Rights which will provide truly effective protection of the economic, social, civil and political rights of all peoples in all countries.

4. that our government lend its full support to fulfillment of the demands for national self-determination voiced by subject peoples in Africa and all other areas of the world, and that it withhold assistance of any kind from any government engaged in suppressing such demands;

5. that our government and all other governments withdraw their military forces and installations from all foreign territories where their presence is not authorized by agreement of all the major powers;

6. that our government, together with the other major powers, undertake sincere and serious efforts toward reaching a general agreement so that the world of lasting peace which we seek may become a glorious reality.

INITIATING SPONSORS (Partial List)

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Paul Robeson
    New York City
Harcourt A. Tynes
    New York State Chairman, Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History

To my brothers and sisters, to the peoples of that great land from which my ancestors came, to the peoples of Africa - I send my heartfelt greetings.

Only my words, my voice can come to you. I cannot. I cannot accept your many kind invitations to come to Africa as I long to do. Nor can I go to Asia or Europe or even across our border to Canada. I am, so to speak, exiled in the United States by my government.

It is important for you to know why this is so. The government attorneys have been brutally frank in explaining. My passport is denied, they declared, "in view of appellant's (that is, my own) frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically - in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa ... The diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler traveling under protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable."

Because I champion the freedom of my people in Africa and in the United States, because I will not compromise one millionth of an inch on this issue, I am regarded as a "political meddler" in the eyes of those in power in America - in the eyes of that powerful section of America whose program of world domination and war is meeting with the determined resistance of hundreds of millions of peoples throughout the world.

That profit-greedy section of America - the big trusts and banks which look to Africa to replace what they have lost in Asia, stands today behind the regimes of Britain, France, South Africa, Belgium, and the other alien oppressors of the African people, backing up these oppressors, spurring them on to greater and greater exploitation of Africa and its people, and supplying them with guns with which to crush African resistance. In Asia this section of America not only does these things but itself leads the horrible and barbaric slaughter of the Korean people.

--- more

But there is another section of America, embracing all those who labor and are oppressed - the 15,000,000 black Americans and many millions of white allies. Despite the most tyrannical suppression of democratic rights in our country's history, and though standing in the shadow of American concentration camps, this section of America, the true America, continues in battle against the doctrine and practice of white supremacy, against imperialist domination, and against the government's war program.

I speak to you not simply as an individual, but as the spokesman of that democratic, progressive section of America which is the ally of the African and all other peoples' strivings for democratic rights and national self-determination.

As in America, so in Britain, France, Italy and other imperialist countries, there are progressive forces on the side of the people of Africa even though there voices sometimes may not be audible. But it is especially important to remember your other allies, strong allies, in areas of the world where peoples have only recently won their freedom. I mean, the peoples of China, of India, of other sections of the Far and Middle East, and the peoples of parts of Central and Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union. They are all allies of African freedom, partners of yours in the common struggle for a democratic world of security and peace.

Among all these peoples with such varied beliefs and ways of life there is today one common aim - to save their national freedom, to save their personal liberties, to save their very lives and the lives of their children, by joining together to save world peace.

This is the theme and purpose of the great Congress of the Peoples for Peace which will assemble in Vienna on December 5th. It is my earnest hope that my fellow Africans as well as my fellowAmericans will be well represented at that Congress for Peace.

I sometimes hear some of my people say: "Let the white nations fight among themselves and kill each other. It is all right. Maybe we

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we will all get our own freedom quicker that way". I am grieved when I hear that sort of talk. It reflects such a blindness to the realities of the world in which we life. We need only to look at the wars now in progress, in Korea, in Malaya, in Viet Nam, or at the near-wars threatening in Northeast and South Africa, to realize that the darker peoples of the world having a primary stake in halting military aggression not through imperialist war but through unity of all peoples of all colors in their action for peace, lies the true path to the achievement of self-determination by colonial and subject peoples.

The great leader of French Africa below the Sahara, Gabriel D'Arboussier, has pointed out clearly the unity of the struggle for self-determination and the fight for peace. He states:

> "Numerous facts in our own countries of Black Africa prove that war preparations are already militating against the people's greatest aspiration--the right to self-determination. We see how liberty is being stifled and our rights suppressed. In the economic sphere, we see the seizure of our raw materials, which tends to enhance the poverty of our working population. Lastly, our countries are being made to supply troops, notably for the war in Viet-Nam. Hence we can see a direct connection between the situation at home and the French government's policy of preparing war.
>
> "And so each time a colonial or dependent people protests against the plunder of its raw material resources, and demands that its country be industrialized, it is fighting for peace. Each nation that protests against the recruiting of troops or demands the returnof such troops to their native land, it is fighting for peace...."

Mr. D'Arboussier cites the vivid expression of the African people toward a third world war as voiced in the Assembly of the French Union by a Catholic representative from Dahomey, when he declared, addressing the French government:

> "In the last two world wars when you needed us we replied 'Ready.' Today, when we ask you to grant our obviously just demands you reply 'Wait'. I warn you that in the event of another war, if you ask us to take part in it, our reply will be 'Wait'."

Their hour is critical. The forces of reaction are desperate. They will, if they can, force the people of the world to endure a blood

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bath which few of us may be able to survive. The peoples of the world, the people of Africa, too, must answer "No"! They will do so at the coming Congress of the Peoples for Peace. I say to you, stand up now while there is time and join with your allies in this expression for peace.

In the eloquent but simple words of the Appeal which has been issued for the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace I affirm:

> "Your will for Peace must be expressed.
> The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of the aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organizations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.
>
> The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.
>
> Peace can be saved!
>
> Peace must be saved!

STATEMENT

by

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS

Together with Mr. Paul Robeson, Representatives from the United States
Delegation of the World Council of Peace

appearing before

His Excellency, Mr. Jacob A. Malik
President of the Security Council of the United Nations

June 26, 1951

On behalf of the United States' members of the World Council of Peace, Mr. Paul Robeson and I, wish to express to you our deep appreciation for the honor you have extended to us today in receiving us and for the opportunity of assuring you of our profound attachment to the cause of peace in the world. At the February meeting of the World Peace Council in Berlin it was resolved to send to the United Nations a delegation comprising Signor Pietro Nenni of Italy, Mme. Isabelle Blume of Belgium, Mrs. S. O. Davies of Great Britain, Mrs. Jessie Street of Australia, Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie of France, Mr. Nikolai Tikhonov of the U.S.S.R., Dr. Wu Yao-tsung of the Chinese People's Republic, the Reverend Professor J. L. Hromadka of Czechoslovakia, M. Gabriel d'Arboussier of French West and Equatorial Africa, Senor Pablo Neruda of Chile, General Heriberto Jara of Mexico, Dr. Nadan Atal of India, Mr. Paul Robeson and myself of the United States.

This delegation was charged with the duty of: (1) asking the United Nations to consider the various points of the Address of the World Council and the various resolutions of the World Council of Peace and expressing an opinion on each; (2) calling upon the United Nations to return to the role assigned it by the Charter, namely, that it should serve as an area of agreement between the Governments and not act as the instrument of any dominant group.

We deeply regret that the members of this special delegation residing outside the United States are not with us today. It will be remembered that about a month ago Council President, Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie sent a request to the Honorable Warren Austin, chief United States' delegate in the United Nations to receive a delegation of the World Peace Council, but was rebuffed. As Americans who believe in all possible exchange of opinions among the peoples of the world especially on behalf of peace, we deeply regret that the request was turned down. We believe that the free movement of all citizens of the world who are sincerely dedicated to international friendship and peace is an elemental human right. Trust begets trust in the relations of men.

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We desire, Your Excellency, on behalf of the World Council of Peace, to present to you as the President of the Security Council certain resolutions unanimously adopted in Berlin, February 25, 1951, and in doing so we assure you that we United States' members of the World Peace Council heartily concur in their purpose and content.

1. The Peaceful Solution of the Korean Conflict. It is supremely fitting today to put at the head of the list of these resolutions the one bearing upon the Korean conflict. The Council of Peace in February expressed the conviction that "to secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question" there should be "the immediate calling of a conference of the countries concerned." The resolution called "on all lovers of peace in all countries to urge their respective governments to support the immediate calling of such a conference." The Council strongly maintained "the opinion that all foreign armed forces must be withdrawn from Korea to enable the Korean people to settle their internal affairs for themselves."

We wish to pay special tribute to you today, Your Excellency, for having challenged the world to find a way to end the Korean conflict, when, on last Saturday you expressed the faith that a truce is possible. This expression has revived the hope of peace-loving people all over the world. We are equally grateful for any and all efforts for peace on the part of all nations and peoples. We are overjoyed at the evidence on every hand of approval of your proposal.

2. A Five-Power Pact of Peace. Closely related to the problem of Korea and to all areas of tension in the world is the Council's resolution on a Five-Power pact for peace. "To fulfill the hopes cherished by millions of people throughout the world, whatever may be their view of the causes that have brought about the danger of world war, and to strengthen peace and safeguard security, the Council urges the conclusion of a pact of peace among the Five Powers: the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France." The Council considers a "refusal to meet to conclude such a pact, by the Government of any of the Great Powers whichever it might be, as evidence of aggressive design on the part of the Government in question." The Council invites all peace-loving nations and all men and women of goodwill, all organizations that hope for peace, to support the call for this pact of peace.

Speaking as Americans we consider it to be inconceivable that the Chinese People's Republic be any longer excluded from the United Nations. Our call for the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and in a pact of the Great Powers, stems from the conviction that the present government in Peking represents the people of China, and that it has therefore the moral right to

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speak for the 475 million Chinese people in the councils of the nations. At this point we American members are in agreement with the preamble of the Resolution introduced into the Senate of the United States by Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado calling for a cease-fire, which says:

> "The people of the United States have long recognized the wisdom of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so eloquently portrayed by the slogan 'Asia for the Asiatics', if it were to be applied to Asia, and
>
> "It has long been the policy of the American people that no nation should seek to extend its form of government on any other nation or people, but that as an inherent right every people should be left free to determine its own form of government and its own way of life unhindered and unafraid, the little with the great and powerful."

Speaking on the question of peaceful relations with peoples in the Orient at the Berlin meeting of the Council was one of the world's most renowned theologians, the Reverend Professor J. L. Hromadka, Dean of the Czechoslovakian Protestant Reformed Evangelical Church. He is known to many American churchmen. "Faith in Christ," said he, "is to have the eyes open before the essential historical events, before the real meaning of the present moment; it is the courage to break with one's own self-complacancy and self-righteousness, to throw away the old traditions and habits, and to give up the old unjust privileges and possessions." ... "The present march of history," he declared, "has found its most obvious expression in the Korean and Chinese situations on the one hand, and in the - what we call - remilitarization of Germany on the other." With a sharp criticism he asked the following questions: "Who has created the unbearable tension in the Far East by denying to New China, with her almost 500 million people, her just place within the family of Nations? Who has insulted her? Who has for many years irritated the sentiments of the Asiatic peoples? Who has backed the most privileged and selfish elements within the Asiatic countries?" We submit that questions like these - questions involving history and morality - should be taken into account in defining what is aggression.

3. The Peaceful Settlement of the German Problem. The World Peace Council asserts in a resolution on the German question that "militarist and Nazi forces are being revived in Germany, in betrayal of the resolve of the peoples in whose name were concluded the treaties which categorically insisted on Germany's disarmament." ... "This rearmament, military and industrial, of Germany constitutes the gravest of the dangers threatening a new world war," the resolution holds.

4. The Peaceful Solution of the Japanese Question. The World Peace Council expresses grave concern over the remilitarization of Japan. It "considers it essential that a referendum on the remilitarization of Japan and the conclusion

- more -

of a peace treaty with a peaceful and demilitarized Japan be held in Japan and in countries most concerned in Asia, America and Oceania." It "condemns all attempts to conclude the separate peace with Japan" and believes "that a peace treaty must be the subject of negotiations in the first instance by the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and agreed by all countries concerned." The Council declares that "The Japanese people must be guaranteed a democratic and peaceful life."

Your Excellency, in concluding these brief remarks, as a churchman engaged throughout my life in religious work, I would refer once more to a faith expressed by Professor Hromadka at the conclusion of his address at the Berlin meeting of the World Council of Peace. He said: "The presence of us Christians at this conference demonstrates our conviction that the World Council of Peace reflects at this juncture, the most important, the most realistic and the most effective effort not only to save the peace but also to satisfy - if it is at all possible - the vital needs of mankind. We stretch forth our hands to reach our numerous beloved and honest brothers, both in the East and in the West, and to bring them into our fellowship of peace and goodwill."

My own experience at the Second World Peace Congress and my ten days' visit in the Soviet Union last winter increased my faith that there are men and women of goodwill in the hundreds of millions in the countries of the world who, regardless of their differences of race, language, nationality, religion or philosophy, are transcending barriers and marching on to peaceful relations. We believe that all nations which bear responsibility to a greater or lesser extent for the mistakes that have led to world tension will now respond to the universal plea for peace and seek the path to peaceful co-existence through treaties of agreement to maintain amity, through intercultural relations and economic cooperation.

* * *

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MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS BANDUNG CONFERENCE 1955 10/5

PAUL ROBESON

GREETINGS TO ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

BANDUNG, INDONESIA

APRIL 1955

Heartfelt greetings to all of you, peoples come from the shores of the Ganges and the Nile, the Yangtse and the Niger, nations of the vast Pacific waters, greetings on this historic occasion. ¶ It is my profound conviction that the very fact of the convening of the Conference of Asian and African nations at Bandung, Indonesia, in itself will be recorded as an historic turning point in all world affairs. A new vista of human advancement in all spheres of life has been opened by this assembly. Conceived, convoked, and attended by representatives of the great majority of the world's population in Asia and Africa who have long been subjected to colonial serfdom and foreign domination, the Asian-African Conference signalizes the power and the determination of the peoples of these two great continents to decide their won destiny, to achieve and defend their sovereign independence, to control the rich resources of their own lands, and to contribute to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease, and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils *can* be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations of hundreds of millions of peoples *can* be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and corporations. The possibility and practicability of such rapid social advancement have been attested by those who have objectively examined the history of the Soviet Union since 1917 and developments during the last decade in the countries of Eastern Europe, in China, and in newly emancipated Asian countries such as India.

I have long had a deep and abiding interest in the cultural relations of Asia and Africa. Years ago I began my studies of African and Asian languages and learned about the rich and age-old cultures of these mother continents of human civilization. The living evidence of the ancient kinship of Africa and Asia is seen in the language structures, in the arts and philosophies of the two continents. Increased exchange of such closely related cultures cannot help but bring into flower a richer, more vibrant voicing of the highest aspirations of colored peoples the world over.

Indeed the fact that the Asian and African nations, possessing similar yet different cultures, have come together to solve their common problems must stand as a shining example to the rest of the world. Discussion and mutual respect are the first ingredients for the development of peace between nations. If other nations of the world follow the example set by the Asian-African nations, there can be developed an alternative to the policy of force and an end to the threat of H-Bomb war. The people of Asia and Africa have a direct interest in such a development since it is a well known fact that thermonuclear weapons have been used only against the peoples of Asia. There is at present a threat to once more use them against an Asian people.

I fully endorse the objectives of the Conference to prevent any such catastrophe, which would inevitably bring about suffering and annihilation to all the peoples of the world. Throughout the world all decent people must applaud the aims of the Conference to make the maximum contribution of the Asian and African countries to the cause of world peace.

One of the most important causes of world tension has been and continues to be imperialist enslavement of nations. Peace in Asia is directly linked with the problem of freedom and full sovereign rights for the nations of Asia. As for Africa, most of that vast continent, as we know, still groans in chains. In North Africa, in Kenya, East Africa, and in other areas imperialist terror has been unleashed in an attempt to keep freedom aspiring peoples in subjection. South Africa feels the lash of the redoubled racist fury of her white ruling class. But this is the time of liberation, and Africa too shall shout in freedom and glory. Soon. Yes, now in our day!

The demand of Africa and Asia for independence from alien domination and exploitation finds warm support among democratic minded peoples everywhere. Although the calling of the Bandung Conference evoked bitter words of displeasure from high circles in Washington, the common people of America have not forgotten that our own country was founded in a revolution of colonies against a foreign tyranny -- a revolution proclaiming that all nations have a right to independence under a government of their own choice.

To the Negro people of the United States and the Caribbean Islands it was good news -- great good news -- to hear that the Bandung Conference had been called "to consider problems of special interest....racialism and colonialism." Typical of my people's sentiments are these words from one of our leading Negro newspapers: "Negro Americans should be interested in the proceedings at Bandung. We have fought this kind of fight for more than 300 years and have a vested interest in the outcome."

How I would love to see my brothers from Africa, India, China, Indonesia and from all the peoples represented at Bandung. In your midst are old friends I knew in London years ago, where I first became part of the movement for colonial freedom -- the many friends from India and Africa and the West Indies with whom I shared hopes and dreams of a new day for the oppressed colored peoples of the world, and I might have come as an observer had I been granted a passport by the State Department, whose lawyers have argued that "in ~~fighting of~~ view of the applicant's frank admission that he has been fighting for the freedom of the colonial people of Africa....~~abroad~~ the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable."

So all the best to all of you. Together with all of progressive mankind, with lovers of peace and freedom everywhere, we salute your history-making Conference.

Note: Any portion of this statement may be used.

COPY

Greetings to the Asian-African Conference
Bandung, Indonesia
April, 1955

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The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils can be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations of hundreds of millions of peoples can be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and corporations. The possibility and practicability of such rapid social advancement have been attested by those who have objectively examined the history of the Soviet Union since 1917 and developments during the last decade in the countries of Eastern Europe, in China and in newly emancipated Asian countries such as India.

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Indeed the fact that the Asian and African nations, possessing similar yet different cultures, have come together to solve their common problems must stand as a shining example to the rest of the world. Discussion and mutual respect are the first ingredients for the development of peace between nations. If other nations of the world follow the example set by the Asian-African nations, there can be developed an alternative to the policy of force and an end to the threat of H-Bomb war. The people of Asia and Africa have a direct interest in such a development since it is a well-known fact that thermonuclear weapons have been used only against the peoples of Asia. There is at present a threat once more to use them against an Asian people.

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The demand of Africa and Asia for independence from alien domination and exploitation finds warm support among democratic-minded peoples everywhere. Although the calling of the Bandung Conference evoked bitter words of displeasure from high circles in Washington, the common people of America have not forgotten that our own country was founded in a revolution of colonies against a foreign tyranny -- a revolution proclaiming that all nations have a right to independence under a government of their own choice.

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And I might have come as an observer, had I been granted a passport by the United States State Department, whose lawyers have argued that

> "... in view of the applicant's frank admission that he has been fighting for the freedom of the colonial people of Africa ... the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler.. travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable."

So all the best to all of you. Together with all of progressive mankind, with lovers of peace and freedom everywhere, we salute your history-making Conference.

-- The End --

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Note: Any portion of above text may be used.

April 12,1955

139 West 125 Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hikmet:

Mr. Paul Robeson has asked me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 29, 1955.

He has received the verse and the corrections and he has also received the music which came under separate cover.

He is now working on the material and hopes to have it ready within the very near future. He will also be in touch with Mr. Fast.

Mr. Robeson sends his warmest personal regards to you.

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

GREETINGS TO ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

BANDUNG, INDONESIA

APRIL 1955

It is my profound conviction that the very fact of the convening of the Conference of Asian and African nations at Bandung, Indonesia, in itself will be recorded as an historic turning point in world affairs. A new vista of human advancement in all spheres of life has been opened by this assembly. Conceived, convoked, and attended by representatives of the great majority of the world's population in Asia and Africa who have long been subjected to colonial serfdom and foreign domination, the Asian-African Conference signalizes the power and the determination of the peoples of these two great continents to decide their own destiny, to achieve and defend their sovereign independence, to control the rich resources of their own lands, and to contribute to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

Start Long statement

The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease, and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils can be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations ~~of hundreds of millions of peoples~~ can be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and corporations. ~~The possibility and practicability of such rapid social advancement have been attested by those who have objectively examined the history of the Soviet Union since 1917 and developments during the last decade in the countries of Eastern Europe, in China, and in newly emancipated Asian countries such as India.~~

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~~Heartfelt greetings to all of you. Together with all of progressive mankind, with lovers of peace and freedom everywhere, we salute~~ your history-making Conference.

Salutations to

and all success to

Salutations and all success to your history-making conference. I am confident that millions of black americans, together with all progressive mankind and lovers of peace and freedom everywhere, hail your Assembly.

April 14, 1955

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I am enclosing for your information and use, a copy of the statement of greetings which Paul Robeson has sent to the African-Asian Conference meeting in Bandung, Indonesia.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

LAW OFFICES OF
HUGH E. MACBETH
ATTORNEY AT LAW
524 S. SPRING STREET
LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA
MUTUAL 0696

HUGH E. MACBETH
EVA M. MACK
HUGH E. MACBETH, JR.
CHIYOKO SAKAMOTO

GOBERT E. MACBETH, '43

May 10th 1955

Paul Robeson, Esq.
Chairman, Council on African Affairs
Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

My dear Paul:

I have just read the Asian-African Conference of the Spotlight under date of April, 1955. I think the excerpts from your message of Greetings to the Asian-African Conference constitute the best statement of this subject which it has been my privilege to read.

Would it be possible for you to make a radio transcription of your remarks? I would like very much to have the same for use here and elsewhere throughout the World.

Advise me of the cost of same and I will remit.

Awaiting your reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hugh

HUGH E. MACBETH

HEM/hh

p.s. I will be at the Statler Hotel in Washington D. C. on late Sunday, May 15, 1955. I will remain there for one week and come to New York if you so advise me.

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PAUL ROBESON

April 8, 1955

Mr. Romesh Chandra
14 Munshi Niketan
Kamala Market
New Delhi, India

Dear Friend:

Mr. Paul Robeson has asked us to send you the enclosed, which is the text of his greeting to the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia.

We hope that you will find it possible to transmit the text to the Conference or to the Indonesian Peace Committee, for which we do not have an address. A copy is also included for whatever use you may care to make of it.

We have also sent under separate cover two tape recordings which include this message and three songs sung by Mr. Robeson. The songs are: "No More Auction Block" (sung by Negro slaves in the United States during the Civil War); "Hymn for Nations" (peace song based on Ode to Joy theme from Beethoven's 9th Symphony); and "Old Man River" by Jerome Kern.

The tapes are identical and we would appreciate having one broght to the attention of the Bandung Conference if the opportunity presents itself. The other tape is for the use of the peace movements.

We would greatly appreciate it if you would acknowledge receipt of these materials. We will be happy to know to what use they have been put.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

May 27, 1955

Mr. Henri Alleg
"Alger Republican"
9 Boulevard Laferriere
Algiers, Algeria

Dear Friend:

In reply to your recent request for a brief statement to your paper on the forthcoming World Assembly for Peace, I wish to say the following:

"When the recent Bandung Conference adopted a resolution calling for the destruction and banning of thermonuclear weapons, it was the voice of more than half the world's population speaking out on the crucial issue of human survival. This unanimous action by the delegates of the 29 Asian and African states was vivid evidence that the Vienna Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War truly reflects the will of the peoples of all nations.

"Likewise, in voicing its united demand for the abolition of colonialism and racialism, the Conference spoke for all the oppressed peoples who are still denied their national sovereignty and whose homelands, so long exploited by foreign greed, are today endangered by the presence on their soil of foreign military bases.

"Bandung, which proved that countries with widely differing systems can unite upon a policy ofliving in peace, has had a profound effect upon public opinion in the United States. More and more Americans are speaking out for negotiations to ease world tensions, for trade and cultural exchange, for peaceful coexistence. Steadily the pressure of the people's desire for peace is making itself felt in Washington.

"But peace-lovers dare not relax. The War Party here is still strong and dangerous; leading military men still openly advocate the monstrous pplicy of 'preventive war'; the testing of atomic weapons continues unabated.

"Bandung, which voiced alarm at the terrible danger of atomic war, should make clear to all of us the urgent importance of Helsinki, where the World Assembly of Peace will be held. Let East and West --the people of all lands-- come together through their delegates to Helsinki. Let us there unite the growing strength of the movement for peace. Yes, let us organize there the final and victorious round of our struggle to abolish the bomb.

"Heartfelt, fraternal greetings to the peoples of North Africa whose just aspirations are linked with the world-wide cause of progressive mankind! I join with my colleagues of the World Council of Peace in inging your fullest participation in the Helsinki Assembly."

With best wishes,

Paul Robeson

ALGER
républicain
9, boulevard Laferrière, 9
ALGER
C. C. P. Alger 516-95
Téléphone : 396-55 à 58

Monsieur Paul ROBESON

PAR AVION

Société d'Impression et d'Exploitation
ALGER
républicain
Grand Quotidien Algérien d'Information
9, Bd Laferrière
ALGER
Téléphone : 396-55 à 58
C.C.P. Alger 516-95

ALGER, le 2I AVRIL I955

Monsieur Paul ROBESON
(Etats Unis)

Cher Monsieur,

Nous devons très prochainement (avant le I5 Mai) éditer un numéro spécial de notre journal consacré à la campagne mondiale pour l'interdiction et la destruction des armes atomiques. Ce numéro est particulièrement destiné à faire connaître à l'opinion publique algérienne la tenue de l'assemblée d'HELSINKI et ses objectifs, et aider ainsi à la partitipation de l'Algérie à cette assemblée ;

Nous sommes, vous le savez peut-être, le seul quotidien progressiste en langue française de toute l'Afrique du Nord, le seul qui offre une tribune au mouvement de la Paix, dont il appuie toutes les campagnes. Notre entreprise revêt de ce fait une importance particulière dans les circonstances que traversent l'Algérie, la Tunisie et le Maroc .

Pour que ce numéro spécial soit le plus efficace possible, nous avons pensé à solliciter votre éminente collaboration dont l'autorité aidera encore, nous en sommes sûrs au succès de notre entreprise . Nous vous serions très reconnaissants si nous pouvions publier dans ce numéro une déclaration de vous - accompagnée d'une photo si possible - sur les problèmes qui seront débattus à HELSINKI.

Ne connaissant pas votre adresse, nous avons mis à contribution nos amis du Mouvement Français de la Paix. Nous vous serions obligés si vous vouliez bien nous envoyer votre réponse directement .

En espérant ne pas ^être trop importun et en vous remerçiant pour votre aide, nous vous prions de croire, cher Monsieur, à nos meilleurs sentiments.

Le Directeur,

Henri ALLEG

60-3-9410

Mr. White

(Draft)

date

Mr. Henri Alleg
"ALGER REPUBLICAIN"
9, boulevard Laferriere,
~~Alg~~ Algeria.
Algiers, ~~ALLGERIA~~xx

Dear Friend:

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With best wishes,

Paul Robeson

A Grateful Report

By ROBERT C. RUARK

I think we can all be pretty happy about Adam Clayton Powell's rebuff to the slanted news conference at the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, where the troublemakers came loaded, hoping that the Democratic representative from New York would unload the usual Josephine Baker line about lynching, et cetera, in the United States. For a minute I forgot to mention that Mr. Powell is a Negro, and he was proud to announce that his grandpa had been a slave.

Robert C. Ruark

This was about the time the London Daily Worker's correspondent put away his note pad.

Mr. Powell, severely critical of most of the Eisenhower administration, was expected to make a damning report on the situation of the American Negro. Instead he said:

"Raicism in the United States is on the way out. Second-class citizenship is on the way out. A peaceful revolution has occurred overnight. It is a mark of distinction to be a Negro in the United States. To be a Negro is no longer a stigma."

I applaud Mr. Powell, because he has just hit himself a Joe Louis lick in the name of honesty.

* * *

But I am not quite 40 years old, and I can remember that I was raised by a former slave. I can remember recent race riots in Washington. I can remember complete discrimination in the armed forces in World War II.

And in practically no time at all that has changed—to where we have national idols who are Negroes, and we don't think of them as Negroes, but merely as fine singers and scholars and diplomats and scientists and football players and what you will.

Some friends and I were talking in Paris the other day, and it never occurred to me to remember that I was white and they were black until the subject of Walter White and Paul Robeson came up.

One of the people was saying that it was so wonderful that Walter White—a literal white man who was so long the guiding spirit of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People—was able to die with his goal in sight, his work well done. And he was saying what a shame it was that Paul Robeson had fallen under the Marxist spell, and I quote him—"completely betrayed us Negroes."

* * *

He spoke on: "Robeson had a chance, maybe, to have been the first black President. He was an all-American. He was a magnificent singer. He was a Phi Beta Kappa, and I think he could have been heavyweight champion of the world, if he'd wanted to. I also think he was a lawyer, I'm not quite sure. But he let us all down when he started following the Commies, because he had the best chance any Negro ever had, and that includes Ralph Bunche and George Washington Carver."

I said amen, brother, and pass the spareribs, which were fine, and that is why I am glad Mr. Powell spoke up the other day in Bandung.

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Joint Secretariat
Asian-African
Conf,
C/O Ministry of
Foreign Affairs
Djalan, P
Dewan
Rakjat 6
Djakarta,
Indonesia.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA NEWSLETTER 1952-54 10/6

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110 • • • •

July 25, 1952 XI, 10

Subscription $1.00 a year

THE MEANING OF THE PRESENT CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws, being conducted jointly by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, awakened peoples throughout the world to the realization of the fact that the outcome of the present desperate struggle for democracy and against fascism in that country holds grave consequences for the whole of Africa, for the peace of the world. Malanism, which is a direct descendant of Hitlerism, has manifested its dangerous potentialities by the seizure of control of South West Africa, by its threatened seizure of other adjacent colonial territories now under British rule, and by its openly expressed hostility to African freedom and self-determination in the Gold Coast or any where else in Africa.

The racism practiced by the ruling circles of the South African white minority has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations General Assembly. Madam Pandit, in 1950, declared that "the principle of apartheid, based as it is on discrimination of race, is diametrically opposed to every principle of the Charter . . . a policy of racial segregation constitutes a grave threat to world peace."

U.S. Economic and Strategic Interests in South Africa. The American people have a special responsibility in the present South African crisis; first, because of the close parallels and links between the 8½ million African people's long struggle for democratic rights and justice in South Africa and the similar struggle of 15 million Negro people in the United States. Secondly, the American people have a responsibility because of the great power and influence wielded in South Africa by American business and the United States government. Though South Africa became an independent self-governing British dominion in 1931, it has since World War II been becoming increasingly an economic ward and military satellite of the United States.

U.S. Investments in South Africa. In 1946 a New York bank group, Ladenburg, Thalman & Co. and Lazard Freres & Co. (reflecting Rockefeller interests) formed a big capital merger with British-South African interests. This investment control was expanded in 1947, covering extensive mining properties and over 100 South African industrial companies. Time magazine described this operation as "the first big beachhead of American capital in South Africa". In 1948 the same U.S. interests, through the Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Co., joined with the Texas Oil Co. in starting the manufacture of oil from coal in South Africa.

(continued on next page)

AN APPEAL TO YOU from JOHANNESBURG — AND HOW YOU CAN ANSWER IT

From Johannesburg, South Africa, comes an appeal to "all men and women of good will who wish to assist those in the front line defending liberty in South Africa" to contribute to the Fund for Victims of Nationalist Persecution.

This Fund has been established under the joint auspices of five South African organizations leading the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and the general struggle against fascist tyranny. They are the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Springbok Legion, the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and the Transvaal Peace Council.

In order to answer this appeal and, at the same time, provide a medium for the expression of American support for the heroic Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in South Africa, the Council on African Affairs has launched a campaign —

— to secure 100,000 signatures to a petition to President Truman, calling upon him "to halt U.S. assistance in any form to the government of the Union of South Africa and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace";

— to collect a minimum of $5000 in nickels, dimes, quarters and dollars from the signers to be sent as quickly as possible to the Joint Defense Fund in Johannesburg.

You may have already received copies of this petition in the mail. If not, or if you need more, or if you can get others to help in this petition drive, please write us at once and petitions will be sent immediately.

Here is an opportunity to demonstrate in a concrete and meaningful way our friendship for and solidarity with the 10 million oppressed darker peoples in the Union of South Africa who are helping to fight OUR battle against Jim-Crow, fascism and war.

WE MUST NOT LET THEM DOWN !

Morgan interests occupy a dominating position in South African gold and copper mining. Some of the mines, under the indirect control of Morgan, are engaged in processing gold ore waste for the extraction of uranium to be sent to the United States. Through the Anglo-American Corp., a holding company, control has been acquired over more than 40 South African and Rhodesian companies, including diamond mines and new gold mining properties in the Orange Free State.

Examples of the Morgan-controlled properties are the O'kiep Copper Co., Ltd. in South Africa and the Tsumeb Mines in South West Africa. Direct control and development of these properties are shared by the Newmont Mining Co. and the American Metal Co. The wages of African workers average 13¢ an hour at O'kiep; 50¢ a day at Tsumeb. With this cheap labor, Newmont and American Metal together garnered from these two properties an income of well over $1 million, before taxes, in 1950.

Also operating in South Africa are American International Nickel Corp. (Morgan-Rockefeller) and Kennecott Copper Corp. (Morgan-Guggenheim). The latter has since 1949 provided or underwritten investments of over $15.5 million in Orange Free State gold mine operations.

Other American business interests whose subsidiary companies share in exploiting South Africa's resources and labor are Union Carbide and Carbon Corp., Standard Oil (N.J.), Socony Vacuum, Standard Vacuum, and the Aluminum Co. of America. Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and Studebaker have all expanded their plants or built new ones in South Africa since 1948. Goodyear, General Tire, Firestone, and U.S. Rubber are there. Also are International Harvester, American Cyanimide, General Electric, General Foods, Kellogg Co., Coca Cola, Masonite Corp., etc., etc.

Some run-away plants have found it profitable to go all the way to South Africa. An entire brewery plant was transferred there from Brooklyn, N.Y. in 1950. A $2.4 million Julius Kaiser hosiery factory was set up there in 1948.

South Africa Ranks High as U.S. Export Market. In 1948 South Africa ranked second as a market for U.S. textile manufacturers, third for automobiles, and eighth for all exports. The main item of South African export to the U.S.A. is gold, $410,600,000 worth in 1947, $491,370,000 worth in 1948.

Since 1948, with the concentration on U.S. strategic stock-piles, has come the demand for immense quantities of South African manganese ore (250,000 tons contracted for in 1949-50) and uranium, supplementing that from the Belgian Congo, America's major source of supply.

South Africa Helped with U.S. Loans Also. Despite the big post-war investments by U.S. business and government, the South African government yet finds it difficult to keep an economic balance and has had to solicit loans. One of $10 million was provided by a group of U.S. banks in January 1950. Another loan of $30 million was secured a year later from a group of eight U.S. banks. At the same time, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, dominated by American capital, gave a loan of $50 million for the development of South African electric power and transport facilities -- to speed up the export of manganese, copper, etc. The U.S. Export-Import Bank this year advanced $19,600,000 for the purpose of developing the uranium processing operations in South Africa, bringing to nearly $55 million the total loaned by the Bank for this purpose.

Our "Free-World" Ally. The South African government, without waiting to secure popular or even parliamentary approval, committed the country to participation in the Korean war and in the NATO Middle East Command. The South African air squadron in Korea was supplied U.S.-made Mustang fighters at the incredible give-away price of $5,447 each, plus 16 per cent administration charges, (a whopping reduction from the original price set of $58,000 each (Cape Times, May 27, 1952). The South African Minister of Defense disclosed last month that twenty modern Vampire jet aircraft, cost not mentioned, had been secured and that thirty more would soon be available, together with 44 Harvards and also some F-86 latest type American jets.

What will the Malan government do with the air weapons in addition to killing Koreans? Who will be served by the U.S. investments and loans going to South Africa? Americans who ask themselves these questions must certainly be keenly concerned with the outcome of the present crucial struggle sweeping the Union of South Africa. Are we on the side of the oppressed or on the side of the oppressors? Are we for democracy or for fascism? For peace or for war?

LET US GIVE THE ANSWER WITH 100,000 SIGNATURES ON THE PETITION TO

PRESIDENT TRUMAN !

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110

September 18, 1952 XI, 12 Subscription $1.00 a year

DEFIANCE ACTION AT NEW PEAK ANSWERING TRIAL OF LEADERS

With 28 of the foremost Africans and Indians in S. Africa, almost the entire top leadership of the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, under arrest and facing jail sentences of up to 10 years at hard labor, the Malan government has demonstrated its desperation in seeking to crush the rapidly growing Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.

On August 26, the day the trial of these leaders began, the African and Indian people gave their answer to this latest government outrage.

Thousands of supporters of the Defiance Campaign converged on the Magistrate Court in Johannesburg, jamming the corridors, courtyard and adjacent streets, shouting slogans, singing the African national anthem and giving the "Afrika" salute.

In the throng were hundreds of black and brown school children of all ages from six to eighteen who quit their classes and went to court carrying banners proclaiming "HANDS OFF OUR LEADERS" and "SOUTH AFRICA IS A VAST PRISON." And there were also 250 students, half of them white, who likewise quit classes at the University of the Witwatersrand and came to the Court.

The police could not intimidate or silence this crowd. The magistrate was compelled to adjourn the proceedings to enable Dr. Moroka and Dr. Dadoo, top officers respectively of the A.N.C. and S.A.I.C. and joint leaders of the Defiance Campaign, to go — at the government attorney's request! -- to address the people and bid them be silent so that the trial could proceed.

(Continued on page 2)

CONTRIBUTIONS OF $900 SENT TO AID FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA AS PETITION DRIVE CONTINUES TO OCT. 15

A first installment of contributions, totalling $900, collected to date in the Council's Petition Campaign, was forwarded this week to the aid of the hundreds of victims of Malanazi persecution in the Union of South Africa. The money, collected and sent in response to urgent South African appeals for assistance, went to the NATIONAL ASSISTANCE FUND in Johannesburg, South Africa, jointly sponsored by the African National Congress, Springbok Legion, Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and Transvaal Peace Council, for the aid of the victims in the South African struggle for democracy.

Simultaneously with the extension of the Petition Campaign to October 15, the Council's officers called for redoubled efforts on the part of the organization's members and friends to broaden the petition drive and thus translate into concrete and effective action the widespread bitterness and indignation of Americans, particularly black Americans, over the rampant racist barbarism of the Malan government.

Many of the letters received by the Council on African Affairs, accompanying signed petitions and contributions, reflected the deep general concern over the critical developments in South Africa. I'd like to quote from a few of these letters.

"Congratulations on the wonderful petition. It's a beautifully printed job and gives all of us here who have wanted some way of expressing how we feel an opportunity to help the great movement in South Africa. The feeling and interest in African affairs is very high here." -- A.S., Washington, D. C.

"May I take this occasion to express my sincere appreciation and admiration for the magnificent work you are doing in behalf of the oppressed African people. Of course, I am aware that what we can do is very minute in comparison to what those brave people are doing. I wish that the American Negro and his allies had the courage, the political maturity and the determination that the South African people exemplify." — R.M., Chicago.

"Here are your petitions. I got a number of people to sign who never signed things before." -- L.C., New York.

"Enclosed find a check from my church for $45 to be used in support of the fight being made by the African people against the unjust laws passed by the Malan government. Please send us at least 100 petitions for signatures. . . If in any other way I or my church can be of service in this struggle for complete equality, feel free to call upon us." — Rev. Charles A. Hill, Hartford Avenue Baptist Church, Detroit.

"Being as concerned as I am over the absolutely horrible state of affairs now existing in South Africa, I should very much like to know what I may do to help. Enclosed please find a check for $5. I wish it were much more. . . This situation has become comparable to the Spanish one of 1935 and I should like to see that another Franco does not rise once more."-P.W.L., Elmhurst, N. Y.

(continued on page 3)

DEFIANCE ACTION AT NEW PEAK ANSWERING TRIAL OF LEADERS (cont'd)

The opening day of the leaders' trial, August 26, also saw some 600 volunteers -- the largest number in a single day since the start of the Defiance Campaign -- sent to jail in cities and towns throught the Union of South Africa (276 in Port Elizabeth alone) for defying the pass laws, curfew regulations and "apartheid" (Jim Crow) provisions.

The total number of Defiance Campaign volunteers arrested since June 26 now stands at well over 4000.

Character of the Trial The trial of the African and Indian leaders is a remarkable example of the way oppressors use the law -- their law -- to maintain the system of oppression. The Malan government has been so tactless and bold in doing this since it came to power that the South African courts have found it guilty of violating the country's constitution by (1) attempting to bar Colored voters from the general electorate by a simple majority (Malan's party followers) vote of Parliament instead of the required two-thirds vote and, then (2) setting up a "High Court of Parliament" by the same parliamentary majority to overrule the court's decision and reaffirm the law barring Colored voters.

The Malan government, which thus uses unconstitutional methods to reinforce its own power, now makes the charge that the African and Indian leaders on trial, by planning and launching the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, were guilty of "encouraging achievement of the objective of Communism" and of aiming at "bringing about a change in the industrial and social structure of the country through unconstitutional and disorderly means".

Stool Pigeon Witnesses The familiar universal pattern of political trials was established at the outset by the first witness put on the stand by the prosecution. He was an African policeman who became a member of the A.N.C. "because", he said, "I wanted to do my job". He was followed by other police and detective spies, mainly African. None of the witnesses during cross-examination was able to give any evidence that the Defiance Campaign entailed advocacy or use of violence.

In support of the state's charge the prosecution read into the record the letters written earlier in the year by the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. to Prime Minister Malan. This correspondence, including the reply of Malan's private secretary to the first letter of the A.N.C., is a matter of public record and was reproduced in detail in the March 14 issue of this NEWS LETTER.

U.S. Messages Put in Evidence Also entered in evidence by the prosecution were documents seized in police raids last July 30, among them being letters to Dr. Moroka from the New York Negro Labor Council, Brooklyn Peace Council, Civil Rights Congress of New England, and other American organizations and individuals, expressing support for the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.

The South African government is attempting to do on a grand scale what the United States government did in its prosecution of such leaders as Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and William L. Patterson. It was the loud protest of the Negro people and their allies in the United States, supported by protests from all over the world, including Africa, that saved these leaders. We have a responsibility now to rally to the defense of the South Africans who are on trial for their opposition to white supremacy and fascist tyranny.

The Ambassador of the Union of South Africa to the United States is Mr. G. P. Jooste. Write or wire him at the South African Embassy, Washington, D.C., demanding that the charges against the 28 African and Indian leaders be dropped and that they and all the thousands of participants in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws be immediately released by the authorities.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

A LETTER FROM SOUTH AFRICA

"Profoundly do we appreciate your interest in our affairs. It is comforting to learn that we, the oppressed people of South Africa, have friends in America. Let success be the fruit of your efforts.

"Conditions among my people are terrifying. We starve; we are exposed to severe winters in our shacks; malnutrition is sweeping us by degrees from the surface of the earth in the form of T.B.; we are forced to become criminals and beggars, drawers of water and hewers of wood, by one or the other discriminatory law. We have borne the brunt of prejudice, oppression and discrimination for three hundred years! The civil disobedience campaign is the only course open to us, and, Sir, Heaven knows we are justified in launching it. . . ." — J.G.M., Pretoria, S. Africa.

MEMO TO AMERICAN WORKERS FOR PEACE

The South African government of Dr. Malan, already engaged in the war against the Korean people and committed to support U.S.-British war plans in the Middle East, now urges the formation of a military alliance by those who control Africa similar to the North Atlantic Pact "as a bulwark against Communism (Aesopian language for African self-determination -- Editor) and for the utilization of the enormous resources of Africa." (U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 12, 1952, gloats over these resources.)

The Malan government has a current war budget of 25 million pounds sterling and is reported buying £40 million worth of arms and munitions from the U.S. The government this month announced erection of its first "secret arms factory", designed for rapid emergency expansion, "somewhere in South Africa". And the production schedule for uranium (from gold ore waste) to be shipped to the U.S. is being speeded up.

Conclusion: a signature on the Council's petition calling on President Truman "to halt United States assistance in any form to the Government of the Union of South Africa" is a signature for PEACE — AND AFRICAN FREEDOM.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF $900 SENT TO AID FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA (cont'd)

It was decided to extend the petition campaign to October 15 because the trade unions and other organizations which have pledged support have only this month been able to take action and their petitions have yet to be returned. At the Conference in New York on July 26 at which the campaign was launched, a target of 100,000 signatures and $5,000 was set. Only by greatly widening the area of those reached with the petitions from now until October 15 can this goal be achieved.

Wherever and whenever people gather together -- at meetings and affairs of all kinds in cities from coast to coast -- our petitions on South Africa should be circulated and signatures and donations obtained. If each reader of this NEWS LETTER will undertake to do this in his own community, requesting from the Council's office as many petitions as he or she may need, we will assuredly complete this campaign successfully.

We extend our thanks to those who have already given full cooperation in the campaign, sending in not one but several petitions signed up. It's the dimes and quarters from thousands of signers (less than $100 has been received in individual contributions of $10 or more) which make up the bulk of the South African assistance donations received to date. We're sorry we couldn't make the first gift to be forwarded to our brothers and allies in South Africa an even thousand dollars. We certainly strove to do so, but couldn't. The $900 sent represents every penny we could gather in with the petitions up to today.

We expect our next progress report to show a big advance. Will YOU help guarantee it?

"ONE OF THE GREAT 20TH CENTURY REVOLUTIONS"

Though they express some faint misgivings concerning the growing demonstrations in all sections of Africa for recognition as free and equal citizens in the world community, the politicians, generals, and businessmen of Europe and the U.S. either cannot or will not realize the full significance of what is developing in Africa among its 200 million indigenous inhabitants. This, of course, is not surprising for even at this late hour they refuse to acknowledge what has happened in Asia. Just as though nothing had changed in the thinking and action of the African peoples in the last 50, 20, or even 5 years, they yet persist with their plans for the continued and intensified plundering of that continent's wealth.

We recommend for these politicians, generals, and business tycoons a study of the following passage written by Basil Davidson ("West Africa: Leader of a Continent," Monthly Review, July 1952):

"The present pace of development (in British West Africa) is astonishing. Consider, after all, that the British 'pacified' the interior of the Gold Coast and Nigeria less than fifty years ago -- that men who led the first British troops into some of these lands are still active in the colonial service. In the orthodox imperialist view, these peoples were saved from savage barbarism. In fact, white imperialism all too often stopped and overthrew their often delicately adjusted checks and balances, the means of give-and-take whereby these peoples governed themselves. And now, within the last two or three decades or less, the pressure for self-government, for political change towards independence, has become so strong as to be irresistible to everything but the machine gun -- and even to the machine gun.

"These peoples have taken to parliamentary institutions created in the last year or so as to the manner born. I have sat for days in the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast and the House of Representatives of Nigeria, and have marvelled at the high level of speaking, the sensitivity to points of procedure, the easy acceptance of parliamentary convention, and the political subtlety (of) these elective assemblies. Only peoples with their own tradition of self-government could behave like this...

"If the changes in West Africa may still be relatively slow, reformist, and ultimately governed by European powers, in an all-African or continental sense their significance is that of revolution . . . The doors of progress being open in West Africa, other Africans in other parts of the continent now begin to push hard against doors that are still shut. One of the great revolutions of the 20th century, the emergence of Africa into the modern world, is breaking under our very eyes."

What Africans Are Saying

Confirmation of Basil Davidson's views may be found in the conclusion of a speech given by Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana (Gold Coast) and leader of the Convention People's Party, at the Third Annual Conference of his Party last month: "We also know that imperialism thrives on the divide-and-rule policy, and supports factional groups for this purpose. The greatest opposition in this country is still imperialism and it is using these political quacks and puppets in our country to sabotage the onward march of the people towards self-government . . Our country now advances towards a position where it can become the symbol of a renascent continent; we advance towards a democracy which is not an artificial imposition from without but an indigenous growth from the roots of our own African traditions and culture."

And over in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President General of that colony's African National Congress which has led the Africans' fight against the so-called Central African Federation scheme for the consolidation of the power of the white settler minority in Nyasaland and N. and S. Rhodesia, said last month: "I have come to the conclusion that the best government for the black people is Government fully manned and run by the black people of Africa."

News Letter SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110 • • • •

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ALL-OUT EFFORT URGED FOR PETITION CAMPAIGN GOAL

Last month the Council on African Affairs forwarded $900 as the first installment of contributions collected for the National Assistance Fund in South Africa sponsored by the African National Congress and other progressive organizations.

The second installment to be forwarded comes to $600, making a total of $1500. That is good. But surely we can and must do better. What about our goal of $5000?

Five thousand dollars is a pitifully small sum when compared with the more than five thousand (5,264 up to Oct.6) black and brown-skinned men and women who, since the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws started on June 26, have deliberately violated South Africa's pass laws and "apartheid" or Jim-Crow statutes and gone to jail--some of them with 90-day sentences, some of them ordered lashed, some brutally tortured by prison wardens.

Cannot we in America give even one dollar to match each Defiance Volunteer's sacrifice in South Africa?

To those who have contributed their dimes, quarters and dollars, THANKS. And thanks especially to those who have helped to collect these contributions.

There was, for instance, the Negro woman out in Berkeley, Cal., who, with two blind pensioners, did door-to-door canvassing with the petitions, and also, though no public speaker, got permission to address an A.F. of L. Carpenters' Union meeting. She so moved the audience that the men had tears in their eyes as they came up to shake her hand, sign the petition, and give their money.

Our campaign was aided by a $50 contribution from the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the Int. Fur and Leather Workers' Union and a similar amount from the United Cafeteria and Restaurant Workers Local Union #471 in Washington, D.C. We haven't space to list all the others, but thanks to each and every one!

If YOUR contribution isn't in yet--- or if you have a petition still out --- please, remember, we expect to hear from you NOW. If you haven't finished getting signatures, try to get this done at once. But in any case, please send in what you have THIS WEEK.

MESSAGE TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF THE U.S.A. FROM THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The following statement was received by the Council last month from Mr. W.M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the African National Congress, foremost organization of Africans in South Africa:

"The Working Committee of the African National Congress has directed me to place on record our sincere appreciation of the moral and material support which our cause and the CAMPAIGN FOR THE DEFIANCE OF THE UNJUST LAWS in particular has received from the Negro people of the United States of America.

"The African people are presently engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the barbarous policy of racial discrimination pursued by the Malan regime. During the last forty years my organization has waged a relentless struggle against this policy and has always held the view that a system of government which permits human exploitation and the denial of fundamental human rights to its citizens must be condemned and eradicated from the face of the earth.

"The policy of racial tyranny contravenes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is a direct threat to world peace. It offends enlightened world opinion and condemns the Malan regime as a group of infamous renegades whose barbarous atrocities perpetrated on the sons and daughters of the soil have shamed humanity. Though we face severe odds, we are confident of our power to halt this brutal onslaught on our civil liberties.

"The interest taken by the Negro people in the struggle of the oppressed people both in our country and other parts of the world, their sentimental and historical affiliations to the Continent of Africa, and their contribution in the campaign for world peace and international harmony are factors which make them our comrades-in-arms in spite of the considerable distance and space that separates us."

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WHITE S. AFRICAN VETS BACK DEFIANCE

The Springbok Legion, an organization of progressive white veterans in South Africa, has issued a statement declaring that white S. Africans face the same problem as the non-white people: to defy unjust laws or submit to tyranny. "The next move must come from us. We regard the Defiance Campaign as opening up the road for the establishment of a full democracy," says the Legion's statement.

AFRICA LOOKS TO UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY -- WILL IT ACT OR EVADE ISSUES?

Confronting the delegates who assembled in New York this week for the opening of the seventh regular session of the United Nations General Assembly , and occupying an imposing portion of the entire agenda, were several problems which spell literally life or death for many millions in Asia and Africa: Korea, South Africa, Tunisia, Morocco, and questions concerning the human rights, economic welfare, and political status of subject peoples.

As the struggles of these peoples for liberation mount in intensity, the U.S. and its Western European allies find it more and more difficult to control the discussion and decisions of the U.N., to keep it a "Cold War" forum instead of an agency for promoting the welfare, freedom, and peace of all peoples. For, even as now constituted with most of Asia and Africa unrepresented, the U.N. has an overwhelming majority of anti-imperialist member-states. They spoke up boldly at the last Assembly meeting in Paris, and the united front of Asian and Middle Eastern countries which developed then will be heard from again at the current meeting, not only on Morocco and Tunisia but on South African racism and other issues as well.

Three months ago representatives of the African National Congress asked U.N. Secretary-General Trygve Lie for an opportunity to place their grievances before the General Assembly and solicit aid for the people's struggle against South Africa's unjust laws. Such appeals from non-governmental sources, unless perhaps concerned with trust territories, are customarily filed and forgotten. But early in September it was disclosed that India had enlisted the support of the other members of the Asian-Middle Eastern group in adding to the U.N. assembly agenda "the question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Union of South Africa."

The U.N. vs. Malanazism This makes the third item concerning South Africa on the U.N. agenda. The other two are the perenial questions of the treatment of Indians in South Africa, and of South West Africa, which has been in effect annexed by the Union of South Africa in the face of repeated Assembly recommendations and a World Court decision that the former German colony should be brought under U.N. trusteeship supervision.

In their memorandum on the apartheid issue India and the others associated in this action state in part: "The race conflict in the Union of South Africa resulting from the policies of Apartheid of the Union Government is creating a dangerous and explosive situation, which constitutes both a threat to international peace and a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedom which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

"Although Africa's importance in world affairs is increasing rapidly, many parts of that continent still remain subject to racial discrimination and exploitation. . "

Thirteen countries have sponsored this item on the U.N. agenda. Only one of them, Egypt, is an African country. Why are not Liberia and Ethiopia also among the sponsors?

In a blustering statement on Oct. 14 South Africa's Prime Minister Malan allied himself with the French government in denouncing U.N. "interference in the domestic affairs" of their countries. He warned against inclusion of either the Morocco-Tunisia or Apartheid question in the Assembly agenda. And without mentioning conditions in South Africa, he took the occasion to assail India's "cruel record of the denial of civil rights" to her racial and religious minorities.

Where Will U.S. Stand? At the Paris Assembly meeting the U.S. delegation supported France in blocking consideration of the Moroccan charges, and joined with Britain and South Africa in trying to prevent Reverend Michael Scott from speaking before the Trusteeship Committee on behalf of the Africans of South West Africa. At other times, it has given thinly veiled support to its imperialist allies by abstaining on roll-call votes. But since the Tunisia fiasco of last spring this dodge no longer has any worth. So what to do now?

The answer, at least on the South African Apartheid question, was suggested in a N.Y. Times (Sept. 21) story apparently "leaked" by high official sources. The placing of this item on the U.N. agenda, wrote reporter A.M. Rosenthal, "has meant a new diplomatic headache for the United States. Aside from legalities, the U.S. will have to consider the dangers of antagonizing the Arab-Asian bloc by voting in the negative or abstaining on the question. At the same time, an affirmative vote would be in direct opposition to some of the U.S.'s Western European and British Commonwealth allies. . . It was reported that there was considerable diplomatic support in favor of a move to ask the World Court. . . to rule whether the United Nations has the legal right to debate South Africa's racial segregation policies."

Such an evasive step must be prevented! KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE U.N.!

IMPERIALISTS PLAN POOL OF AFRICAN RESOURCES TO HELP EUROPE

Illustrating the manner in which the Big Business press can turn things upside down to make them appear the opposite of what they are, the N.Y. Times headlined its page one story of the so-called "Strasbourg plan" on Sept. 26 as follows: "EUROPEANS FAVOR POOL OF RESOURCES TO HELP COLONIES." Just contrast that with our heading above and you will see what we mean.

One of the most significant things about the plan agreed upon by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, France, on Sept. 25 is that Western Germany's representative, Johannes Semler, played a leading role in its formulation and got what he demanded. As the Times states, "The plan would enable West Germany, which has no colonies, to help create new sources of raw materials in backward territories. . . The idea recalled general proposals before World War II, when Britain and France unsuccessfully sought a peaceful settlement of Hitler's demands for colonies by suggesting equitable access for Germany to their colonial raw materials."

Another significant point is that the plan calls for the setting up of a European bank for the "development" of overseas territories and for the United States to be "invited" to help finance this venture. That goes without saying. Without the many millions of dollars provided by the U.S. government through its Marshall Plan, Point Four, E.C.A., and M.S.A. programs, it would have been impossible to secure the already greatly increased production and export of African uranium, copper, manganese, zinc, lead, chrome ore, iron ore, antimony, asbestos, sisal, and other raw materials — a substantial portion of which have gone to the U.S.A. (U.S. imports from the Belgian Congo, for example, in 1951 were 674 per cent higher in value than in 1938).

As in the case of Point Four, it is alleged that the Strasbourg plan "would bolster colonial peoples against Communist penetration by lifting their living conditions and help take Europe off the receiving end of United States aid." When, pray, did any exploitation scheme ever benefit the exploited as well as the exploiters? And when did thieves ever agree on the sharing of their loot?

Actually the plan, *if* it is put into operation, will mean increased U.S. domination of both Western Europe and European overseas territories. American economic penetration in Africa is already causing inter-imperialist stresses and strains. France accused the U.S. before the World Court of making "a sort of American protectorate" out of Morocco. And the London Economist's recent observation that "A Commonwealth whose development was financed predominantly from America would not long remain a British Commonwealth" is the basis of increasing concern in British financial circles.

A relevant footnote here is the fact that the Chemical Bank and Trust Company in New York this month issued an eight-page economic survey of the Belgian Congo, and also this month the National City Bank of New York issued a four-page Customers Confidential Bulletin entitled "Africa's Contribution to International Trade." (For recent data on U.S. economic penetration in Africa see NEWSLETTERS XI, 5,6,9,10)

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NAILING THE LIE OF "COMMUNIST PENETRATION" BEHIND AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES

White Supremacy and Cold War propagandists would have you believe that there would be peace and contentment among the people of Africa and other subject lands—and among black people in the United States, too—were it not for the existence of "subversive Communist agitation". With the mounting African resistance to oppression has come a spate of fantastic stories about the Communist influences at work in various sections of the continent. It is even alleged, for instance, that Communists and "witch doctors" are working together to incite the people to revolt.

One of these stories, which has had wide currency in European and American newspapers for some time, was finally laid to rest last month when the Ethiopian Embassy in London issued the following statement:

"There appeared recently in the Press rumors that there were 400 persons employed in the Russian Legation in Addis Ababa. The majority of these supposed Russians were said to have been engaged in Communist activity throughout Africa. This rumor appeared to be based on a lecture delivered by Mr. G.C. Schluter at a joint meeting in July of the Royal African Society and the Royal Empire Society.

"Viscount Portman is also reported to have said in the House of Lords on July 7: 'Since the end of the war a stream of unequivocable and treasonable propaganda against this country has been coming from the borders of Abyssinia. It has been spread not only in West Africa and East Africa, but also in South Africa. I am now

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speaking of the activities of the Soviet Legation in Addis Ababa.'

"The Imperial Ethiopian Embassy is authorized to state that the above allegations are without any foundation. In fact, the number of Russians in the Legation in Addis Ababa is 10, including secretarial staff and servants. There are also in the Soviet Legation seven Ethiopian servants; that is, a total of 17 persons.

"The number of the staff of the Russian Legation is much smaller than the staff of the Embassies of other Powers in Addis Ababa. The allegation that Ethiopian territory has been used for the dissemination of anti-British and Communist propaganda in other parts of Africa is entirely untrue."

And In S. Africa The "Communist agitation" line is being played out to its full limit in the Union of South Africa, where 28 leaders of the non-white peoples of that country are on trial under the"Suppression of Communism" Act. The defendants include one African woman, Mrs. Florence Mapomela, and one representative of South Africa's one million people of mixed descent, who are called Colored, Mr. James G. Phillips, a gifted basso known as "South Africa's Paul Robeson," and who like Robeson was refused a passport to leave the country in order to develop his singing in London. Phillips is also a leading trade unionist, President of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and of a branch of the Garment Workers Union.

Counsel for the defense, Mr. V. C. Berrange, in demanding that the charges be dropped, said to the court: "I submit on behalf of my clients that the Crown has failed to make out any case - that the only reason for the prosecution is that the Government is becoming increasingly embarrassed - indeed desperate because it can find no other way of retarding the rising tide of non-European aspirations and demands - that it imagines that if it jumps on to the anti-Communist Band Wagon it will recapture some of the reputation which it has lost amongst the nations of the world- that in its desperation it has taken these steps to prosecute the accused under an Act which although supposedly intended to suppress Communism is now being used in an endeavour to suppress the legitimate aspirations of the Non-Europeans."

And finally, on this question of Communism and Africans, we give you the words of a black man from the Union of South Africa, Professor Z. K. Matthews, now in the United States on a year's visiting professorship at Union Theological Seminary. Professor Matthews besides heading the Department of African Studies and serving as Professor of Social Anthropology, Native Law and Administration at the University College, Fort Hare, South Africa, is also President of the Cape Province section of the African National Congress. One of his sons, Joseph Matthews, is among the 28 leaders now on trial.

In the course of an interview published in the N.Y. Post, Sept. 28, Professor Matthews said, "I resent the suggestion that the African people require Communists to teach them to defend their rights. Ever since the Bantu encountered the Europeans on the banks of the Great Fish River long before the Communist Manifesto was even thought of, they have struggled for equal rights in the land of their birth. They will continue that struggle, and not allow themselves to be browbeaten by smear tactics in their determined fight for their liberation."

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A FEW ITEMS OF CURRENT NEWS FROM THE LAND OF APARTHEID

Prime Minister Malan has refused to allow Chief Hosea Kutako, head of the Herero tribe of South-West Africa, to travel to London to preach a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, at the invitation of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, who asked him to give an address "on the subject of his understanding of the Christian Gospel, of how it was brought to his people in Africa, and of its present and future tasks amongst his people." The Herero tribe raised the travel expenses to Britain for the Chief and an interpreter. But the Government refused to grant a passport.

What some reactionary groups in the United States have been advocating in their attack on United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is an accomplished fact in South Africa. The government there last month announced a ban on a pamphlet discussing race prejudice, "The Roots of Prejudice," by Professor Arnold M. Rose, published last year by UNESCO, of which South Africa is a member. The pamphlet outlines the causes of race prejudice in a general way and contains only one passing reference, in a single sentence, to South Africa. This is only one of scores of books, pamphlets, and newspapers which the government has arbitrarily banned as "objectionable, indecent, or obscene."

At a recent Transvaal Congress of Malan's Nationalist Party, among several "apartheid" motions was one deploring the appointment of African telegraph messengers and stating that if the Postal Department were forced to use them, they should deliver telegrams at the back doors of European dwellings. Another motion ordered an inquiry into dry-cleaning practices to insure that the clothes of Europeans and non-Europeans are cleaned separately.

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

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ARE THE WESTERN POWERS BUILDING UP FOR ANOTHER ASIAN DEBACLE IN AFRICA?

Peace is once again on the horizon in Korea. Wall Street stocks have slumped; world peace hopes are up. Korea is another milestone in the liberation of the peoples of Asia from centuries of Western domination.

But what of Africa? Except for forced concessions in the Sudan and Gold Coast (which should not be misinterpreted as British abdication from those areas), the picture is one of tightening Western domination over that continent. North Africa is being held down only by a military despotism. Military repression in the savage manner of the Malayan campaign is the order of the day in Kenya. The election in South Africa saw the two major parties vying with each other in guaranteeing white supremacy rule. A blow-up is imminent in British Central Africa as a result of the attempt to force more than six million Africans to submit to being governed by less than 200,000 white settlers.

The "Last Reserve" It is necessary to remember that it was only some eighty years ago that the Western European powers seriously turned their attention to the continent of Africa and raced, bargained, and fought with one another to carve it up into a crazy-quilt of colonies and protectorates. And it is only within the last twenty years, and particularly since World War II and the loss of China, that European and American Big Money began to assess, covet, and grab Africa's great natural wealth.

The white invaders first measured Africa's wealth in men, women, and children to be sold as slaves. Then they measured it in gold and ivory. Today they measure it in uranium and manganese, copper and cobalt, and scores of other mineral ores and raw materials wanted for the industries and armaments of the Western world.

It required only a few trinkets, chains, and guns - and a ruthless inhumanity - to collect slaves and ivory. But for today's demands much more is required! First, unchallenged control over the land and its resources; second, control over a vast reservoir of cheap labor; and third, substantial investment capital (call it Point Four or what you will) to pay for prospecting and exploiting the raw materials, for hydro-electric power plants, for new transportation facilities.

"Saving" Africa This, from the point of view of European and American Big Money, adds up to the necessity of strengthening and consolidating control in Africa in the hands of the colonial powers and resident white settlers. It means, above all, the necessity of buying off, splitting, or crushing the liberation movements of the subject peoples. It used to be said that the Africans were being saved for Christianity; today it is pretty obvious that they are being saved for Capitalism.

The direct relationship between the consolidation of white supremacy rule and "security" for investments in Africa is exemplified in the statement in his annual report last October made by Mr. R.L. Prain, Chairman of the Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., in which the American Metal Company (Morgan) has heavy interests. Said Mr. Prain: "We are naturally closely concerned with the question of the possible federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland...A successful completion of federation would recreate conditions where investors could be confident about further investments in Rhodesia. Without such investment....a great opportunity will have been missed of opening up these potentially rich territories for the benefit of the Commonwealth and free nations as a whole."

Why does the U.S. delegation support the European colonial powers and Malan's representatives in the U.N.? Why is General Ridgeway inspecting U.S. bases in Morocco? Why are Point Four technicians, U.S. consular and Information Service agents, transportation experts and military advisers so busy today all over Africa? Because it is from the United States that a major share of the money is coming and must come to effectuate the blueprints for making Africa the Western World's great new dream-paradise of cheap and abundant raw materials and fat investment dividends.

A Report to Americans One of America's Big Money newspapers, the Chicago Daily News, expressed all this in an unusually candid fashion on March 18 in a dispatch from its correspondent, Edwin A. Lahey, in Dakar, French West Africa: "French West Africa...is good enough to serve as a symbol for the great investment American taxpayers have in this continent. The public investment of U.S. money in Africa now runs more than half a billion dollars, and the private investment may be as much or more.

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"You find signs of this American financial interest without looking. One passenger on the plane, who boarded at Lisbon, is on his way to Mozambique, Portuguese East Africa, to explore for metals. His employer, a firm in Philadelphia, is doing the job as part of the Point Four program. A Negro woman on the plane, an employee of the Public Health Service in Washington, is en route to Liberia on a Point Four program for public health education.

"Imperialism would be a nasty word to describe our own expanding interest in Africa, but the list of American projects to develop the vast mineral resources of this continent suggests that the 19th Century imperialism of England, France, Belgium and Portugal in Africa is child's play by comparison. A whole world is at stake in the current flood of public and private investment funds into the dark continent...

"But the whole business is distressingly complicated by the presence of a good many million Natives, whose labor is needed for the digging, and who are clamoring, with varying degrees of militancy and viciousness /that's what the slave-masters always call it - Editor/ to be elected to membership in the human race.

"There's a majestic contest going on for the souls of these people, and the first question an American asks himself is: Do we blow Africa the way we blew China?"

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THE ISSUE IS WHITE SUPREMACY OR AFRICAN SELF-DETERMINATION

The verdict in the trial of Jomo Kenyatta and the other leaders of the Kenya African Union has been rendered. On April 9 Southern Rhodesia's white minority voted on the Central African Federation scheme. And as this goes in the mail, the minority allowed to vote in South Africa is choosing between the Nationalist and United Party candidates. A common thread runs through all three of these events. They all have to do with the relationship of the white minorities to the black majorities in the several countries. They all forecast the shape of things to come.

War in Kenya The events in Kenya should be a warning. What started as an "emergency" police action by the authorities in Kenya last October has become a military operation with an undisclosed number of troop reinforcements being air-lifted from England this month to add to the 6,000 troops and 12,000 police already in action there. And reports indicate that the calling in of South African troops (a move likely to set the whole of Africa aflame) and the use of Royal Air Force units are being considered.

Tens of thousands of Africans have been thrown in concentration camps - seven thousand were rounded-up in a single pre-dawn raid April 3. Hundreds have been killed by the military and police. The hangman has been kept busy. The alleged leaders of the revolt are all behind bars. Yet, the British authorities now admit that they can't tell how long it will be before "law and order" can be restored.

According to the London Economist, Operation Mau Mau is costing 250,000 pounds or $700,000 a DAY, $4,900,000 a week, which is more than two times the amount spent annually on African education. A special tax has been assessed against the Kikuyu to defray part of the expense of killing and jailing them!

About Mau Mau The metropolitan press is silent on the grievances of Kenya Africans but never fails to speak of "Mau Mau terrorists" who have allegedly vowed to "drive the white man out of Kenya." The Negro press, though sympathetic to the cause of African freedom, too often echoes the same British propaganda line. As we have previously reported, the white settlers in Kenya themselves built up the Mau Mau scare as an excuse for an all-out assault upon the powerful and respected Kenya African Union, the major vehicle of the Kenya Africans' liberation struggle since World War II.

The K.A.U. leaders denied that such a thing as the settlers described as Mau Mau existed. They stated that there was widespread and bitter resentment caused by landlessness, hunger and oppression, and that this resentment should be removed by satisfying the just demands of the people.

The answer of the colonial authorities was to order the wholesale arrest of the K.A.U. leaders and charge them with complicity with Mau Mau, ban all meetings, suppress the Africans' publications, and close their schools. The British have only themselves to blame if what was originally sporadic and spontaneous localized expressions of resentment through such actions as setting fire to white settlers' farms has now become an organized and disciplined resistance movement fighting with sten-guns, rifles and pistols captured during clashes with the enemy and in raids on police-posts.

This is war. People fighting for their lives cannot afford to be merciful to informers, spies, and others who collaborate with the enemy. People fighting for freedom cannot afford the luxury of tolerance toward their betrayers. War is not pretty. Neither is the colonial oppression that breeds war.

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The overlord oppressors in Kenya, South Africa, Rhodesia and elsewhere would have you believe that the Africans' resistance is either Communist-inspired or grounded in ignorant superstition, fanatical, terroristic - Mau Mau. Let the truth be known. The issue is African self-determination vs white supremacy domination.

Protest the sentence imposed on Kenyatta and his colleagues!

Demand an end to the British campaign of brutal repression in Kenya and the withdrawal of all troops!

Support the struggle of the Kenya Africans for land, life and liberty!

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A WHITE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS MEETS IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

The settler immigrants in British East and Central Africa and in the Union of South Africa are by no means the only ones in Africa who embrace the doctrine of white supremacy. There met at Bukavu, Belgian Congo, earlier this year an assemblage modestly calling itself the Congress for the Development of Civilization in Africa. Present were representatives - all white - from the Belgian Congo, Ruanda Urundi, Portugal's colonies, French Equatorial Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, and Southern Rhodesia.

Col. David Stirling and H.H. Wilson, who attended from Rhodesia, are the leaders and "brain trust" of the Capricorn Society which aims at an expanded federation embracing all central and eastern Africa. The Congress called for the establishment of a "United States of Central Africa," and set up a permanent "Central African Congress" to work toward this end. It declared that the "ideals of western civilization" should have priority in Africa and urged "a considerable increase" in European immigration "to develop Central Africa."

The West African Pilot of Nigeria had this editorial comment (Jan. 12) on the above-mentioned proposals: "Everyone knows what European immigration has done in East, Central, and South Africa. Native Africans have been completely deprived of their lands and mineral resources. They have been driven with guns, hunted down with dogs, discriminated against, denied full participation in the machineries of government.

"'Development' is indeed a very appealing slogan. But the Belgians know in their heart of hearts that they are not playing fair to poor Congo Natives. Belgian Congo is like one vast plantation in which the Natives toil from dawn to dusk to enrich their Belgian task masters....We therefore oppose the invitation for more white immigrants and call on all Congo Natives to protest against it. The scheme is fraudulent."

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TOWARD LABOR UNITY AND SOLIDARITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, as in the United States, white workers have long been taught that their "privileged" status could only be maintained by keeping black workers down. Malan's Minister of Labor, Ben Schoeman, closing his eyes to the fact that South Africa's industrial development constantly demanded more and more black workers, preaches that there should be no intermingling of the races in industry or the trade unions, and that whites should be employed only in skilled work and non-whites only in unskilled work.

Last month the South African Federation of Trade Unions and the South African Trades and Labor Council made history by taking a direct slap at the Government's divide-and-rule labor policy. The labor bodies declared that trade unions should be open to all "irrespective of race and color," asserting that only in this way could "unhealthy and anti-social" competition among workers on the same occupation be avoided.

"Experience has shown conclusively," they stated, "that there can be no adequate safeguards against lowering of workers' standards of wages and employment conditions other than total organization of the workers concerned, irrespective of race or color, on the basis that the rate for the job is the uniform minimum rate of wages for each occupation."

Under the Malan regime white workers in South Africa have been learning a lot about the need for labor unity. They have seen their own leaders "named" and barred from trade union activity by means of the "Suppression of Communism" Act, along with non-white leaders - E.S. Sachs, Secretary of the Garment Workers Unions, I. Wolfson of the Tailoring Workers, and D. Du Plessis of the Laundering Workers, along with J.B. Marks, President of the African Mineworkers' Union, I.E. Bhoola of the Tin Workers, and T. Gwala of the Rubber Workers Union. White as well as black workers were hit by climbing living costs. And the white workers see the Government's latest repressive laws threatening not only the Africans' resistance movement but the labor movement as well. A genuinely democratic labor movement means a new South Africa.

ABOUT THAT LONG-AWAITED U.N. COMMISSION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The resignation of Dr. Ralph Bunche, March 23, from the three man Commission charged by the U.N. General Assembly to investigate South Africa's racist oppression has added to the widespread belief that the Commission is being sabotaged by behind-the-scenes maneuvers. Asian-African members charged that Ex-Secretary General Trygve Lie pressured Dr. Bunche to resign from the Commission. It is not difficult to guess who pressured Mr. Lie. Both Mr. Lie and Dr. Bunche said, however, that it was only because of the latter's other U.N. responsibilities that he could not serve.

To a delegation sponsored by the Connecticut Peace Council which interviewed him and several of the U.N. delegations early this month, Dr. Bunche commented that the Commission, with Prof. Dante Bellegarde of Haiti appointed in his place, would hold its first meeting April 20 but would take some time to prepare its report. He went on to explain the restrictions upon the U.N.'s "interfering in the internal affairs of a member nation," pointing out that the U.S. Government would not want the situation in Mississippi investigated. The Connecticut delegates said they thought that might be a good idea.

The delegation also raised the question of the barring of AME Bishops Frederick Jordan and Howard Primm by the Malan Government. Dr. Bunche said that "this is a matter between states." The U.N. could not act upon this until a protest was first made by the U.S. Government. To date, so far as is known, no such protest has been lodged with the U.N., with the South African Government, or anywhere else.

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NORTHERN RHODESIA - At the call of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, headed by H.M. Nkumbula, several thousand African workers, including some in government employment , took part in a two-day work stoppage, April 1-2, and joined in prayer services in opposition to the Central African Federation scheme. Several hundred workers were fired from their jobs as a result. Some were taken back at reduced wages. This marked the initiation of the long-planned "action program" against federation, to be resorted to if all appeals failed.

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NYASALAND - The Nyasaland African Congress at a meeting in early April resolved to oppose the federation scheme by every means possible short of violence.

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NIGERIA - The long-standing feud between the two major Nigerian parties, the Action Group led by Obafemi Awolowo and the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, has been ended by their joining together in demanding Nigerian self-government in 1956. A motion embodying this demand introduced in the House of Representatives was opposed only by members of the Northern Bloc, who wanted no fixed time specified. Azikiwe and Awolowo shook hands together after the stormy parliamentary session. "If the British refuse to leave this country, we must force them to leave, though we have no atomic bombs, aeroplanes or guns," said Awolowo. A vote of no confidence in the Eastern Regional Government and the resignation of the Central Ministers have brought about a constitutional crisis in that section of Nigeria where N.C.N.C. is strongest.

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GOLD COAST - How the London owners of a chain of newspapers in the British West African colonies try to mold African opinion to conform with Britain's imperialist interests was brought to light in the course of a recent trial. A letter from a Managing Director in London to the editorial adviser of the Gold Coast Graphic, which was put in evidence, read thus: "I have just been reading the latest batch of your papers. There is still far too much Self-Government NOW in the paper. I don't know when the Gold Coast will be reasonably fit for self-government but not for a long time yet. We don't have to say all this in the paper, but we can avoid raising African hopes. I make this point at intervals but you seem to do little to curb it."

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SOUTHERN RHODESIA - Prime Minister Sir Godfrey Huggins, leading proponent of Central African Federation, has recently pointed out that chrome ore mined in that territory is "now railed to Beira (Portuguese East African port), shipped to the United States, turned into ferro-chrome, and partly sold to the United Kingdom." "One criticism against 'colonialism' which had substance," he said, hastily adding that "most had none - was that raw materials had been taken away for the industries of distant countries at a price which did not leave enough in the country of origin for the provision of satisfactory health, education and other social services." (East Africa and Rhodesia, Jan. 15, 1953)

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White settlers in Kenya have raised funds to provide an office in London to "tell the truth about Kenya." A Catholic mission society in this country has appealed for funds "to aid the victims of Mau Mau terrorists." How about helping the African victims of British tyranny in Kenya. $100, a small token of support made up in part by contributions from Newsletter readers, has been forwarded to the Kenya African Union by the Council on African Affairs. How about sending MORE?

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
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Telephone: ENright 9-8110

(New Address: 139 West 125th St.)
March 25, 1954 XIII, 3 Subscription $1. a year

CARACAS, VENEZUELA -- CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA -- KHARTOUM, SUDAN -- AND WASHINGTON, D.C.

At the Inter-American Conference U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles overrode objections voiced against Yankee intervention and encroachment on the rights of sovereign states to force adoption of his anti-Communism resolution - and then hurried away before the Conference, over-riding U.S. objections and with the U.S. alone abstaining, approved with genuine enthusiasm its anti-colonialism resolution.

In the South African Parliament, meeting at Cape Town, Malan's Minister of "Justice," Mr. C.R. Swart, last month announced that since passage of the Suppression of Communism Act (1950) a total of 516 persons, including 42 trade union officials, had been "placed on the Liquidator's List" - that is, banned from public gatherings, from organizational office and activity, from travel, etc. Arguing for amendment of the Act to close certain loop-holes he said that those placed on the list as Communists could state their objections and even go to court and try to prove their innocence.

At Khartoum, capital of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, a National Congress for the Defense of Civil Liberties was held on December 3, 1953. In December, 1950, the Sudan Government declared illegal any organization which is "under the influence of, affiliated to, participates in the activities of, or strives to promote the objectives" of, among other organizations, the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Council of Peace. In October, 1953, the Government went further and issued a Decree on Subversive Activity, which makes even the possession of literature of the W.F.T.U. and other international progressive organizations, or literature defending the same ideas that they defend, conclusive evidence of "subversive" activities. Those convicted under the law may be imprisoned for 14 years. The People's Congress in December opposed this legislation.

The U.S. Attorney General's Subversive List is comparable to the "Liquidator's List" in South Africa. So is the due-process-in-reverse system in both countries according to which one is first declared guilty and then has the right to try to prove his innocence. Further, the guilt-by-association parallel between the Sudan's repressive measures and this country's Smith and McCarran Acts is clearly apparent.

The peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America know anti-communism for what it is, the smoke-screen for fascist dictatorship and maintaining the imperialist status quo. The people of America must also quickly comprehend this and attack not only the methods of McCarthyism but its objectives. This was the main theme of the representative People's Congress held in Washington, D.C., on March 7, which voiced its determination to launch a national campaign for the repeal of the McCarran Act, the statutory embodiment of the thought-control objectives of McCarthyism.

In all lands, but above all in the United States, the people's rallying cry must be the defense of civil liberties, of workers' rights, of national self-determination and colonial liberation, of peace. It's time to FIGHT BACK!

A COURSE IN FOURTH GRADE ARITHMETIC PRESCRIBED

British Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton apparently hoped to demonstrate that the British really meant well by the Kenya Africans when he announced that one African would be admitted to the Kenya Government's Council of Ministers to speak for the 5,500,000 Africans of the country, along with two Asians to speak for the 154,000 Asians and thirteen whites to speak for the 42,000 white settlers.

"If this is Mr. Lyttelton's idea of 'fair' representation, it appears that Great Britain's colonial secretary is badly in need of a refresher course in fourth grade arithmetic," was the editorial comment of the Afro-American (March 20).

Besides the bad arithmetic there is something else fundamentally wrong with this proposal. The African and Asian members will not be elected by those whom they are supposed to speak for, but will be nominated by the Governor. Thus they cannot in fact be anything more than official stooges. Kenya Africans demand the right to elect their own representatives in the Legislative Council and in the Council of Ministers, and they demand at least the same number of representatives as the whites have.

* * *

The Council Urges Your Attendance
at a Working Conference in Support of African Liberation
Saturday, April 24, 1954, Friendship Baptist Church, 144 West 131 St., New York City

TRADE UNIONS IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA SET EXAMPLE FOR OTHER AFRICAN WORKERS

Following the French Government's adoption and promulgation of the history-making Labor Code for its African colonies (French officials insist on calling them "overseas territories") in November, 1952, a victory won by the sustained, militant and united campaign of the African trade union movement throughout French West Africa (see May 12, 1953 *Newsletter*), another long and hard struggle ensued for the *full implementation* of the Labor Code.

From August to December last year, after long negotiations of the trade unions with employers and officials had got nowhere, a continuous series of strikes occurred in Dakar, French Sudan, Niger and the Cameroons. In French Guinea workers were out for seven weeks. The main issue in these strikes was the demand for an all-around 20% increase in hourly wage rates to bring the workers' earnings under the newly won 40-hour week up to the level of earnings under the former 48-hour week. Finally, in December, the French West African Government conceded the 20% hourly wage increase.

Categories of Workers

In the February 13, 1954, issue of the London Weekly magazine, *West Africa*, Mr. Thomas Hodgkin has this to say about the French West African trade union movement: "What is perhaps most interesting about the changing structure of French West African society is the position of the working-class. As in Western Europe a century ago, the new towns and the new working-class are the characteristic products of industrial revolution. The post-war rate of growth of both has been spectacular. The population of Dakar is now about 300,000 (as compared with about 90,000 in 1936); Bamako and Abidjan have topped the 100,000 mark; Conakry and Porto-Novo stand at roughly 60,000. The total number of wage and salary earners in 1952 was about 370,000--nearly 14,000 Europeans and over 360,000 Africans. Of these about one-third were employed in public, and two-thirds in private, enterprises. Over 50,000 workers were employed in the building industry and in public works; another 50,000 in agriculture; 40,000 in commerce and the professions; 27,000 in manufacturing industry; another 27,000 in transport; 11,500 in mining; 10,000 in forestry; and 1,000 in banking and insurance.

"In the private sector twenty firms employed more than 1,000 workers; over 300 employed between 100 and 1,000; but over 10,000 were small businesses, employing one to ten workers. As in other West African countries, a high proportion of workers--about 80%--is classified as *sans spécialité*--unskilled: and many are migrants, e.g., the *navetanes*, mainly Mossi, who descend every year from Haute-Volta to Senegal and the Ivory Coast to work on the farms (Haute-Volta also, of course, supplies the Gold Coast with about 130,000 seasonal laborers).

Trade Union Organization

"Marx described trade unions as 'the focal points for the organization of the working-class'. Certainly, if one judges by the quality of its unions, the French West African working-class has reached a stage of greater maturity than the working-classes of other West African countries. This can be explained in part by the fact that French West African trade unions enjoy closer relations with, and have received more positive help from, the trade union movement in metropolitan France; partly by the liberal and sympathetic approach of the *Inspection du Travail* (an institution established in 1946, as part of the post-war New Deal.)

"All the three French trade union centres-the Communist-led C.G.T. /General Confederation of Labor/, the Catholic C.F.T.C., and the Socialist breakaway from the C.G.T., the *Force Ouvriere*--are represented in French West Africa. In addition there are certain independent unions--particularly the powerful Railwaymen's Union, the *Cheminots*. The strongest of the four groups is undoubtedly the C.G.T., which includes a number of non-Communists in its leadership, and owes its success largely to its concentration on ends directly connected with the wages and conditions of the African working-class. Indeed C.G.T. unions are popularly referred to as "African" unions (in contrast with the F.O. unions, which tend to be regarded as "French"). The total membership of unions of all four types in 1952 was over 60,000--about one-sixth of all employed workers--of whom about half were members of C.G.T. unions. The proportion of trade unionists is highest (naturally enough) in Senegal--about 30% of wage and salary earners; lowest in Niger.

Unity in Struggle

The C.G.T., C.F.T.C., F.O. and independent unions have their coordinating committees, which have been successful in pursuing a common policy on major issues--particularly over the main big issue which has arisen during the past year, the *Code du Travail* and its application. The various strikes which have taken place recently in French West Africa have been the result of the joint planning and initiative of the various centres. Judged both by the quality of their trade union journals--e.g., *Le Proletaire* (C.G.T., Dakar), *Liaison* (C.F.T.C., Dakar), *Barakéla*, (C.G.T., Bamako)--their efficiency in negotiating extremely detailed collective agreements with the employers' organizations, and their general standard in practical matters, such as dues collecting, the French West African trade union movement is well in advance of movements in British West Africa...One common criticism of the Labor Code is that it makes the workers into a privileged class. It would perhaps be truer to say that it gives them a better opportunity than they enjoy elsewhere to play a formative part in West African history."

BELGIUM SEEKS PERMANENT CONTROL OF THE RICH CONGO; ITS TRUSTEESHIP RULE IN RUANDA-URUNDI CONDEMNED IN U.N.

Do not be surprised if one day the Belgian delegate in the United Nations tells that body: "The Belgian Congo is no longer a dependent or non-self-governing territory but is an integral part of the sovereign state of Belgium. The United Nations, therefore, has no competence to have jurisdiction of any kind over the Belgian Congo any more than over Belgium itself."

The Belgian delegate will support his contention by citing the fact that in 1953 the Belgian Chamber of Representatives approved a revision of Article I, Paragraph 4, of the Belgian Constitution to make it clear that Belgium and the Congo together form a single sovereign state. Something similar, incidentally, was done by the Portugese Parliament in 1951 when Portugal's overseas possessions were "integrated" and their style changed from "colonies" to "overseas provinces."

Belgian officials have for some time been exasperated by what they regard as the over-zealous concern of the U.N. for the welfare of the Congolese. The British and French have, of course, also squirmed when their colonial policies were under review, but the Belgian representative, M. Pierre Ryckmans, has been particularly perverse in rejecting any and all U.N. efforts toward the political and social advancement of colonial peoples, sometimes casting the lone negative vote on such issues. That is why we say - do not be surprised if Belgium employs the above-mentioned technical excuse to try to end, once and for all, U.N. "meddling" with the Congo.

Policy of Gradualism Belgian, French and Portugese colonial regimes have much in common. They all strive to head off the development of national consciousness and mass demands for emancipation by fostering the identification of the small elite group of Africans, those few who have been able to acquire education and a clerkship or profession, with the European overlords rather than with their own people. A former Belgian Minister of Colonies, M. Vigny, explained recently, "We shall have progressively to extend to the native population, having regard to their level of economic and intellectual development, the same liberties and rights as are guaranteed to Belgian citizens. This will be the responsibility of tomorrow's legislators."

What this means in actual practice may be illustrated in the matter of education. Until only recently secondary schools and colleges in the Belgian Congo were reserved for white and colored (Afro-European) youth. A new policy was announced at the close of 1953 to admit African children to these institutions. BUT their admission was conditional upon their parents possessing a "western outlook," observing monogamy and "sound moral principles," and having sufficient income to guarantee their child's completion of the full course of study. In the face of these conditions, only forty African candidates dared to apply for entrance to the white schools in Leopoldville, and of the forty only sixteen were admitted. That explains why M. Vigny says that the question of equal rights for the Congolese can be left for "tomorrow's legislators."

Questions on Ruanda-Urundi The Trusteeship Council of the United Nations in its current session devoted several days this month to the critical examination of Belgium's administration of its trust territory, Ruanda-Urundi. The Indian representative, Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, noting that "in this territory political life, as it is usually understood, is conspicuous only by its absence," asked whether Belgium's representative could indicate "at least the decade" in which the people of Ruanda-Urundi were likely to attain independence. M. Ryckmans replied that no definite answer could be given because "to a large extent the answer depends on the indigenous inhabitants themselves." This after 28 years of Belgian "tutelage"!

Asked why the territory did not have "even the most primitive electoral system," another Belgian representative blamed the feudal hierarchical system, and said that in efforts to get the people to take part in local elections, even literate Africans mistook ballot forms for lottery tickets. This sounds suspiciously like a chauvinist's conception of a funny story, but if it is true, it is a doubly damning indictment of Belgian administration.

Treated Like Children Objecting to the curfew ordinance in the territory Mr. Khan said that because of a few bad characters, "tens of thousands of people are treated like naughty school children locked up in their dormitories for the night." Another member of the Trusteeship Council, Mr. Max H. Dorsinville of Haiti, also urged Belgium "not to treat the inhabitants like children" but to offer them proper education, technical training, and other incentives for taking political responsibility. The representatives of the Soviet Union and Syria were among the sharp critics of racial discrimination in Ruanda-Urundi. As for the representative of the United States, Mr. Mason Sears, he unconsciously contributed a bit of comic relief. He began to talk about "what has happened in Puerto Rico which, like Ruanda-Urundi, has a small area with a dense population." But the Chairman of the Trusteeship Council interrupted him and said that references to Puerto Rico were out of order since it was not a trust territory. "In that case," said Mr. Sears, "my main point is now gone." He ended by complimenting Belgium on its trusteeship.

VAST GULF BETWEEN COLONIES AND COLONIAL POWERS IN SOCIAL SERVICES REVEALED IN U.N. STATISTICAL YEARBOOK

The United States has one physician for every 750 inhabitants, Britain one for every 1200, but in French West Africa there is only one doctor for every 28,000 and in British Togoland only one for every 79,000, according to data in the United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1953 released last month. The 578-page volume with its 182 tables, prepared by the U.N. Statistical Office, points up many other concrete examples of the wide gap in economic conditions and social and cultural services separating the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin-America from those of Europe and North America.

The fact that the Yearbook provides far more detailed information concerning agricultural, mining, and manufacturing production than regarding the people in the various countries reflects the priority of economic gain over social welfare in the thinking of the governmental authorities to whom the U.N. statisticians must go for their data. This is, of course, particularly true in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world. And with respect to such countries it is safe to assume that the information regarding such things as the production of rubber and diamonds is much more accurate than the information on education, for example.

Take the very important question of infant mortality rates, which vary in proportion to the medical services available. The Yearbook records 129.6 deaths of infants under one year of age per 1000 live births in Egypt in 1950 (140.7 in 1920-1924), and 83.1 such deaths in Gold Coast in 1951 (91.1 in 1920-1924) compared with 28.5 in the U.S. in 1952 (76.7 in 1920-1924). But except for Egypt, the Gold Coast, and one or two minor territories like Zanzibar, no information on African infant mortality rates is given. In the case of South Africa, South West Africa, the Rhodesias, Morocco, Tunisia and Mozambique (Portugese), figures are given for Europeans only!

We have listed below certain selected data from the U.N. Yearbook relating to the more important countries of Africa and also -- for the sake of comparison -- other countries. We must leave it to the reader to make his own interpretation and draw his own conclusions from the data given, which cover the following information:

Column I: Population at latest census (Ethiopia, Liberia, Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone and other territories have had none) or estimate (usually 1952 or 1953).
Column II: (a) Students enrolled in primary schools, (b) in secondary schools, and (c) the year for both.
Column III: Number of daily newspapers published in 1952.
Column IV: Estimated copies of daily newspapers per 1000 of population in 1952.
Column V: Number, in thousands, of radios and year of count.
Column VI: Number of inhabitants per physician in 1951.
Column VII: Per capita consumption of commercial sources of energy expressed in metric tons of coal, 1952.

	I	II			III	IV	V		VI	VII
		(a)	(b)	(c)						
A.-Eg. Sudan	8,766,000	146,583	4,178	'51	9	2	6	'51	50,000	0.04
Belgian Congo	11,763,000	909,087	2,434	'51	5	2	8		22,000	0.10
Fr. Cameroons	3,125,000	141,648	1,510	'52			3	'51	25,000	0.04
Egypt	21,425,000	1,382,285	155,976	'51	50	25	234	'51	4,300	0.25
Ethiopia	15,000,000	131,000		'50	1	0				0.00
Fr. Eq. Africa	4,400,000	108,788	2,402	'52			1.9	'51	25,000	0.03
Fr. W. Africa	17,363,000	189,841	7,700	'52	10	2	5		28,000	0.03
Gold Coast	3,999,000	245,364	5,962	'50	9	19	11	'49	29,000	
Kenya	5,760,000	366,763	16,043	'50	4	3	16	'52	14,000	0.08
Liberia	1,510,000	31,878	1,470	'52	1	1	2.5	'51		0.02
Nigeria	30,000,000	970,768	21,437	'50	15	3	18		51,000	0.04
N. Rhodesia	1,980,000	168,268	1,253	'51			12	'50	13,000	0.48
Nyasland	2,463,000	241,627	210	'51			1.8	'52	34,000	
Ruanda Urundi	4,070,000	141,648	1,114	'51					61,000	
Sierra Leone	2,000,000	37,297	2,749	'51	4	2	2.6	'51	36,000	0.03
S. Rhodesia	2,233,000	237,373	743	'51	2	16	18	'49	5,000	0.80
Tanganyika	7,944,000	212,776	11,949	'51	3	0	1.5	'52	25,000	0.03
Tunisia	3,600,000	168,563	12,942	'51	8	31	82	'52	6,700	0.17
Uganda	5,262,000	246,896	6,443	'51					23,000	0.08
U. of S.Africa	13,153,000	1,514,847	76,310	'50	19	57	583	'51	2,100	2.09
Puerto Rico	2,240,000	355,403	107,810	'50	4	68	150	'51	3,300	0.60
Br. Guiana	444,000	77,988	948	'51	3	36	13	'52	3,400	0.33
Malaya	5,506,000	616,151	25,495	'51	26	50	83	'52	10,000	0.41
Viet Nam	25,000,000	797,467	38,763	'52	35	9	21	'51	60,000	0.03
India	367,000,000	18,384,207	5,229,204	'50	578	8	667	'52	6,000	0.11
U.K.	50,429,000	4,281,801	2,007,088	'51	122	615	12,946	'53	1,200	4.66
U.S.	159,696,000	20,981,970	6,452,940	'49	1,865	353	110,000	'52	750	7.84

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
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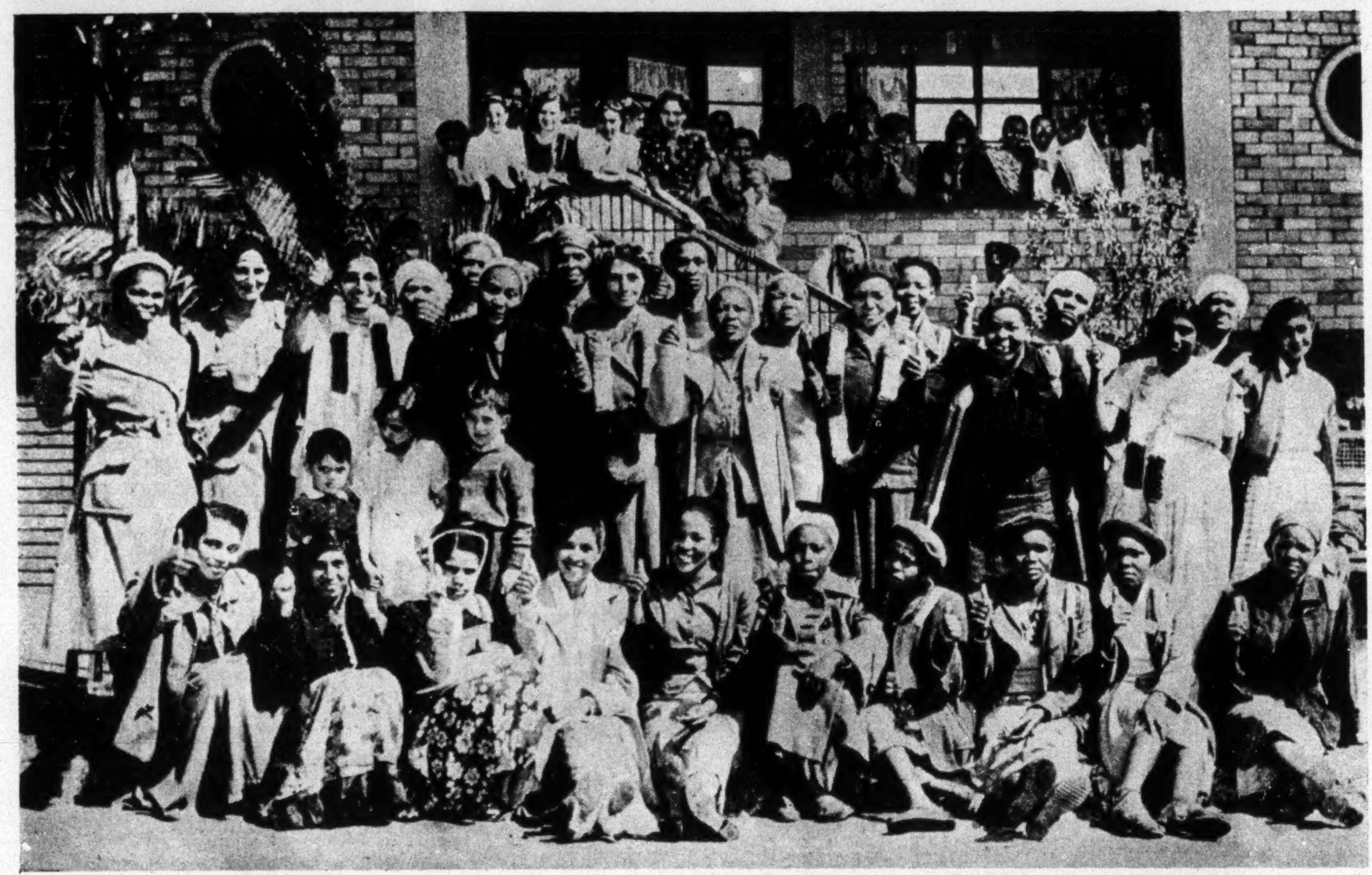
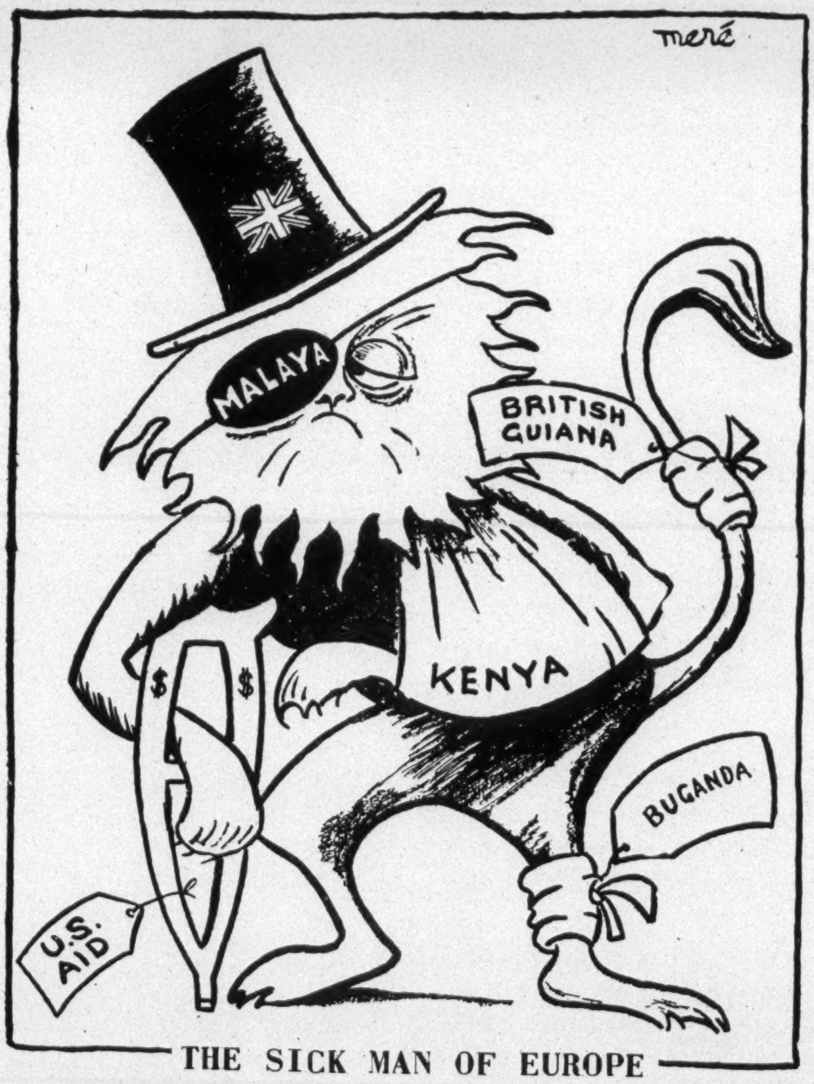
Telephone: MOnument 6-8700

April 20, 1954 XIII, 4 Subscription $1 a year

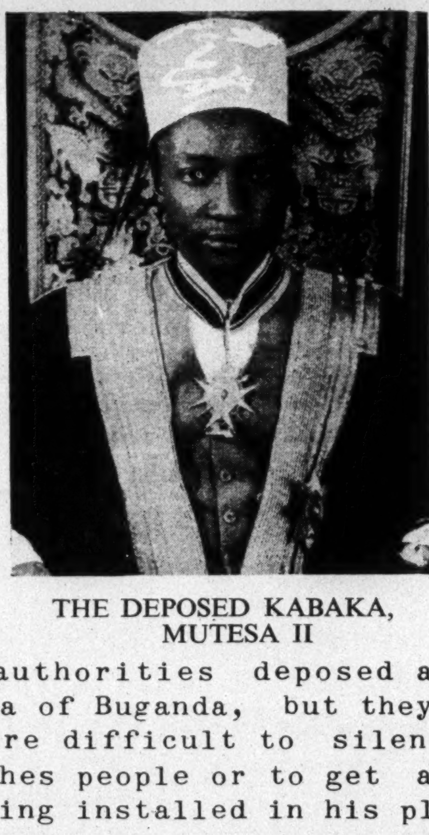
WOMEN OF AFRICA IN VANGUARD OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE



April 6 marked the anniversary of the launching of the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in South Africa two years ago. Hundreds of women took part in the heroic challenge of the country's white-supremacy code. These African and Indian women, giving the raised-thumb "Afrika" salute, volunteered in the Campaign and served prison sentences.



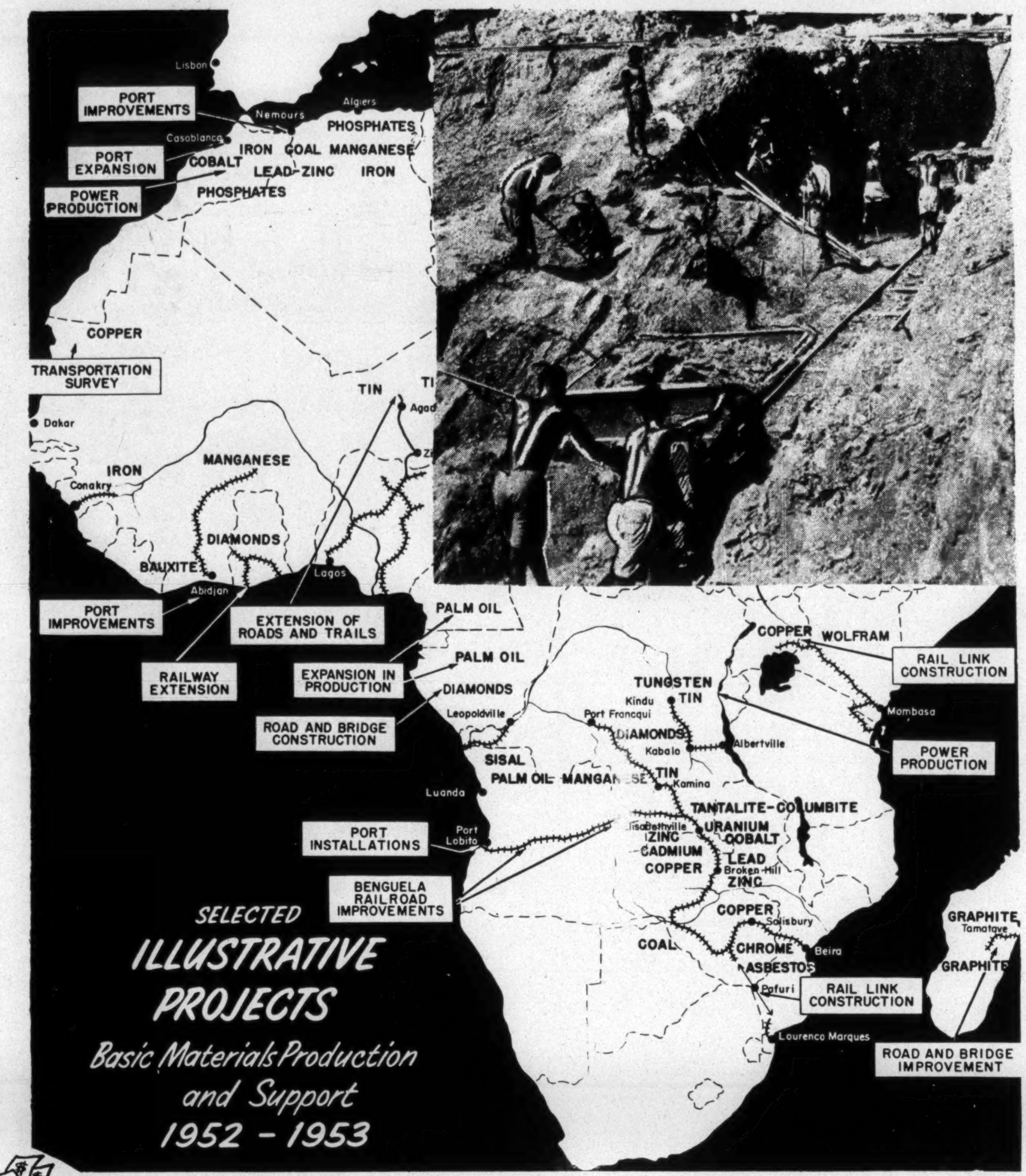
THE SICK MAN OF EUROPE



THE DEPOSED KABAKA, MUTESA II

British authorities deposed and exiled the Kabaka of Buganda, but they are finding it more difficult to silence the demands of hes people or to get a more submissive king installed in his place. London refuses to let Mutesa return to his country unless he abdicates, but the Council of Buganda last month adopted a resolution declaring that Mutesa was still their king and that they would "never elect a new Kabaka while Mutesa still lives."

THE WEALTH OF AFRICAN RESOURCES . . .AND THE SWEAT OF AFRICAN LABOR


Lisbon
PORT IMPROVEMENTS
Nemours
Algiers
PHOSPHATES
Casablanca
PORT EXPANSION
COBALT
IRON
COAL
MANGANESE
LEAD-ZINC
IRON
POWER PRODUCTION
PHOSPHATES
COPPER
TRANSPORTATION SURVEY
TIN
Dakar
IRON
Conakry
MANGANESE
DIAMONDS
BAUXITE
Abidjan
Lagos
PORT IMPROVEMENTS
EXTENSION OF ROADS AND TRAILS
RAILWAY EXTENSION
PALM OIL
PALM OIL
EXPANSION IN PRODUCTION
DIAMONDS
ROAD AND BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION
Leopoldville
COPPER
WOLFRAM
RAIL LINK CONSTRUCTION
TUNGSTEN
Kindu
TIN
Port Francqui
Mombasa
DIAMONDS
Kabalo
Albertville
POWER PRODUCTION
SISAL
PALM OIL
MANGANESE
TIN
Kamina
Luanda
TANTALITE-COLUMBITE
Elisabethville
URANIUM
ZINC
COBALT
CADMIUM
LEAD
COPPER
Broken Hill
ZINC
PORT INSTALLATIONS
Port Lobito
BENGUELA RAILROAD IMPROVEMENTS
COPPER
Salisbury
GRAPHITE
Tamatave
COAL
CHROME
Beira
ASBESTOS
GRAPHITE
Pafuri
RAIL LINK CONSTRUCTION
Lourenco Marques
ROAD AND BRIDGE IMPROVEMENT

SELECTED ILLUSTRATIVE PROJECTS
Basic Materials Production and Support 1952 - 1953

The map above (from a brochure issued in 1952 by the U.S. Mutual Security Agency) shows how the United States Government views the strategic resources of Colonial Africa (the South African Union's share is not indicated here) and the problem of facilitating their extraction and export. The insert picture is of African mineworkers in the Belgian Congo, from whence the U.S. gets its industrial diamonds, manganese, cobalt, copper, tungsten, uranium, etc.

How the U.S. Government does business with Africa's colonial overlords is illustrated by the recently announced agreement for the Mutual Security Agency to allocate $6,692,000 for port improvements at Mombasa and Tanga in Kenya, to expedite the transport and export of raw materials from East Africa to the U.S.

On March 26 President Eisenhower announced a new stockpiling program calling for the expanded purchases of some forty metals and minerals. This was a shot in the arm for the metal market and Wall Street. Within three days after the President's announcement, the stock issues of seventeen of America's major mining corporations climbed to new highs.

Among them were American Metal and Newmont Mining, which conduct large-scale mining operations in Africa. The annual report of the American Metal Co., released a few days ago, revealed a 1953 net income of over $10 million. "By far the largest part of the dividend income came from copper mining companies in Rhodesia and South Africa" (N.Y. Times, March 29).

And on March 27, almost simultaneously with the announcement of these profits, Reuters reported that ten thousand Africans employed by the Roan Antelope copper mines in Northern Rhodesia, one of the properties of American metal, went on strike for higher pay and better working conditions. Only the end of colonial rule can end the wanton expropriation of Africa's natural wealth.

TOWARD A TRUE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The problem before democratic South Africa is how to mobilise, express and make effective this vast majority against fascism.

It is appropriate that the guidance and inspiration for this great patriotic task should have come from the organisation most truly representative of the greatest number of South Africans -- the African National Congress. For with the decision at its national conference in December to approach other democratic bodies with the purpose of their jointly convoking a great Congress of the People to frame a charter of freedom for all who live in our country, the A.N.C. has shown the way forward to save our country.

We would emphasise the need for speedy and effective measures to implement this historic decision. The work of planning and preparing such a great conference cannot be accomplished overnight. It will take time and hard work on the part of every Congressman and woman, every trade unionist, every conscious democrat. All the more reason why the preliminary work should be accomplished as soon as possible, so that the rank and file can get down to the real task among the people without delay.

Congress of the People

There can be no doubt that the call for the Congress of the People will meet with a ready response among the Non-European majority of our population. Africans, Indians, Colored people, all feel the bitter edge of apartheid and police terror in their daily lives, and are anxiously seeking a democratic way out. But what of the Europeans? No doubt, they too, for the most part are beginning to awaken to the menace of Malanism to the economic future of the country, to the freedom and independence of South Africa.

This consciousness, which finds its most clearheaded and encouraging reflection in the emergence of S.A. Congress of Democrats, with its uncompromising policy of racial equality and political co-operation with the African and Indian Congresses, is also beginning to make itself felt elsewhere. Our South African liberals betray the characteristic flabbiness and opportunism on the question of equal human rights for non-whites which seems to be endemic in this country. Yet that they have emerged at all in these conditions of Nationalist intimidation has a serious significance which should not be overlooked. Even more significant is the new turn in policy on the Non-European franchise made by the South African Labor Party at its forty-third annual conference in Durban.

Fight for Survival

The real issue in South Africa today...is...whether any sort of democratic rights at all can survive the onslaughts of the power-drunk Nationalists. And this real issue can be resolved in favor of democracy for those who understand that the major bastion of democratic freedom in our land is not the feeble opposition in our minority Parliament, but the masses of oppressed non-white people outside it, as represented by their national Congresses and political and trade union movements.

The acid test for the Labor and Liberal leaders is whether they are sufficiently mature and emancipated to accept this truth, and to accept the hand of partnership extended by the Congresses in the calling of an all-in interracial congress of the people.

For there can be no doubt that the successful convention of so great and representative an Assembly will rally our country against the perils of continued Government by the Nationalist clique, will expose past redemption their pretensions to speak for South Africa. It is the first indispensable step towards a national awakening that must in the end relegate the Verwoerdjies [Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs] and the Swartlings [Mr. Swart, Minister of Justice] to the limbo of forgotten would-be dictators.--quoted from the February, 1954, issue of Liberation (P.O. Box 10120, Johannesburg).

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An African Speaks of the New China--"The radical transformation in the life of the nation with the largest population in the world, from semi-colonial slumber and backwardness to the front rank of progress and advancement, is of tremendous significance to the future of humanity, both to the countries of western imperialism and to the people of the colonies in Asia and Africa and elsewhere. . .

"My talks with the people of China, both the senior Government leaders and the ordinary folk of the farms and factories, have convinced me beyond doubt that they have the warmest sympathy with and regard for the oppressed people of colonial countries, including those of our own African continent. You may imagine what it has meant to a South African in my position, born and brought up under the shadow of racial contempt and discrimination, to visit such a country. I have come away with redoubled determination to play my part in the liberation of our own people, fortified with the sure knowledge that we have hundreds of millions of friends and well-wishers beyond the seas."--Walter M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the African National Congress, who last year was invited to visit the People's Republic of China and who traveled through twenty provinces of the country meeting and talking with the people.

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SOUTH AFRICA, THE GOLD COAST, AND THE $64 QUESTION

In the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa, a minority of Africans in the urban areas retain the limited right to elect a white representative to speak for them in the Union Parliament. Three representatives whom the Africans overwhelmingly voted into office - Sam Kahn, Fred Carneson, and Brian Bunting - were expelled from the Malan-majority Parliament for being Communists.

By the time you receive this Newsletter another election (on April 21) will have taken place, and the probability is that the victor will be Ray Alexander, a white woman with a long background of trade union struggle on behalf of the rights of African, Colored and Indian workers (see next page). And the likelihood is that she, too, will be ousted by the Government.

The South African and U.S. press will no doubt interpret the popular support of Ray Alexander as another instance of "Communist influence" among the Africans. The true reason why Africans backed her and her predecessors was acknowledged by the conservative Cape *Argus* in commenting on Carneson's victory in 1950; it said that the Africans "are simply discontented people who have lost faith in the intention of their white rulers to improve their lot and have accordingly voted for the Party which declares that it stands for racial equality without reservations of any kind."

A Strange Parallel It is curious but not unfathomable that Malan and Nkrumah, two men who on most questions are worlds apart, should find common ground in their officially announced policy of keeping alleged Communists out of all government posts in their respective countries.

Nkrumah's views on this question were expressed in a formal statement in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly on February 25. The British Weekly, *West Africa* (March 6) reported this statement under the title "Communists Barred from Jobs," and in the opposite column on the same page under the title "Foreign Investment Encouraged," it reported Nkrumah's other important Assembly statement of March 1 on inducements and safeguards for foreign capital investment in the country.

African World (April, 1954) commented: "While it is not suggested that the Government led by Dr. Nkrumah will now embark on a 'witch hunt' with all the apparatus of hysteria, 'double talk,' and violation of freedom which it is supposed to be guarding, it is well to remember that these things have happened in other parts of the world."

The Facts of Life Passing from Malan's South Africa and Nkrumah's Gold Coast to French West Africa, we find a rather different atmosphere. Thomas Hodgkin, writing in *West Africa* (March 6) observes that in French West Africa "it is taken for granted (as it is not in British West Africa) that the development of an African proletariat must logically imply the growth of Communism.

"This is the view taken, for example, by M. Maurice Voisin, editor of the Right-wing journal, *Les Echos d'Afrique Noire*: 'Peasants are going to be turned into factory workers [in French Guinea]. We are naturally going to need European workers too. Guinea is being industrialised, and the CGT Unions, and the Communist Party, are going to find a field of action there. I don't want to become involved in the struggle between the two wings of RDA - between *tendance D'Arboussier* [on the left] and *tendance Houphouet* [on the right] but I predict a future victory for D'Arboussier in Guinea.'"

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BRITAIN CAN'T DO ANYTHING ABOUT PASS LAWS IN RHODESIA, SAYS OFFICIAL

In the British House of Commons last month, Mr. J. Johnson, a Labor member, asked Mr. John Foster, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, if he would make a statement regarding pass laws in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and what freedom of movement existed between the three territories for Africans.

Foster: "Pass laws in Southern Rhodesia are a matter for the Government of that territory. There are no pass laws in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, though, under the regulations of certain townships in both territories, Africans require passes in some areas at night, and in some Northern Rhodesia townships unemployed Africans need a visitor's pass. As regards movement of Africans between the three territories comprising the Federation, the position remains unaltered at present, with territorial laws [banning such movement] continuing in operation."

Johnson: "Until these laws are finally abolished does not the Minister think that it is a mockery to talk about co-partnership in the Central African Federation?"

Mr. J. Dugdale, another Labor member, joined in: "Why are they [the pass laws] necessary in Southern Rhodesia and not in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland?"

Foster: "That is a matter for the Southern Rhodesia Government, who are independent in these matters."

NOTES WORTH NOTING

U.S. CARS--More than one-half of the 5,000 automobiles imported into the Belgian Congo last year, 2,704 of them, were U.S. cars. Belgium was far behind as the second highest supplier of automobiles with 583, three more than Britain, which ranked third.

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MORE LIBERIAN CONCESSIONS--The Liberian Government headed by President William V.S. Tubman, who now appears to be intent upon holding on to that office for a third term, continues to pursue a policy of open-door generosity toward foreign business interests seeking concessions in the country. The B.F. Goodrich Rubber Co. of Akron, Ohio, is making plans to share in the profits of rubber production there, which has until now been a Firestone monopoly. The Government, perhaps anxious to avoid having the country considered as an exclusively American investment area, has been wooing various European concerns and has recently granted a mineral concession to a Liechtenstein Trust. It has also granted a concession covering 1,875,000 acres of forest land in eastern Liberia to a German company, giving it the right to exploit timber and palm products and mineral resources in the area for the next 80 years.

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U.S. BASES--Regarding what happened at the International Military Conference at Dakar, which ended on March 18th, there has been a pronounced hush-hush. The agreements reached have not been announced. The Paris newspaper Monde reports that the U.S. will ask France for the use of the Mers El Kebir base in Algeria and Bizerte in Tunisia and will propose that the U.S. take over aerial responsibility for the entire North African zone. A long article concerning the U.S. $65 million air base at Sidi Slimane, French Morocco, in the Wall Street Journal of March 4 gives the following explanation of the purpose of these far-flung U.S. installations: "These bases are to the [U.S.] Strategic Air Force what Britain's world-wide coaling stations were to the Royal Navy a half-century ago--absolutely indispensable to maintaining world power."

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EDUCATION--There are more than 125 Africans now studying in India. They held a conference at New Delhi last December 29 which was concluded with an address by Prime Minister Nehru to them. He told them, "I do not presume to advise you or the people of Africa as to what they should do, but I am convinced that Gandhi's methods were right and ideal."

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HEALTH--According to a British health officer in Nigeria, tropical Africa has only one qualified medical practitioner for each 90,000 inhabitants and only one hospital bed for every 3,000 people. And 175,000 children are killed each year by malaria.

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U.S. GIFT--The first official gift received by the newly established Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from another country was from the U.S. Government. It was an 86-volume set of U.S. State Reports containing Federal Supreme Court decisions since 1921, "the embodied record of our Supreme Court's Interpretation of the Federal Constitution." Incidentally, it may be noted that the motto on the coat of arms of the city of Salisbury, capital of Southern Rhodesia, which dominates the Central African Federation, is "Discriminine Salus"--"in discrimination there is safety."

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A PROGRAM FOR SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

This is the platform-statement of Ray Alexander, popularly-supported candidate in the April 21 Parliamentary election for the Cape Western Division: "My Friends: This election is taking place because the Nationalist (apartheid) Government removed your elected representatives, Mr. Sam Kahn and Mr. Brian Bunting, from Parliament. If I had my way, an African - one of you - would be taking their place. The law does not allow this. I shall work for a change of this law, together with all other laws discriminating against any section of the people...

"Backed by the peoples of Europe, Asia and America, with millions of allies throughout Africa, our answer to oppression is: Full political, social, educational, economic and civic rights for all South Africans! This is my pledge to you, African voters of the Cape Western Division. My program is:

"1. The vote for all men and women over 18--African, Coloured, Indian and European--irrespective of educational and property qualifications; the right to stand for election and to sit in Parliament and other elected bodies; full participation in the government of South Africa.

"2. The abolition of the colour bar.

"3. Free and equal compulsory education and free health services for all people.

"4. The official recognition of Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and other African languages on an equal footing with Afrikaans and English; and the employment of Africans as magistrates, judges and Government officials.

"5. An end to the system of imperialist domination and colonies, which has caused such horrors as the attacks upon the Africans in Kenya.

"6. Full support for the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress, trade unions and all progressive organizations in the struggle for liberation from unjust laws...Let our aim be freedom, security and equality for all."

News Letter SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

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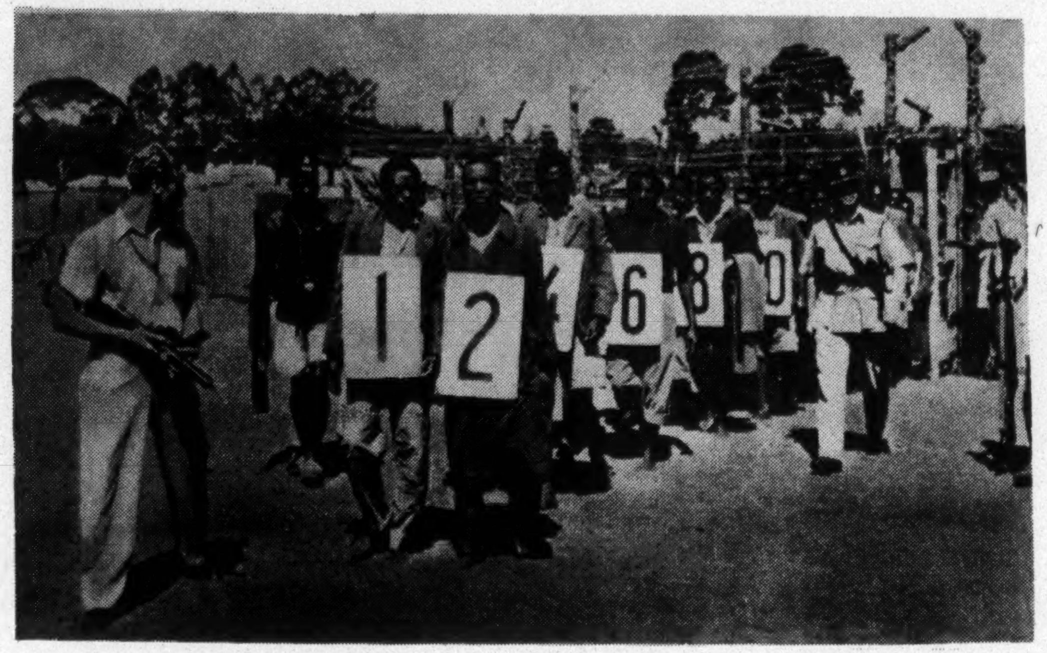
END OF BRITAIN'S "DIRTY WAR" IN KENYA URGED



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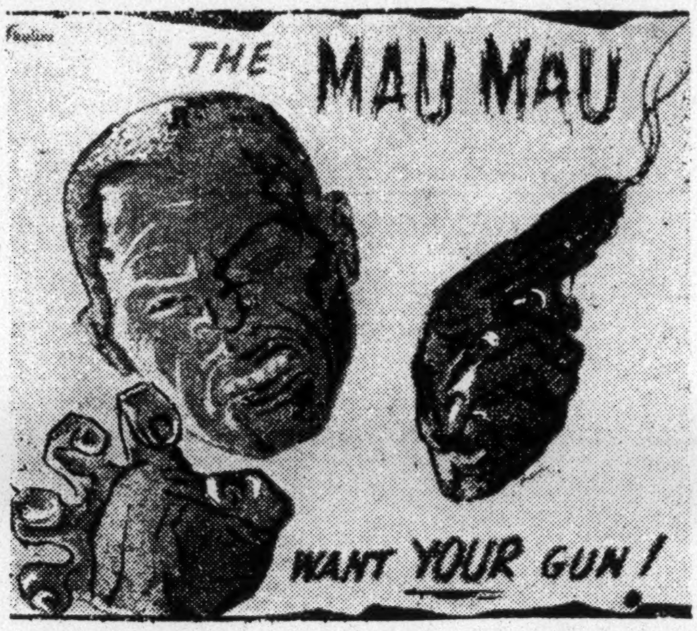


Angered by their failure to bribe or trick their foe into surrender, the British in Kenya have launched what they call ‘Operation Anvil, the latest in a long series of savage ‘operations’ by the ‘white Mau Mau,’ as the military and police are known to Kenya Africans, aimed at crushing all resistance to white settler domination. Unknown thousands of Kenya Africans have been killed and more than 200,000, like those shown above, have been arrested since Oct. 1952 in repeated ‘mopping up and ‘screening’ operations. But the resistance goes on!

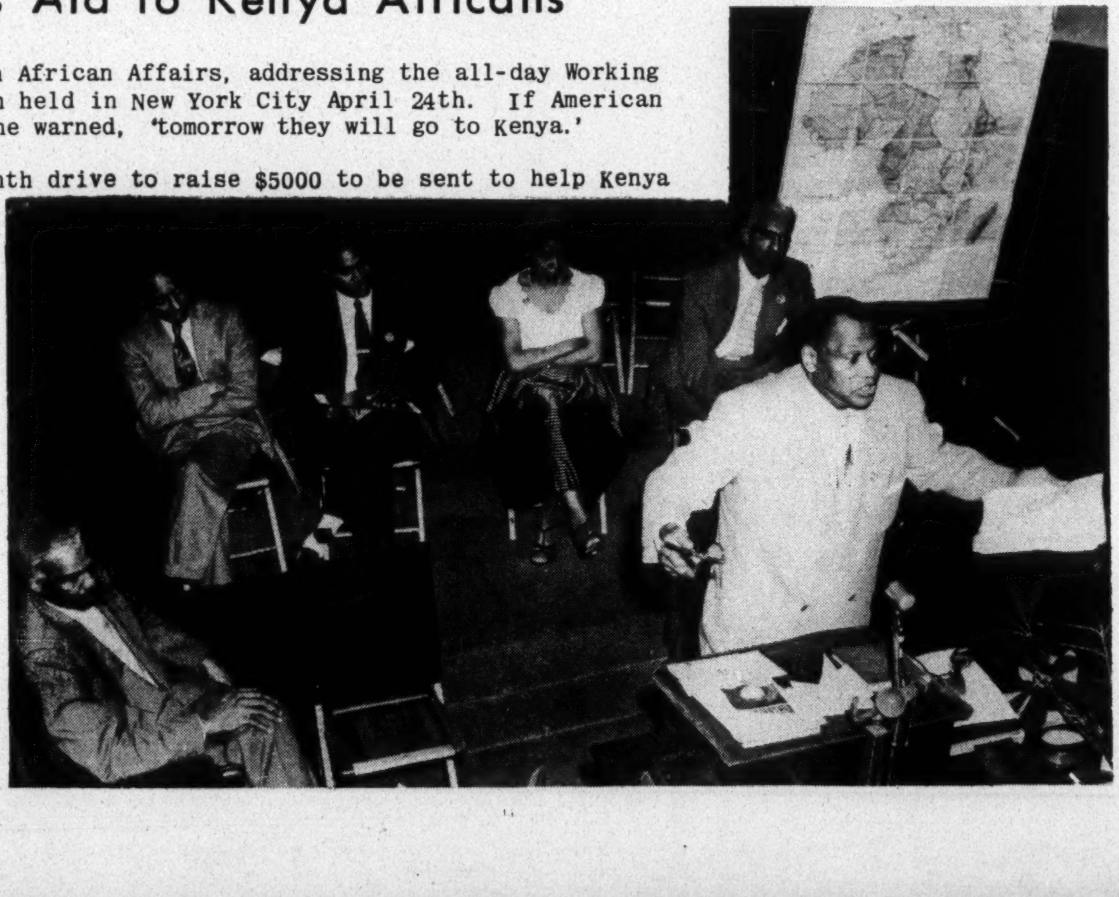
In England, the Kenya Committee, organized jointly by Africans and anti-Imperialist British, is telling the true story of the struggle in Kenya to the people. Above right: Semakula Mulumba of Uganda addressing a demonstration held by the Kenya Committee in London's Trafalgar Square.

At left is one of the vicious racist posters plastered around the white areas of Kenya. Yes, to defend themselves the Africans must use their oppressor's own weapons But what they really want is not guns, but their Land and their Rights!

Conference Pledges Aid to Kenya Africans

Paul Robeson, Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, addressing the all-day Working Conference in Support of African Liberation held in New York City April 24th. If American soldiers were sent to fight in Indo-China, he warned, ‘tomorrow they will go to Kenya.’

The Conference agreed to launch a 3-month drive to raise $5000 to be sent to help Kenya Africans. It also approved a resolution calling for British acceptance of the political and economic demands of the Kenya African Union, the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders, the withdrawal of British troops, and action by the U.N. to ‘protect the people of Kenya against acts of genocide.’ Also adopted was a six-point resolution, to be presented to the United Nations, in support of the political and economic emancipation of Afticans in all territories.



Seated on the platform (l. to r.): Charles A. Collins, Louis E. Burnham, editor of Freedom, Edward L. Nelson, Org. Director of the Council, Mrs. Maude White Katz, and Dr. W. A. Hunton, the Council's Secretary.

Haile Selassie's Visit Linked with U.S. Aims in Middle East

On his way home from the Crimea Conference in early 1945, President Roosevelt paused in his journey off the coast of Egypt to invite Haile Selassie to meet and talk with him. This meeting, according to the State Department, was 'significant of our common determination to build a world in which the democratic rights of all people may be made secure regardless of race, color or creed.' (upper right photo)

Times have changed. Today the chief factor of interest in Haile Selassie's forthcoming visit to this country, in the eyes of the State Dept., is the Emporor's readiness and willingness for his country to serve as a 'free world' ally of the U.S. in the strategic Middle East, an area where the State Dept. has had little success in trying to form an anti-Communist bloc. Besides Ethiopia, Only Turkey and Pakistan have been won over.

Since 1945, U.S. economic and military advisers (lower right photo) have taken the place of the British advisers who formerly surrounded the Emporer and directed Ethiopia's affairs. And U.S. loans have replaced British subsidies.

In 1952 the Emporer signed (photo at left) the articles of ratification establishing the Federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea, which the United Nations, after five years of discussion, finally approved in 1950. Was this the payment for Ethiopia's agreement to serve the U.S. in East Africa as Liberia serves it in West Africa?

African labor delegates greet Abdoulaye Diallo (seated) at a recent meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Diallo is Vice-President of the W.F.T.U. and General Secretary of the French Sudan Trade Unions. Last March the Chamber of Commerce and the former Governor of the Sudan charged Diallo with misrepresentation in newspaper articles he had written. Workers and peasants rallied to his support. They testified at the trial that it was true, as Diallo had said, that the Chamber of Commerce was 'stealing' the peasants' crops. They also held a big mass meeting and called a half-day general strike in Bamako. Well to be brief, the matter ended with a verdict of acquittal for Diallo.

Africans in the Gold Coast are shown above registering for the General Election which is to take place there soon. Campaigning is now at fever-pitch for the 104 members, all Africans, who are to be elected to the Legislative Assembly. The most prominent candidate is, of course, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, who faces his first electoral contest since entering office. All men and women aged 21 are qualified to vote if they meet certain residence, tax and registration qualifications and have not within 5 years been jailed for more than one year or convicted of any offense involving dishonesty.

"THE LAST BATTLE OF THE WEST . . . THE THIRD BATTLE OF THE RISING EAST"

Passages from the Key-note Address by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois at the Conference in Support of African Liberation, sponsored by the Council on African Affairs, New York City, April 24th

"....In the 19th century there had been completed in Europe a system of industry and world commerce which many considered perfect. It envisioned comfort, ease and luxury for the white people of Britain and France with more or less participation by other European nations and by the United States. This European culture rested on the free land, hard work and low wages of colonial peoples in Asia, Africa and other areas. With the food and other materials which this low cost of production enabled Europe to import, her industrial leaders could manufacture and sell the goods which they wanted and other goods which they could force colonial peoples to buy. At the same time the white workers in Europe and North America could be paid a fairly high wage, could work under increasingly better conditions, and enjoy the right to participate in government so long as they did not threaten the colonial system.

"This was in many ways an ideal arrangement. The smooth comfort of London in the day when I first saw it in 1892; the magnificence of Paris; the well-trained servants, the well-dressed people, the elegant horses and carriages; the uniforms and jewels; the art galleries, parks and monuments. This was the height of European civilization. The only people who were uncomfortable and unappreciative of this splendor were the poverty-stricken, ignorant, and sick yellow, brown and black serfs who furnished cheaply the materials which this great world used and enjoyed. . .

Africa after World War II

"I saw the beginnings of [revolt in Africa] at the last Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England, in 1945. This session of the Congress had been called by African members of the World Federation of Trade Unions which had just been formed in Paris. There members of new Black African unions appeared, and the white unions of England and America wanted to speak for them and not allow them to speak for themselves. The Africans won but as a result the white unions of Britain and America later withdrew and eventually formed a new world body, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

"Meantime the black unions from Paris called a new session of the Pan-African Congress and invited me to preside. I did so. There I met many Africans, among them Nkrumah, now Prime Minister of the British Gold Coast, the first independent Negro state in the British Empire; and Jomo Kenyatta, who was later accused of leading the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. Also present were men from Nigeria, which is on the threshold of independence; and from South Africa where the battle for a Free Africa is centering.

"Thus the center of the fight for maintaining and restoring colonialism is moving today from Asia, where Europe and the United States are losing, to Africa where they are organizing a determined last stand for making the color line perpetuated in the modern world. Surely this is a matter in which American Negroes must be interested, for if colonial serfdom is maintained in Africa, the color line will not disappear in Afro-America. How then does the battle line in Africa stand today?

Nature of Colonialism

"First, let us clearly understand just what is the essence of colonialism. It is not simply the matter of owning a country. It is a matter of economic organization, of earning an income by means of free colonial land and cheap colonial labor. It is often said that England makes no profit on her colonies, that France spends more for her colonies than she receives. This is true if by England and France you mean the English and French Governments. But it is not true if you mean the persons engaged in industry and commerce.

"Today out of Africa come 98% of the diamonds of the world, 80% of the cobalt, 75% of the sisal hemp, 75% of the palm oil, 70% of the cocoa, 60% of the gold, 35% of the phosphates, 30% of the chrome and manganese, 20% of the copper, 15% of the coffee, and all of the cloves. West Africa supplies the world nearly 70% of its cocoa and chocolate. . . The cocoa is taken to England, Holland and the United States, and processed and sold to you at a price which makes millionaires of the Quaker Cadburys, and at the same time price fluctuations put the farmers in bankruptcy. . .

"The story of cocoa is characteristic of colonial trade. Not only do Europe and America get raw material for almost nothing and sell it for high prices, but on the other hand they manufacture in England and America cheap goods which the colonial peoples used to furnish themselves but are now undersold in their own markets and must buy from Europeans.

"This is the colonial system. It began to fall after the First World War, and after the Second, resulted in the independence of India and China. From that moment West Europe, led by the United States of America and its organized industry, determined to maintain remaining colonialism and, if possible, to re-establish colonialism in China, if not in Eastern Europe. Against this the Asians are revolting and revolt has begun in Africa. . .

(continued on next page)

To Free Black Labor

"What, of course, ought to happen in Africa is the organization of a New Africa on the basis of the old African tribal authority. This tribal authority was distinctly socialistic. It centered economic organization in the head of the tribe and that Chief was not a dictator but a man who followed the advice of a Council, and this Council represented the mass of the people. This kind of organization was common among all people in primitive times. It was changed in modern Europe when the control of industry and commerce was taken by individuals who had capital and assumed that they had the right to act for their own interests without interference from the community or the Government.

"It has been proven that this self-governing capitalism has ruined and will further ruin civilization. It would be a calamity to have the same kind of mistake made in the New Africa. It is the duty of organizations like this and the people you represent first to try to understand thoroughly just what is going on in Africa and how it is connected with the evolution of the modern world, and then to help by your contributions and your advice the struggle of this part of the world which is more than the last battle of the West.

"It is the third battle of the Rising East. The first was the Russian Revolution. The second was the revolution of China to free yellow labor. The third coming revolution, in Black Africa, is to free black labor, and thus to complete Negro emancipation in the United States."

* * *

CHURCHILL DUCKS A STRAIGHT ANSWER TO MALAN

One might assume from press reports that Churchill had given a flat "No" to Malan's latest demand for spreading South Africa's white-supremacy dominion over the long-coveted three neighboring Protectorates. The truth is that Churchill's "No" was wrapped up in qualifications that might well spell an eventual "Yes." This is how the discussion of this question ran in the British House of Commons last month:

Churchill: "There can be no question of H.M. Government agreeing at the present time to the transfer of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland to the Union of South Africa. We are pledged, since the South Africa Act of 1909, not to transfer these territories until their inhabitants have been consulted and until the United Kingdom Parliament has had an opportunity of expressing its views."

Mr. Sorensen: "Is the Prime Minister aware that this reply will give profound satisfaction both to the people of this country and to the indigenous inhabitants of these three Protectorates? Is he further aware that the crucial reference is to the word 'consult'? Can we take it now that 'consultation' in this context means also consent?"

Hon. Members: "Answer."

Mr. Sorensen: "If the Prime Minister did not hear me, may I repeat that the first part of my supplementary question asked him whether he did not appreciate that his answer would give profound satisfaction?"

Churchill: "Yes, sir; I got that all right."

Mr. Sorensen: "As the rt. hon. gentleman did not get the second part of my question, may I ask him again whether we are to take it that the word 'consult' in the context in which it is used can now be taken to be synonymous with 'consent'?"

Churchill: "I should greatly hesitate to try to give my opinion now on a matter full of legal subtleties, and with the deep constitutional importance attaching to it."

Miss Lee: "Is the Prime Minister aware that the second part of his answer is neither as clear nor as satisfactory as the first part? Would he agree that it is essential that the people of these territories should be absolutely certain that this Government will not permit them to fall under the influence of Dr. Malan? Will he therefore say something now that will free us from any fear that when he talks about consulting the people of the territories he may mean consulting in the same way as when Seretse Khama was banished? Would he not agree that the people wanted Seretse Khama back and that therefore we do not want ambiguity?"

Churchill: "Strong views, however agreeably expressed, are by no means a qualification for being a constitutional authority."

Miss Lee: "I wish to give notice that, in view of the entirely unsatisfactory nature of the Prime Minister's answer, I shall raise the matter on the adjournment."

Mr. L. M. Lever: "Is not this a situation where the least said at present the better?"

* * *

IT ALL DEPENDS ON YOUR POINT OF VIEW. . .

Replying to a letter from Rev. John Piersma of the Oakdale Christian Reformed Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Dr. D. F. Malan, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, has given the following explanation of the way he and his class think:

"It must be appreciated from the outset that Apartheid, separation, segregation or differentiation -- whatever the name given the traditional racial policy of South Africa -- is part and parcel of the South African tradition as practised since the first Dutch settlement at the Cape in 1652 and still supported by the large majority of white South Africans of the main political parties.

"The deep-rooted color consciousness of the White South Africans -- a phenomenon quite beyond the comprehension of the uninformed -- arises from the fundamental difference between the two groups, White and Black. The difference in color is merely the physical manifestation of the contrast between two irreconcilable ways of life, between barbarism and civilization, between heathenism and Christianity, and finally between overwhelming numerical odds on the one hand and insignificant numbers on the other. Such it was in the early beginnings and such it largely remains. The racial differences are as pronounced today as they were 300 years ago. Small wonder that the instinct of self-preservation is so inherent in the White South African. He has retained his identity all these years. He is not willing to surrender it now."

So there you have it from the horse's mouth, so to speak.

How many Americans agree with Malan's reasoning? There are, of course, Governors Talmadge and Byrnes and many others of that ilk, not all of them in the South, either. But it is noteworthy that one also finds leading American industrialists accepting, or at least condoning, the racism of Malan and Co.

A while back it was Mr. H. De Witt Smith, Vice Chairman of the Newmont Mining Corporation (main office 14 Wall Street, New York; mining properties all over Africa and other continents), saying: "South Africa receives very bad publicity overseas, but the American investor has confidence in the Union." Last month he was echoed by another Big Businessman, Mr. Stanley C. Allyn, President and Director of the National Cash Register Company, and a Director of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Allyn, at a press conference in Johannesburg, said: "I cannot understand why South Africa gets such a bad press overseas. It is a great country, with fine people, and certainly does not deserve the criticism which it receives in some overseas countries."

We agree - South Africa is a great country in many respects and it surely has many fine people, including some whites. But as to the criticism of the country being deserved or not - well, it all depends on your point of view.

* * *

NOTES WORTH NOTING

"Free"Elections in South Africa: As predicted in our last Newsletter, Miss Ray Alexander won the election for "Native Representative" from Western Cape to the South African Assembly, receiving 3,525 votes as against 998 for the Liberal Party candidate and 190 for the other also-ran. And as also predicted, as a "Named" Communist she was stopped on April 27 from entering the House of Assembly. The seat was again declared vacant and another election is to be held. How long is this farce to be continued?

What "Western Civilization" has Brought to Africa: According to the official Bulletin Mensuel des Statistiques d'Outre-Mer (March-April, 1952), imports of wine into French West Africa increased from 11,367 tons in 1938 to 39,531 tons in 1951; and of spirits, from 611 tons to 5,643 tons. In French Equatorial Africa, imports of wine increased from 2,293 tons in 1938 to 13,969 tons in 1951; and of spirits, from 108 tons to 2,114 tons.

The Economics of Racial Oppression: In strife-torn Kenya the average earnings of African wage-earners is $73, that of Asians and other non-whites is $774, while that of the whites (who comprise six-tenths of one percent of the total population) is $1848. These figures (for yearly income) are given in a U.N. "Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Selfgoverning Territories."

Solution for Kenya: What seems to be a wise recommendation is given by W.E. Gordon of Princeton, N.J., in a recently published letter in the N.Y. Times: "The sociological and political work now indispensable to a real solution [to the present problems in Kenya] should be done by disinterested third parties, preferably a small group appointed by the United Nations, in which no colonial power should be represented."

The New Missionaries: Following closely on Prime Minister Nkrumah's welcome to foreign investors (and banning of Communists from public office and alleged Communist publications from the country), it is now reported (West Africa, April 10) that a team of American investment experts is to make a 3-months survey, at U.S. Govt. expense, to assess the possibilities of U.S. investment in the Gold Coast.

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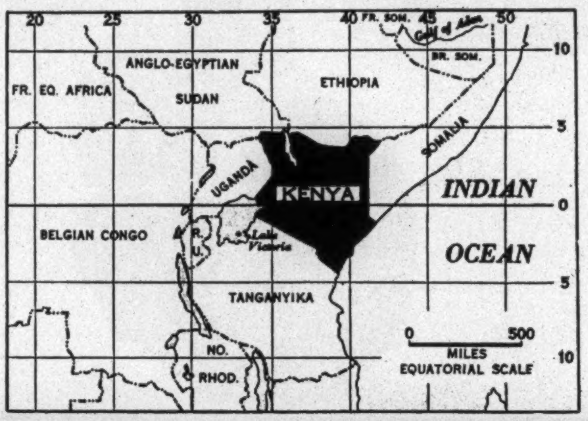
Kenya Killings Pass 5,000 'Official' Mark; 'Dirty War' Gets Dirtier

HIGHLY PRIZED WEAPONS
The British closely guard their hired informers in Kenya, shrouded thus, from the Africans' wrath.

UPROOTED, HOMELESS, DISPOSSESSED
The spirit of resistance flames ever more fiercely among the African masses in Kenya who are cruelly punished by the tens of thousands for their "non-co-operation" with the British in their war against the Mau Mau.

HIS WORD STILL STANDS
"I am not asking for mercy, but we are asking for justice," said Jomo Kenyatta when he was sent to jail for seven years, April 8, 1953.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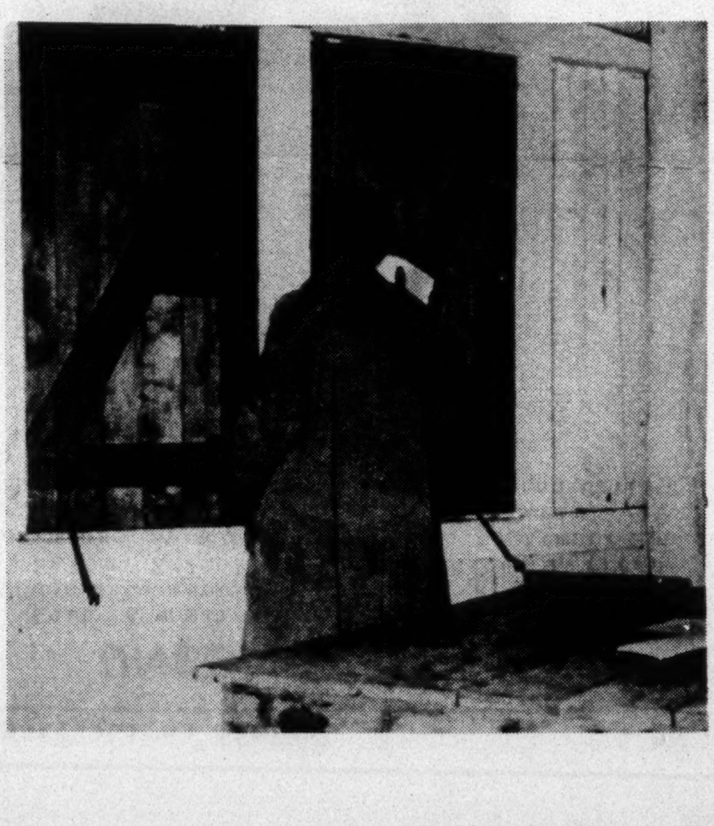
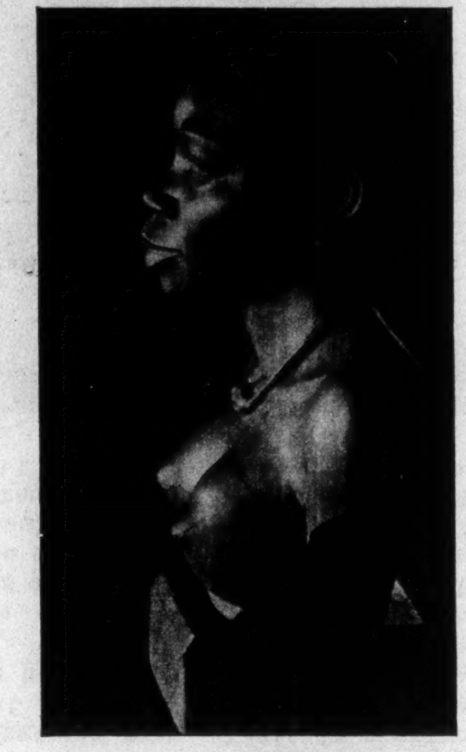
INFORMERS AT WORK. Left: In a patrol jeep they assist a British officer examining a suspect (note barbed wire enclosures on each side of road). Below: As officer points to a suspect (left), police informer peeks through slit and pushes out slip of paper (right). In Kenya, as in the U.S.A., the informer's unsupported word is usually sufficient for conviction; the one difference is that in the U.S. the stool-pigeon doesn't wear a shroud -- yet.

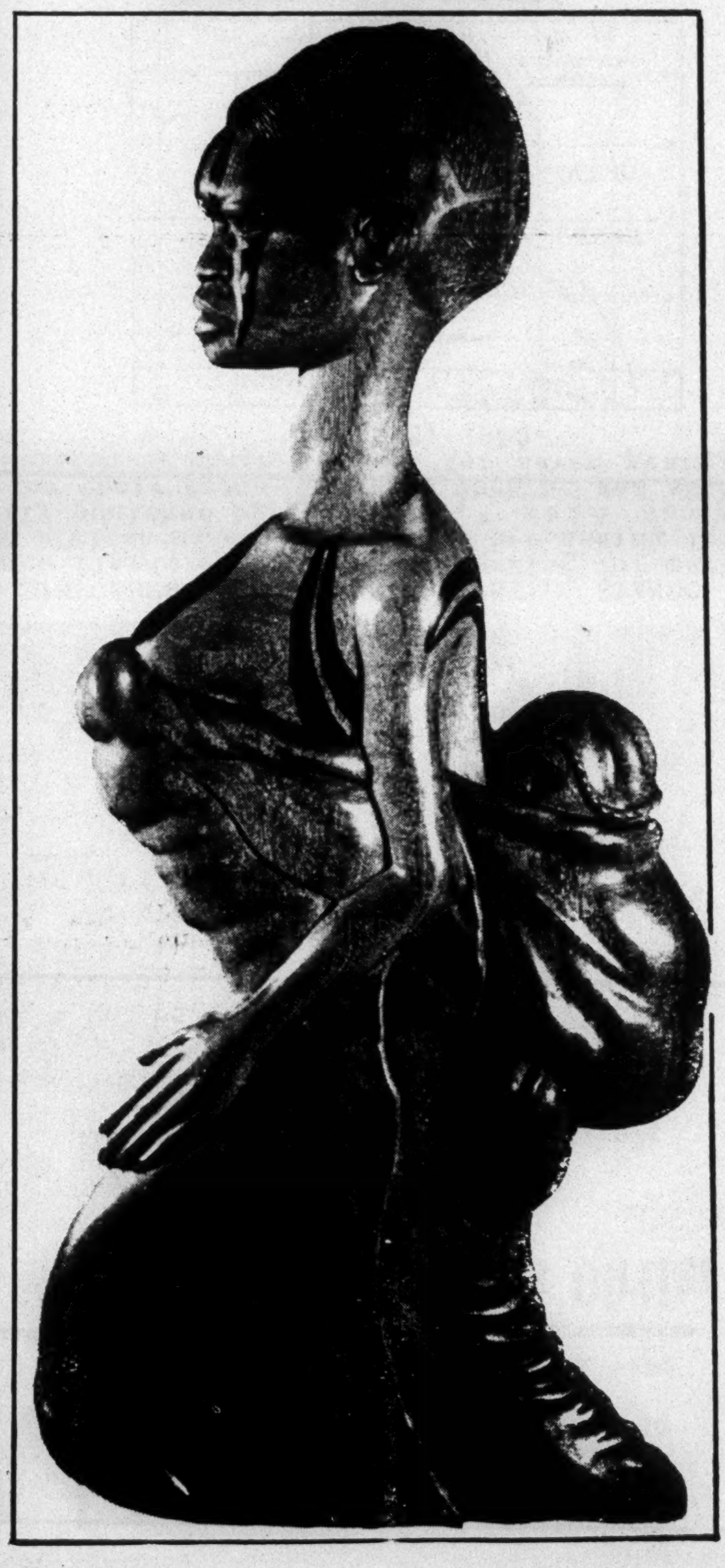


UNCONQUERABLE!

Left: A woman of West Africa carries a bag of cocoa to market.

Below: Examples of present-day African sculpture in wood by two young contemporary artists. 'Head of Woman' by Futi Daniel of the Belgian Congo, and 'Benin Woman and Child' by Felix Idubor of Nigeria.





LET US TAKE OUR STAND WITH OUR BROTHERS IN KENYA!

The first of a summer series of outdoor meetings planned by the Council on African Affairs in support of the Kenya Africans' struggle was held June 10 on a busy Harlem street-corner. Passing motorists paused to voice endorsement of our poster: "Africa's Freedom means Our Freedom. Support Our Brothers' Struggle in Kenya." For more than two hours speaker after speaker stepped up to the "mike" and explained in meaningful terms the connection between colonialism and Jim Crow, the common objectives for which Kenya Africans and Negroes in Mississippi and Harlem struggle. Passers-by stayed to listen, bought "AFRICA must be FREE" buttons and copies of the Council's Newsletter and other literature.

There was a good response. The meeting demonstrated that there is ready support to be found for the Council's program of aid to Kenya Africans if only people can get the Truth and know how to help. The need for help has become considerably more acute since the conference launching the Kenya Aid Program was held, two months ago. Following the failure of the Mau Mau "surrender" trap set by the British, General Sir George Erskine, Commander-in-Chief in East Africa, said, "We are turning on the faucet again and are going to hit these people harder than they have ever been hit before."

"Turning on the Faucet" "Turning on the faucet" means throwing against the Africans in Kenya some 20,000 British troops, another 20,000 regular and reserve police, 25,600 "home guards," artillery batteries, tank units, aircraft and bombing planes. Since October, 1952, when the faucet was first turned on, through this month, the war has cost the British $23,800,000; it is costing over $1,800,000 a month currently.

On June 14 General Erskine flew to London to request further financial help. It is likely that he also went to get approval for marking off 60,000 square miles, where two million Kenya Africans live, as a "military operational area." This move, it is reported from London, "might permit the razing of proved unfriendly villages now secretly supplying the Mau Mau. It could also mean the introduction of such weapons as flame throwers which are not now permitted." The use of flame throwers, gasoline-jelly bombs, and other such weapons of "Western Christian civilization" will not save Africa for the colonialists. On the contrary, it will turn all of Africa, as it has turned practically all of Asia, against the West.

Since October, 1952, over 5,000 Kenya Africans have been killed in combat, hundreds have been sent to the gallows or otherwise executed, tens of thousands are held in concentration camps. But the higher these figures go, the more determined and united grows the Africans' resistance, ranging from civil disobedience and mass boycott of British goods and services to armed rebellion. It is not only the "Mau Mau" fighting forces (estimated by British intelligence to number no more than 16,000) who have to be "pacified," not only the million and a quarter Kikuyu people, but also the Embu, Meru, Wakamba and others among Kenya's 5,500,000 Africans. And the resistance has in recent weeks spilled over into neighboring Tanganyika and Uganda.

Shall we in the United States stand by and remain silent?

NEW CRISIS IN UGANDA AS BRITISH DECLARE ANOTHER "EMERGENCY"

When the Kabaka of Buganda, MutesaII, was ousted seven months ago because of his refusal to retract self-government demands, British authorities, declaring a state of emergency, asserted that his immediate removal from the country was necessary to prevent the outbreak of violence. There was no violence. But neither was there acceptance of the Kabaka's exile. The people of Buganda found various non-violent methods of registering their protest.

A delegation was sent to London to plead for Mutesa's return. Its pleas were rejected. On February 8 and 9 there occurred two days of lamentation and prayer for the Kabaka. All African business places remained closed, and African employees were absent from government offices and non-African business places. The Governor of Uganda tried to ban this observance, charging that it "would likely lead to breaches of the peace." There was no violence.

The people began to use new forms of greeting: "Mutesa," with the response, "May he live long!" And "Buganda," with the response, "Self-Government!" When the Queen of England in the course of her empire tour visited Uganda in April, there were no cheering throngs of Africans to greet her.

Economic Boycott On May 1 an economic boycott was inaugurated. The Uganda National Congress announced: "We have decided to keep our money for three months, using the bare necessities of life, dressing in rags, paying little attention to personal appearance, and avoiding all entertainment, so as to convince H.M. Government of our dislike of the Deportation Ordinance. Your weapon to fight this ordinance is your own money, over which nobody else has control. Use that money in a manner calculated to bring about freedom to your country."

(continued on page 5)

AFRICAN OPPRESSION IN THE BELGIAN CONGO AND PORTUGUESE ANGOLA

[In view of the Belgian Congo's importance in supplying the United States with uranium and other strategic raw materials, and the increasing interest of U.S. capital in the resources of Portugal's Angola and Mozambique, it is desirable that Americans should know something about the status of Africans in these territories. The following passages from a series of articles by the well-known British writer on Africa, Basil Davidson, in the British weekly, *West Africa* (May 22, May 29 and June 5), throw a penetrating light on a subject usually hidden in darkness: how the Belgians and Portuguese maintain and protect the system of absolute domination in their colonies.]

Political Prisoners . . . The Belgians tend to assert that "Africans aren't yet ready for political development" while, on the other, they take good care to obstruct and stultify all African efforts at developing in that direction . . . Even though racial relations are generally good in the Congo, the Belgians have a central problem they have yet to solve. The dimensions of this problem are revealed in the official statistics--probably the best colonial statistics in the world--and at first sight may seem hard to believe. Under the heading *Rélégations* (the confinement of men in selected villages distant from their homes or places of usual residence) you will find a column headed: *Rélégués pour motifs politiques*, and a total under this heading, for 1952, of 3,818 persons. You will also find, pursuing the matter a little further, a special category of *Rélégués Dangereux* noted as containing 631 men (as against 612 in 1951).

Nearly 4,000 political prisoners in a population of 11 millions may not be a large total, but it is certainly too big to be ignored. What is the explanation? As far as I can find out, all these political prisoners belong to one or other "dissident religion": they are religious sectarians whose beliefs take either the simplest form of asserting that "the meek shall inherit the earth"--the Africans shall inherit the Congo --or the much more vigorous form of an openly admitted if still tribal nationalism. Several of the peoples of the Congo would appear not to have forgotten the kingdoms of their past: among these the Baluba and Bakongo especially have retained their sense of tribal unity--fortified in the case of the Bakongo by a strong language consciousness--and have advanced it in these last 10 or 20 years to a sense almost of national unity.

Some Past Explosions Sometimes this latent but developing nationalism appears to be linked with one or other of these "dissident religions": where that happens, the results can be explosive. One explosion occurred in the Maniema in 1943, and another in Luluaborg in the Kasai during 1944: both of these took the form of an anti-European extremism, and in the second of these a number of Europeans were killed.

The Belgians themselves put most of the blame on Kitiwala--the Congo form of the Watchtower, a form of primitive evangelism by no means unknown in West Africa, and which seems originally to have come from the United States. . . the men accused of promoting Kitiwala, and arrested for doing so, are not the dregs of the African community but surprisingly often (as one Belgian official put it to me) "the best workers that we have". Apparently it is the more intelligent, more far-seeing, and more self-conscious Africans who adhere to Kitiwala and its fellow-forms of "dissident religion". It is, in other words, just those men who might be expected, under a system of political representation, to step forward and take the lead. . . It remains to be seen whether the Belgians in the Congo will discover how to reconcile economic advance with political stagnation: the least one may say at this point, perhaps, is that nobody else has ever succeeded in doing this.

Portuguese Color Bar If Belgian policy in the Congooffers a picture interestingly composed of the advanced and the backward, Portuguese policy in Angola is much more consistent. It is, from the African point of view, unrelievedly backward. Unlike the British settler and the Boer, the Portuguese appears to have little or no emotional race prejudice. His prejudice derives much more directly from more material considerations: he is poor, and he comes to the colonies to make a living he cannot make at home--it is still a poor living, but it might be worse still if he failed to "protect himself" from African competition. Racial prejudice in the Portuguese colonies is directly a product of Portuguese poverty. "The Africans of Angola feed Angola," somebody said the other day, "And the Portuguese milk it."

We have no political troubles in Angola," the Portuguese are fond of saying; and it is true. But the reason is not quite so satisfactory. The reason, as they carefully explain themselves, is that they "pack off to penal settlements all those whose ideas we don't like." It is impossible to say how many political prisoners there may be in Angola, because the Portuguese issue no advice on the subject: but the penal settlements at Baia de Tigres, on the extreme southern coast of Angola--deserted, empty, unfit for habitation--are reliably said to contain quite a few "objectors," while others are regularly sent to the cocoa-growing island of São Thomé.

Slave Labor Traditionally, Angola is a colony of forced labor. Official figures given to me in Luanda, the administrative capital, show a total of 379,000 forced workers at the end of last year--just under (continued on next page)

"IN QUOTATION MARKS"

"We want to meet rich people and prove to them that they can best spend their money in Eastern Nigeria," said Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, when interviewed in London May 12, explaining the purpose of his six-weeks tour of Europe and America. As to the incentives offered foreign investors, Dr. Azikiwe listed the provision of land and labor, assistance in training Africans in all skills--and stability: "It doesn't matter what political party is in power, the same standards will remain." He arrived in New York June 1, accompanied by Mr. L.P. Ojukwu, Nigerian business executive.

* * *

"Last year, we concluded with you a new treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation designed to assure to American business enterprise expanded opportunities in Ethiopia. Our dollar-based currency is also there to assure the ready return to the United States of the profits of their investments.

"We have entrusted to American enterprise the development of our civil aviation, which has surpassed all expectation. To American enterprise we have confided the exploitation of our oil resources as well as of our gold deposits.

"Although my country is 8,000 miles removed from the Eastern seaboard of the United States, United States exports to Ethiopia have, notwithstanding this heavy handicap, pushed forward to the forefront in Ethiopia. Conversely, the United States stands in first rank of countries to whom we export."--Emperor Haile Selassie I, in his address to the United States Congress, May 28.

* * *

"He was ashamed to say that Haile Selassie could give him some very elementary education that he should have had before."--President Eisenhower, at his press conference on June 2, commenting on the Emperor's visit.

* * *

NEW CRISIS IN UGANDA (continued)

At a press conference in London late in May, Mr. E.M.K. Mulira, sent by the Lukiko (the Kabaka's Council of Ministers) to advise the exiled ruler, stated: "As months pass there is more and more unity of the people behind the Kabaka. This unity is evidenced by the strong campaign in the Uganda press against any suggestions to elect another Kabaka; by the ban on buying anything but bare necessities; by the boycott of social gatherings and a marked falling off in church attendance . . . ."

Emergency Declared There was still no violence. But the colonial authorities, determined to smash the growing strength of united resistance against the election of a new Kabaka, decided it was time to crack down. On May 31 a state of emergency was once more declared in Buganda. Using his emergency powers, Governor Sir Andrew Cohen called up troops, ordered police raids and drag-net arrests, banned three of the more outspoken African newspapers, banned public meetings of Africans, ousted pro-Mutasa tribal chiefs.

A dispatch from London printed in the N.Y. Times of June 1 reported that the Uganda Governor's statement "revealed that a terror campaign directed against white settlers and Africans alike was sweeping the province." Sounds like the Kenya Mau Mau business all over again, doesn't it? That is what the colonial bosses would like you to believe. But on June 2 the Times reported that Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton, closely questioned in Parliament, was forced to acknowledge "that the 'violence' used by the Buganda who were trying to enforce a boycott had not included personal violence so far, but only 'intimidation, cutting down of trees, and so forth'".

Keep your eyes on Uganda.

* * *

AFRICAN OPPRESSION IN THE CONGO AND ANGOLA (continued)

one-tenth of the whole African population. Nobody in Angola bothered to conceal the methods that are used. Employers who need forced labor simply requisition for it from the Government: the Government issues licenses for recruitment, and the actual recruitment is done by the local chefe de posto (the District Commissioner). He calls in his local headmen or his local chief, and demands so-and-so many laborers. They are produced on pain of immediate penal sanctions against the chief or headmen who fails to produce them. Once produced, they are taken off for terms which vary between three months and three years. . .

. . . you will see pregnant women and women with babies on their backs, and children of all ages up to an apparent age of about 14, laboring away at roads in the countryside. It is rather difficult to see more than a verbal difference between forced labor of this kind and slavery. One cannot see it in operation today without a sense of wonder that the world should continue to allow it.

* * *

Another Black Mark on South Africa: The Malan Government this month refused a passpor to Professor Zachariah K. Matthews to attend a world conference on race relations in Honolulu at the invitation of the University of Hawaii. Dr. Matthews, President of t Cape Section of the African National Congress, is well known in the United States, ha ing been here in 1952-53 as a visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary.

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Telephone: ENright 9-8110

For immediate release, October 16, 1954

PROSECUTION THREATENED FOR AID TO AFRICANS

At a Federal Grand Jury hearing in Washington, D.C., to which he was subpoenaed, Dr. W.A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, was informed that the Justice Department regards the work done by the Council in sending aid for the relief of needy Africans in South Africa as grounds for possible prosecution under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

The subpoena served on Dr. Hunton ordered him to bring before the Grand Jury on October 7 all correspondence with the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, which have jointly led the struggle against racist oppression in South Africa, as well as all other foreign correspondence from 1946 to date, all records of funds sent abroad by the Council, and all materials published or disseminated by the organization in the same nine-year period.

The only other witness besides Dr. Hunton to appear before the Grand Jury during its three and a half day session on this matter was Dr. Max Yergan, who was ousted in 1948 from his executive post and membership in the Council on African Affairs Yergan was closeted with the Grand Jury for the first full day and a half, while Hunton waited to be called in. He made two further appearance before the Grand Jury at intervals between testimony by Hunton.

The close questioning of Dr. Hunton on the Council's contacts with various individuals and organizations in South Africa and elsewhere, it was learned, was aimed at trying to establish that those in the leadership of movements for African welfare and freedom were Communist or Communist-controlled .

This was the same thesis that Yergan set forth in a lengthy interview in the magazine, U.S. News and World Report, May 1, 1953. The views he expressed in that interview were sharply attacked both by African leaders and by Negro spokesmen and newspaper editorialists and columnists in the United States.

Dr. Hunton told the Grand Jury that the Council on African Affairs was not the agent of any foreign principal and therefore had never considered the question of registering as such. He stated that the real issue in the case was the moral question of whether it is right or wrong for Americans to give assistance to Africans who are in distress and want.

The Council, whose chairman and vice-chairman are Paul Robeson and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, collected and sent large quantities of food and money in 1946-47 for the relief of African famine distress in South Africa. In 1952-53 it colleceted and

(MORE)

forwarded funds for the aid of the dependents of thousands of African men and women who were arrested during the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in protest against the Malan Government's fascist-like subjection of the country's non-white peoples. This year the Council has been able to give financial assistance to the Kenyatta Defense Fund in London, established to provide legal counsel for Jomo Kenyatta and other Kenya leaders prosecuted by the British.

Following the Grand Jury hearing the Council's Secretary expressed the opinion that a "calculated campaign" has been launched in this country to try to discredit the African people's liberation movements by branding them "Communist". Besides the Yergan interview he cited as evidence various recent N.Y. Times dispatches from South Africa, an editorial in the Sept. 4 Saturday Evening Post, an article by Oden Meeker in the current issue of the same magazine, and other similar articles.

"It is to be hoped," Dr. Hunton said, "that the Government will not officially adopt this view and penalize those Americans who support the cause of African freedom."

Grand Jury

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
for the District of Columbia

THE UNITED STATES

vs.

John Doe

REPORT TO UNITED STATES DISTRICT
COURT HOUSE
Between 3rd Street & John Marshall Place
and on Constitution Ave., N.W.
ROOM 3812
Washington, D. C.

The President of the United States to W. A. Hunton, Secretary
Council on African Affairs, Inc.
139 West 125th St.
New York 27, New York

You are hereby commanded to attend before the Grand Jury of said Court on Thursday, the 7th day of October, 1954, at 9:30 o'clock A.M., to testify on behalf of the United States, and not depart the Court without leave of the Court or District Attorney.

AND BRING WITH YOU

the original or, in the absence of original, a copy of each of the following documents:

(a) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and the African National Congress and/or its officers for the period of January 1, 1946 to the date of the receipt of this subpoena.

(b) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and the South African Indian Congress and/or its officers for the period specified in (a) above.

(c) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and/or its officers and any individual outside the United States affiliated with a foreign government, foreign political party, and/or any organizations located in a foreign country for the period specified in (a) above.

(d) All correspondence and communications between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and any foreign government and/or political party for the period specified in (a) above.

(e) All books and records of accounts covering receipts and disbursements of funds or anything of value between the Council on African Affairs, Inc. and any individual, organization, or political party outside the United States and any foreign government within the period specified in (a) above.

(f) All materials published and/or disseminated by the Council on African Affairs, Inc., for the period specified in (a) above.

WITNESS: The Honorable Bolitha J. Laws, Chief Judge of said Court, this 27th day of September, 1954

Harry M. Hull, Clerk. (printed)

(blank)
.... By John C. Coogan, Deputy Clerk. (signed)

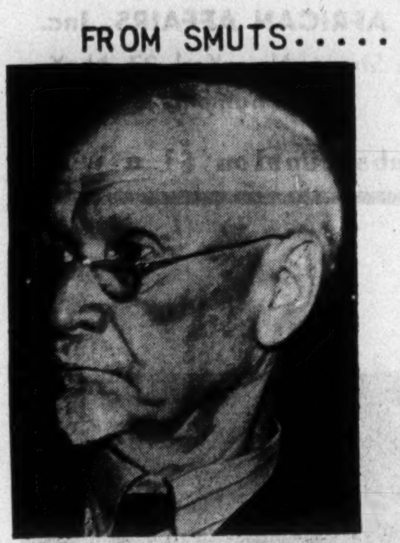
Attorney for ...(blank)...................

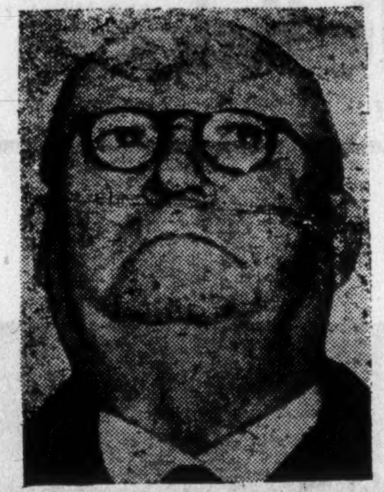
(imprint of seal)

News Letter
SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
139 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
Suite 6 • MOnument 6-8700
October 28, 1954 XIII, 10 Subscription $1 a year

HELP for AFRICA'S CHILDREN -- A mother in French Equatorial Africa helps her child to a cup of milk sent by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) to help alleviate kwashiorkor, a prevalent protein deficiency disease. For the past two years UNICEF has been distributing such supplies for children in the Belgian Congo, Uranda Urundi and French Equatorial Africa. While this service is to be applauded, and must be supported and expanded, it yet remains true that until Africans win self-government and begin to use their countries' rich resources for **their own** benefit, hunger, disease and death will continue to take a heavy toll among millions of African children.

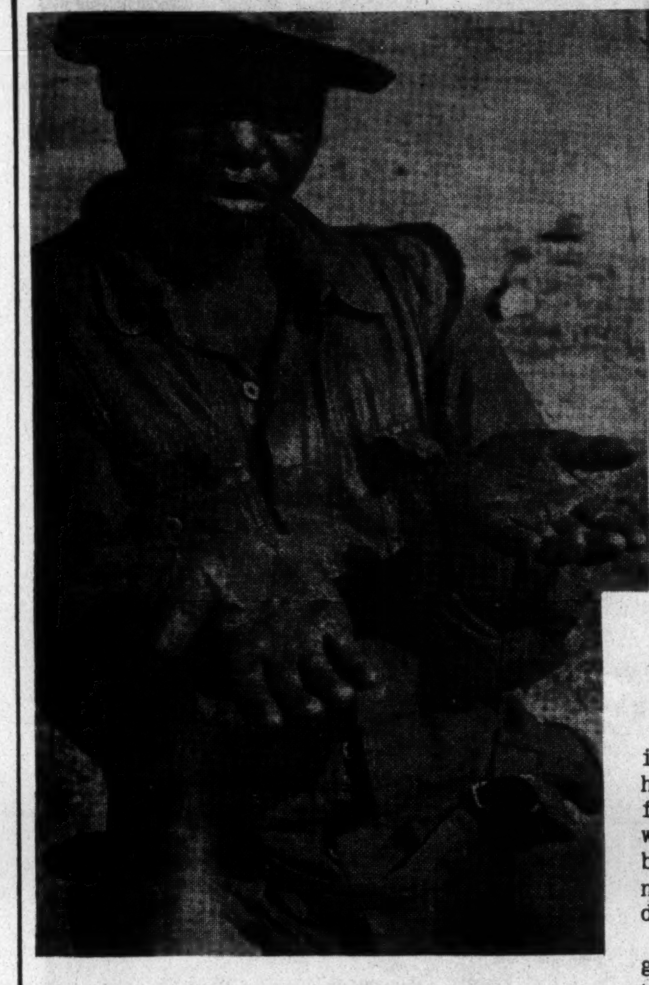
FROM SMUTS............ TO MALAN..........TO ?????





We have heard of no rejoicing among Africans and other darker peoples in the Land of Gold and Jim Crow over the announcement that Dr. Daniel F. Malan will resign as Prime Minister of South Africa on November 30.

The country's oppressed peoples know that, although Malan has been one of the frankest and most ruthless advocates of the system of racist domination by the white minority in South Africa, the system itself did not begin with Malan and will not end with him. It will end only when **all** of the people of South Africa share fully in the government of the country.



BRICKS, SWEAT AND MISERY

In the brickworks near Germiston one can get a glimpse of how a worker with a black skin fares in South Africa. The workers here will tell you of bad living conditions and neglect, of assaults and slave-driving on the job.

They will tell you how they get paid a pound 18 shillings ($5.30) for a week's work of up to 70 or 80 hours, how they have to work Saturdays and Sundays without overtime pay if they don't get through their daily quota of handling up to 4,000 bricks. That's what a black man's job is like in South Africa.

These pictures tell a story. (Left) Look at Jeremiah Nkosi's hands. The doctor told him he could not work with his hands in that condition. The boss said if he did not want to work he could take his pass. He went on working. He has been 10 years in the brickfield. (Above) Workers, deeply interested, listen to the union organiser explain how other workers, organised, got holidays, overtime, sick leave, better wages. They never heard of such things. (Below) David Tabama works Sunday to make up his quota. He has been 12 years with the firm, had only two holidays—without pay.

(Below) Jim Sibande, Stephen Sangweni and Laston Mtunga cook breakfast. They have to buy their own food. Fourteen men sleep on concrete bunks in this leaky room, 20 feet by 20. Hours of work: 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.

HIGH TIME TO ASK A QUESTION: WHERE IS UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD AFRICA LEADING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

Why does the United States Government deny passports to certain Americans to go to Africa? Why does it refuse to allow spokesmen for African freedom to come to this country from abroad, or else curb their freedom of speech and movement with ridiculous restrictions? Why has an organization such as the Council on African Affairs been harassed by the Justice Department under the McCarran (Internal Security) Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

The answer to these questions, we believe, is to be found not alone in the general Cold War straight-jacketing of American civil liberties; it is to be found also and more specifically in the nature of official United States policy with relation to Africa.

U.S. Stakes in Africa and What They Entail

What is that policy? A recent report of the U.S. Foreign Operations Administration (FOA) states that "Africa has a vast potential for development in terms of making a greater contribution to the free world economy" and is of "growing importance to the United States." The FOA report says further: "The continued production and availability of needed materials, the security of our air and naval bases in Africa, and, in the event of war, the maintenance of key lines of communication depend on the existence of politically stable African societies associated with the free world."

Please note that last phrase. The neo-fascist government of South Africa and the colonial regimes of Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal represent what is meant by "politically stable African societies associated with the free world." What if the Africans don't like this kind of political "stability"? What if they demand and strive, as they are now doing despite every kind of repressive measure, for something different? The FOA report skips these questions. It assumes, apparently, that the Africans' only "aspirations" are for "technical skills and knowledge essential to development," which the FOA, of course, stands ready to help with for the reasons cited.

And then there is the statement, which you may recall, made just a year ago by Mr. Henry A. Byroade, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs (see our News Letter of Nov. 19, 1953). While the United States supports the general goal of self-government for all peoples, the too rapid advancement toward this ideal "would not serve the best interest of the United States," he said, explaining: "Let us be frank in recognizing our stake in the strength and stability /that word again!/ of certain European nations which exercise influence in the dependent areas. They are our allies."

Why Some People Can't Go to Africa

In this context one can readily understand what the Government meant when it justified the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport by citing his "frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, traveling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable." (U.S. Government's brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing, Feb. 1952, in the Robeson passport case)

No doubt the State Department likewise regards Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, honored by Africans for his contributions to the development of the Pan-African movement and for his peerless scholarship and authoritative writings on Africa, as another "political meddler." His passport, too, has been revoked.

There is also the case of Dr. George Shepherd, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, which was organized in New York earlier this year (Dr. Rayford Logan, Dr. George Haynes, Dr. Howard Thurman, and Mr. Willard Townsend are listed among the Negro members of its Advisory Board). Dr. Shepherd, who is also General Manager of the Federation of Uganda African Farmers, has been denied a passport to return to Africa. The August-Sept. issue of the Bulletin of the American Committee on Africa reports: "On enquiry Dr. Shepherd learned that the denial arose from his political sympathies in Africa with the nationalist movements. His political activities in this country were not in question." Another "political meddler" to be kept out of Africa!

How many more Americans are similarly black-listed? Only Her Highness Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division of the U.S. State Department, knows.

The State Department also considers it to be "not in the best interests of the United States" for visas to be granted to certain individuals to come and tell Americans the truth about what is going on in Africa. For example, there is Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Acting General Secretary of the now outlawed Kenya African Union, which was led by Jomo Kenyatta up to the time of his arrest two years ago at the start of British military operations in Kenya. Mr. Murumbi visited India last year and talked

And Why Spokesmen for African Freedom Are Barred from the U.S.

with Nehru and other leaders about conditions in Kenya. In Egypt he was received by General Naguib and other ministers. In England he has spoken under varied auspices to numerous audiences. But he could not get a visa to come to the United States, even though invited by such an organization as the American Friends Committee.

(Parenthetically, it should be noted that the British side of the Kenya conflict was represented and freely voiced in the United States by none other than Sir Philip Mitchell, former Governor of Kenya, at the very time when Mr. Murumbi's entry was being refused. Sir Philip frankly describes himself as an unashamed "colonialist", one who is concerned lest colonialism be "prematurely abandoned" by the West.)

The Reverend Michael Scott is world-famous as the persevering representative and champion of the Herero people of South West Africa. Scott's name is anathema to the rulers of South Africa, whose objective, now virtually an accomplished fact, is the annexation of South West Africa. And so it follows that Scott is persona non grata in the U.S.A. His entry here could not be easily barred, since he came on United Nations business, but it was granted only on condition that he not speak to any public gatherings and not travel outside certain prescribed limits of mid-Manhattan, even Harlem being designated as out-of-bounds.

"An Alarming Curtain of Silence Is Descending"

The previously mentioned Bulletin of the American Committee on Africa notes that besides Mr. Murumbi and Rev. Scott "Several other persons engaged in African affairs who have been critical of existing colonial policies from a liberal non-communist view point have had difficulty entering the United States. Our Passport and Immigration Department seems to be open to suggestion from colonial powers that 'critics' be kept out or restricted." The Bulletin interprets these refusals of visas and passports to mean that "An alarming curtain of silence is descending between the U.S. and the colonies cutting our people off from basic sources of information about important events in Africa."

It was clearly as a part of the Curtain-of-Silence operation that the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, Dr. W. A. Hunton, was subpoenaed to appear before a Federal Grand Jury in Washington on October 7. The subpoena directed Dr. Hunton to bring with him all correspondence with the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress, which have jointly led the struggle against racist oppression in South Africa, as well as all other foreign correspondence from 1946 to date, all records of funds sent abroad by the Council, and all materials published or disseminated by the organization during the same nine-year period.

Prosecution Threatened for Aid to Africans

The Council's Secretary was quizzed at length regarding funds and food sent by the organization to relieve African famine distress in South Africa in 1946-47, and regarding other funds sent more recently to aid the dependents of the thousands of African men and women jailed during the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in South Africa. The Grand Jury, it was said, was concerned with whether these activities represented violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Dr. Hunton told the Grand Jury that the Council on African Affairs was not the agent of any foreign principal and consequently had never considered the question of registering as such. He stated that the real issue in the case was the moral question of whether it is right or wrong for Americans to give assistance to Africans who are in distress and want. The Justice Department counsel gave a clue as to the underlying purpose of the proceedings when he asked why Negroes in America should feel that they have any common cause with the people of Africa, and why the Council maintained that the U.S. Government should give no further loans or other aid to the South African Government. These questions Dr. Hunton gladly answered.

The only other witness besides Dr. Hunton known to have appeared before the Grand Jury was Dr. Max Yergan, who was ousted in 1948 from his executive post and membership in the Council on African Affairs. Yergan was closeted with the Grand Jury for the first full day and a half, before the Council's Secretary was called in.

The Man Who Is Busy Helping Dulles Save Africa for the "Free World"

Yergan is one individual who has had no difficulty whatever in getting his passport and visas to go wherever he wished, including even the Union of South Africa. There is no mystery about why he is so favored. He is rendering valuable service to the State Department by his tireless preaching that that the great problem in Africa today is not the oppression of its people but the "Communist menace." Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said it in a radio broadcast (Jan. 27, 1953): "Throughout Africa the Communists are trying to arouse the native people into revolt against the Western Europeans who still have political control of most of Africa." Dr. Yergan has been saying it on every possible occasion ever since.

The Time to Raise Our Voices in Protest Is NOW This canard is currently being propagated more and more widely in magazine articles and press stories in an obvious effort to turn away American sympathy and support from African leaders and organizations in the vanguard of the fight for a Free Africa. A definitive and devastating answer to Dulles, Yergan, and others with like views was given some time ago by Professor Z.K. Matthews of South Africa. He said: "I resent the suggestion that the African people require Communists to teach them to defend their rights. Ever since the Bantu encountered the European on the banks of the Great Fish River, long before the Communist Manifesto was even thought of, they struggled for equal rights in the land of their birth. They will continue that struggle, and not allow themselves to be browbeaten by smear tactics in their determined fight for their liberation."

The attempt to lower the curtain and allow only certain censored information to come to Americans from Africa, the attempt to brand African liberation movements as Communist-controlled and to attack American support for these movements as "subversive" must be challenged and blocked by the American people--and, above all, by Negro Americans. If strong protests are not registered NOW, we may soon find that it is too late to ask even a whispered question about the sending of American troops, should American money and guns not suffice, to back up "allies" in Morocco or South Africa. It happened in Asia; it can happen in Africa.

Let there be freedom to travel! Let there be freedom to know the facts! Let there be freedom of expression! Instead of worrying about saving Africa for the West, let our Government dedicate itself to the task of saving Africa for the AFRICANS!

* * * * * *

AFTER TWO YEARS OF WAR IN KENYA . . .

The following statistics have been made public this month by British Colonial Secretary A. Lennox-Boyd and the War Council of Kenya (which includes the Governor and the military commander-in-chief) in their respective reviews of the fighting in Kenya since Oct. 20, 1952 when the Governor declared an "emergency" and British troops were flown to the East African colony.

In the "Mau Mau" forces 6,741 Africans killed (up to Oct. 9). In the British security forces 479 killed. Among European civilians 27 killed; among non-combatant African "loyalists" 1,292 killed.

Africans excecuted on various charges: 686.

Africans held in prison camps: 48,022 (at the end of September). At Manyani Camp, where 16,000 are confined, there have been 63 deaths from typhoid in a month and a half.

Forces engaged: On the British side over 34,000 troops, police and Kikuyu guards, the latter numbering over 22,000 (it is among these that the overwhelming majority of the casualties on the British side have occurred). On the "Mau Mau" side, an estimated 7000 "hard-core" fighters in the forests, possessing about 1000 precision weapons.

Cost of the British operation in Kenya up to June 30: over $35 million.

The outlook: "Nothing in the military situation suggests an early end of the emergency. Most of the Mau Mau leaders are still firm in their determination to continue fighting." (from the statement of the War Council of Kenya)

Not conveyed by the above facts and difficult to convey in any words is the untold suffering to which scores of thousands of African men, women and children in Kenya have been subjected during the past two years. A letter from these people addressed to the British people and recently made public in London reads:

"May God bless you, so that you may live in peace, and that you may continue to remember us. Because death has become our daily bread, sorrow and poverty have increased. Very few are alive. All our leaders have been arrested and many others have been killed. Many homes have been burnt out. Many homes are no longer in existence. We are being troubled, together with our women and children; we are being moved from our village and our lands are being declared 'prohibited areas'. . . . WE ASK YOU ONCE AGAIN NOT TO FORGET US. May God's peace be with you."

* * * * * * * *

IT DEPENDS ON YOUR POINT OF VIEW

"The communists have discovered Africa. As the sleeping giant south of the Sahara begins to stir, the Soviet world is beginning to pay attention."--Oden Meeker, "The Reds Move In on Africa," Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 16, 1954

"Africa is news to the United States. . . Africa is engaging the attention of official and academic circles throughout the United States. The State Department naturally has its African desk, but so has the Air Force and the Department of Agriculture. The Social Science Research Council and Fulbright Commission send postgraduates to Africa--too many to be easily accommodated and supervised by the various African research institutions."--Leo Silberman, "America Discovers Africa," Venture, Journal of the Fabian Colonial Bureau (London), September, 1954

SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA

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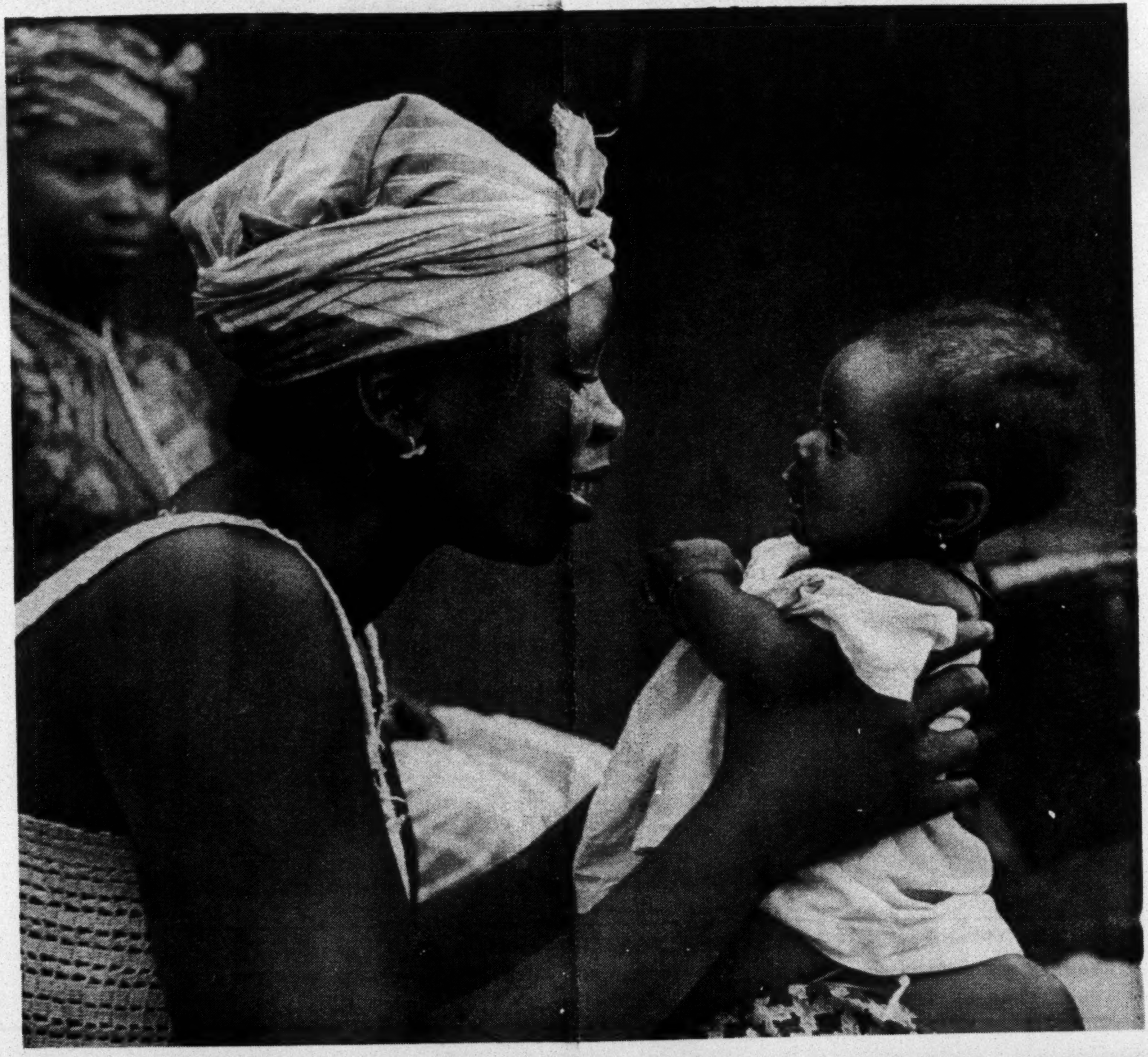
The Asian-African Conference
by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois

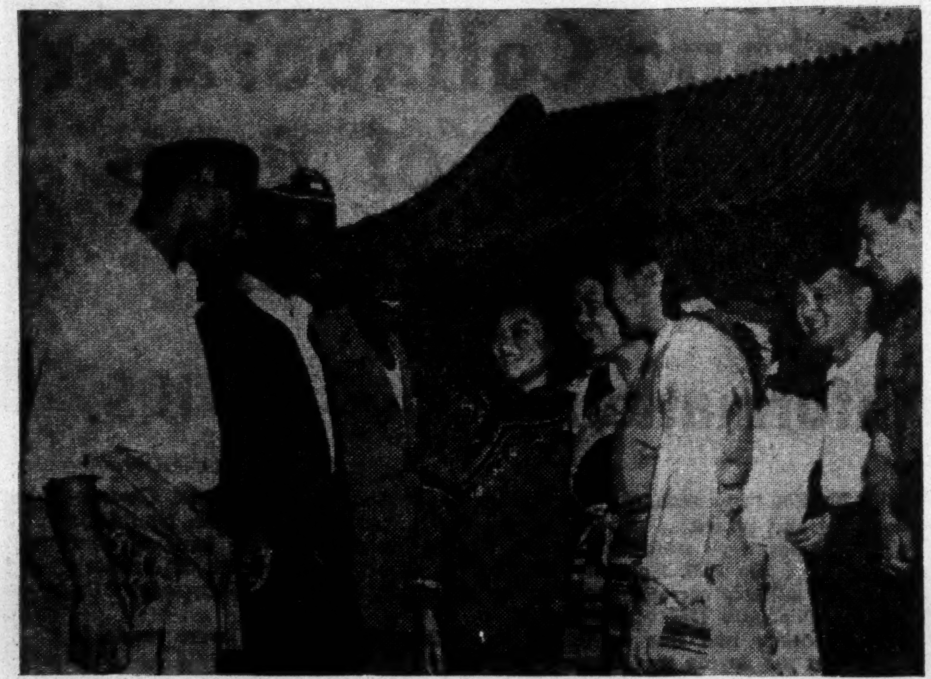
How They Voted in the U.N.

Voice of Black South Africa

Some Questions on Kenya

January, 1955 XIV, 1 15¢

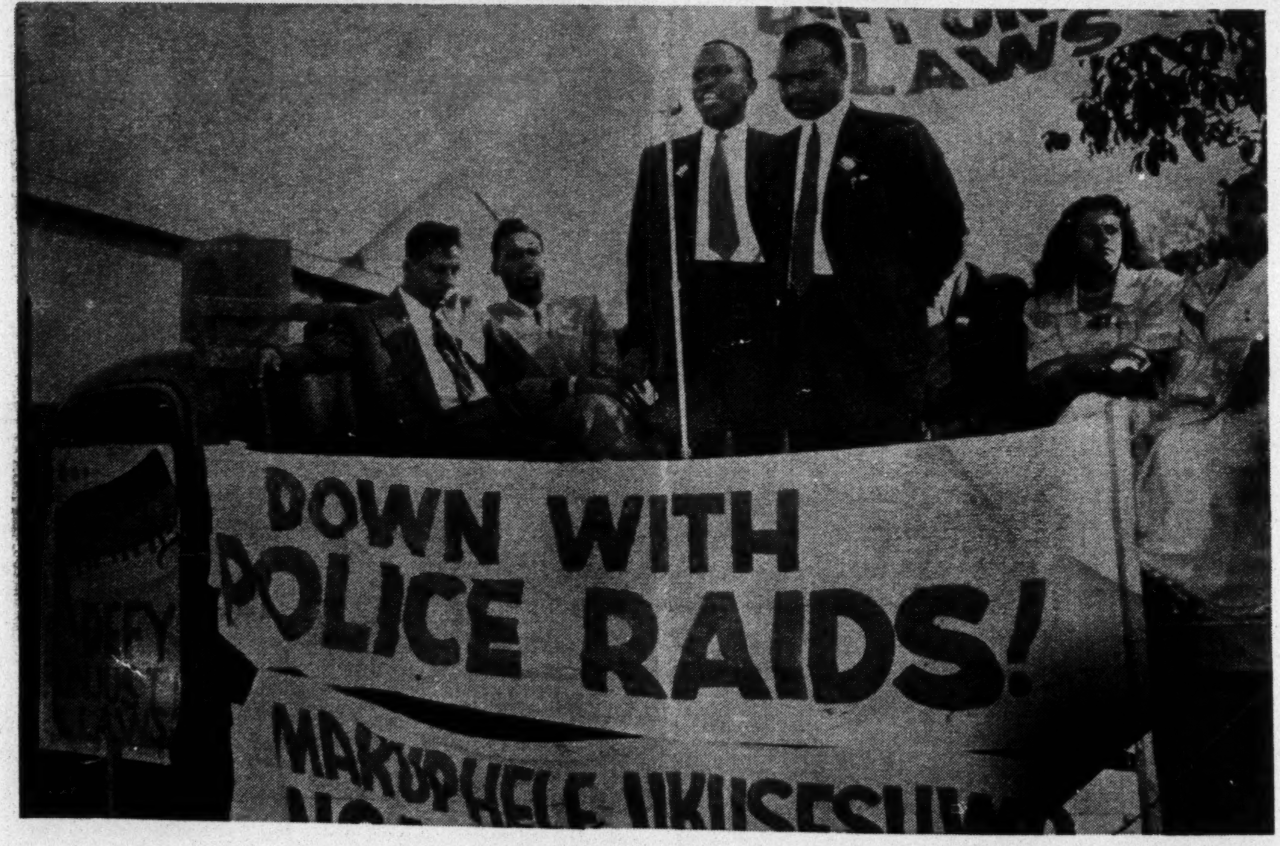




ASIANS AND AFRICANS JOIN HANDS

African youth delegates on a visit to China last year were warmly greeted by Chinese youth. To the left is a picture taken in Peking. And in South Africa (below) Africans and Indians join in demonstrating against police tyranny used to maintain white supremacy.

Cover picture: Liberian woman and child(UNations).



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PAN-COLORED

by W.E.B. Du Bois

Not since the Renaissance have the colored people of the world come together in consultation. This is because during and before the Renaissance such a meeting would have had no significance. Red-haired people do not meet together unless they have some common interest which depends upon the color of their hair. Since the Renaissance, skin color has been made a reason for oppression, discrimination and war, and therefore it is of great significance that the peoples of Asia and Africa have recently arranged to have a joint meeting in Indonesia and there to discuss their common problems.

That they had problems in common has long been clear to them, but the extraordinary technical mastery of the white European world and the early assumptions built on this temporary superiority have long deterred the colored people so that each group of them recoiled from mutual acquaintance and tried to make direct connection between themselves and Europe. Modern China, therefore, long looked to Europe for guidance and expected emancipation through Europe. The people of India sought proof of their cultural and physical affinity to the Europeans, and many of them saw only in Europe the solving of the problems of India.

In the earlier days American Negroes expected rehabilitation from slavery through a return to Africa. But soon that idea was given up, partly because the peoples of Africa no longer recognized the black folk of America as Africans, and partly because these Negroes of America, educated in the English tradition, became ashamed of themselves and in large degree wanted no connection with Africans or with other colored people.

Thus at the very time when the colored peoples of the world needed mutual understanding and cooperative effort, they were driven apart; used for conquering each other; and despising each other, they left themselves naked to the hate, the cruelty and exploitation of white Europe.

In the first half of this century that situation has completely changed. We have an independent India, an independent China and independent Indonesia. We have 15 million American Negroes, many of whom are at least beginning to recognize that simply becoming white or the tools of white folk is not the object and end of their existence.

Therefore, there will take place in Indonesia in April a meeting between the black and brown people of India, the brown people of Indonesia, the great Chinese people, and other Asians, together with the black Africans of the Sudan and the West Coast, the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and peoples from other sections of the African continent.

The representatives of all these peoples will come together, get acquainted with each other, and get some intimation of the problems which they all face. They will explore the means of promoting mutual cooperation and closer relations among the Asian and African nations. They will consider problems common to them all, such as national sovereignty, racialism, and colonialism. They will seek to determine the contribution which Asia and Africa and their people can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

Just as the first Pan-African Congress in 1919 has endured until in 1954 every African province has a Congress of Africans which gets its original inspiration from the Paris meeting, just so in another half century the colored world is going to date the beginning of its integrity, unification and self-conscious progress on the great Pan-Colored meeting of 1955.

/Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, distinguished African historian and Vice-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, was the founder and architect of the Pan-African movement after the first World War. The first Pan-African Congress was held in Paris in 1919. Since then, four other Congresses have been held. The fifth Congress at Manchester, England, October, 1945, was presided over by Dr. Du Bois, and was attended by Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah and two hundred other leaders from every section of Africa, the West Indies, British Guiana, British Honduras, Brazil and the United States.

The declaration adopted by the Manchester Congress, written by Dr. Du Bois, read in part: "We are determined to be free. We want education, the right to earn a decent living, the right to express our thoughts and emotions, and to adopt and create forms of beauty. Without all this, we die to live."/

THE VOICE OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA

/Here are excerpts from the historic report of Secretary-General Walter M. Sisulu to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, held in Durban, South Africa, last month. Both Sisulu and President-General Luthuli are under Government ban; their statements were read for them./

After six years of Nationalist rule, fascism has arrived in South Africa. The first five of these six years were occupied with the building of the legal framework for the naked police state. After sweeping to power on a wave of intensified racialist propaganda, the Nationalist machine set to work. The reactionary anti-people legislation inherited from former South African regimes was made more efficient.

In the Suppression of Communism Act the Nationalist Government, following the Hitler pattern, prepared the legal machinery for crushing the most militant opponents of their rule--the working class and national liberatory organizations...

Nationalists' Contempt for Law

The Nationalists have acted in complete disregard and contempt of the rule of law and the rights of Parliament. In the Public Safety Act they made provision for the Executive, when it deems it necessary, to declare a state of emergency, suspend all laws and assume dictatorial powers.

Meetings are totally banned in rural areas and virtually banned in urban areas. Foremost leaders of the national liberation organizations and leaders of trade unions have been banned from political activity; persons have been exiled and deported without trial and without regard to the welfare of their families; newspapers have been banned; fighters for freedom have been convicted for protesting against unjust laws; armed police intimidate people at meetings and homes; raids and searches are now commonplace; and, to crown it all, our Secretary-General has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with compulsory labor, for a crime unique in history, namely: "Attending a gathering in order to partake of, or be present whilst others partake of, refreshment (in the nature of tea and/or edibles and/or a meal)." Yes, fascism has indeed arrived in South Africa.

(continued on next page)

The A.N.C. and Its Allies

The one major force which has fought the Government consistently and organized the people against fascism has been the African National Congress and its allies. No action of the Government, no matter against which group it was directed, has not evoked condemnation and resistance from the forces allied to and under the leadership of the African National Congress.

In this connection we recall the freedom strike in the Transvaal on the 1st of May, 1950, the first nation-wide political strike on the 26th of June, 1950, the Cape Colored protest strike on the 7th May, 1951, the Witzieshoek clash in November, 1950, where 13 Africans were killed, 97 committed to terms of imprisonment, ranging from six months to five years; the demonstration of 100,000 people on the 6th April, 1952, against 300 years of white domination; the most historic Defiance Campaign, which began on the 26th June, 1952, a day which has truly become a national day for all South Africa and a day on which we remember all those who have laid down their lives in the struggle for a free South Africa--a day of rededication and pledge.

The Defiance Campaign in particular is not only the most important event of this period but was the highest form of struggle ever undertaken in South Africa. It produced a solid and strong democratic front between Africans and other oppressed groups. The African National Congress became recognized and accepted by all democratic and progressive organizations and individuals in this country as the true voice and leader of the struggle for freedom, equality and justice...

1954: Year of Preparation

The year 1954 was the year for preparation for a new period. A period for the changing of tactics, a period for an advanced form of organization to prepare for advanced forms of struggle. The Congress of the People and the Resist Apartheid Campaigns are the two campaigns on which we are going to base our future struggle. The Resist Apartheid Campaign is an issue on which we mobilize our forces in defence of our rights and our organizations.

On the other hand, the Congress of the People Campaign will open a new page, another turning point in the history of our country, when, for the first time, a people's charter shall be drawn up by the masses from all walks of life and from all racial groups in the country--a charter of a new South Africa. We are striving to bring to the masses of our country the vision of a new South Africa--a South Africa wherein there shall be no starvation, and in which racial antagonism will be eliminated and all alike will share in the natural resources and prosperity of the country.

Widen The Anti-Fascist Front!

Fascism came to South Africa as a result of an electoral majority in an election in which Non-Europeans have no say. From the point of view of the ballot box, therefore, the Non-Europeans can do nothing to their overlords and tyrants. Yet all concerned can successfully resist and defeat these oppressors. They must be fought outside Parliament, in the towns, on the farms--in the economic, political and industrial spheres; they must be fought everywhere! The policy of the African National Congress in this connection is inter-racial cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and equality. This policy the African National Congress proclaims boldly to all interested groups and organizations and to the world at large.

Our policy of co-operating with other racial groups through their national organizations has made great strides and constitutes a very real threat to the present regime, which is anchored on the idea of racial exclusiveness and domination. In the fight against fascism we must see to it that more and more of the other groups are part and parcel of the struggle. The Africans, as the leading element in this alliance, must do all they can to see that the Coloreds are really part of the fight, similarly with the Europeans. The Indian people, led by the South African Indian Congress and inspired by that tried and tested leader, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, are old and trusted allies. We hope that the vigorous and active, though small, Congress of Democrats, and the South African Colored People's Organization will grow strong and swing more representative groups among their respective people to our side.

As far as the Africans are concerned, the creation of an anti-fascist front means broadening the social basis of the national movement. There is a danger of the African National Congress becoming an urban-based and urban-oriented organization. It may tend to forget and ignore the vast potential represented by the peasants and farm laborers. As a national movement the Congress cannot afford to ignore the demands and interests of large sections of the African population. Congress must voice and interpret the demands, feelings and aspirations of all sections of the nation. And let us not forget that our nation consists of these sections: the -

(continued on page 16)

BRITISH M.Ps. ASK SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT KENYA

[At question-time in the British House of Commons toward the end of December, most of the colonial questions, as usual, had to do with Kenya. Here are a few of them.]

Mr. A. Roberts (Lab.) asked how many Mau Mau prisoners were in captivity, and the weekly unit cost of each prisoner.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd (Secretary for Colonies): "On November 15 there were 17,629 Mau May convicts in prison and 47,562 persons detained in 'Anvil' works and detention camps. The estimated cost per week of each prisoner is 16s., and of each detainee 15s. 4d."

Mr. S. Silverman (Lab.): "Has it occurred to the Minister that, in circumstances in which 20% of the Native population is under continuous detention, and where the death penalty is inflicted for almost trivial offences, it is not likely that the British way of life would commend itself to the Native population? In these circumstances does he not agree that his whole policy may perhaps be mistaken?"

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: "That seems to me to be clearly outside the scope of this particular question, and I should hesitate to comment on it because reasoned judgments have not yet been delivered on these particular sentences, and it is better to wait until they have been received."

Work or Be Flogged

Mr. W. Benn (Lab.) asked what penalties could be imposed on persons held in detention camps in Kenya who refuse to do work inside or outside the camps.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: "Detainees refusing work lawfully required of them may be subject to one or more of the following punishments: confinement on a reduced diet for a term not exceeding seven days; deprivation of privileges; reprimand. Refusal to work is a minor offence, but if it happens for a third time, that or subsequent offenses render the detainee liable to corporal punishment.

Mr. Benn: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman seriously telling the House that detainees who are held on suspicion and who have not been tried are liable to flogging for a third offence of refusing to do what amounts to forced labor? Will the Minister look at the whole range of problems in Kenya brought forward by my hon. friends, which are causing increasing dissatisfaction in this country?"

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: "First, it is not flogging. /Hon. members: 'What is it then?'/ Corporal punishment of not more than 12 strokes. /Hon. members: 'Oh!'/ The use of the word 'flogging' conveys a totally different impression, as hon. members know. Second, it has not been imposed on anybody. But, in the view of the Government of Kenya, so important is the need to turn the detainees to useful work that they must reserve the right to deal with minor offences, which, if committed often, constitute major offences."

Confined In Irons

Mr. E. Fernyhough (Lab.) asked how long it had been the practice to chain Mau Mau prisoners in Kenya; at what intervals the chains were removed, and for what period.

Mr. Hopkinson: "Under the Kenya Prisons Ordinance, 1948, certain adult male prisoners, which now include Mau Mau, may be confined in irons in order to ensure their safe custody. Irons are not employed as a punishment. The period of such confinement must not exceed three months, except by order of the Commissioner of Prisons."

Mr. J. Johnson (Lab.) asked how many Kikuyu had been sentenced to death for receiving stolen property intended for Mau Mau terrorists; and how many of them had now been executed.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd: "Four persons, of whom two have been executed, have been sentenced to death for offences under Emergency Regulation 8F(1), which deals with demanding, collecting or receiving supplies by or for terrorists. It is known that one of these cases, on which the Court of Appeals' judgment is still awaited, involved stolen property."

Mr. Bottomley: "Would not the Minister agree that we shall have to tackle this matter in Kenya very effectively, and that that will not be done by stopping literature going in, or keeping people in prison, and that he should really seek more African leadership?"

BRITISH M.Ps. URGE END OF WAR IN KENYA

Lord Boyd Orr, Bertrand Russell, Canon John Collins and other prominent British leaders were joined by 50 members of Parliament last month in signing the following letter to Mr. Blundell, Minister without portfolio in Kenya:

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies informed the House of Commons on November 24 that 756 Africans had been executed between Oct. 20, 1952 and Nov. 12, 1954. Of these no fewer than 508 were charged with

(continued on pg. 15)

U. N. ROLL CALL: HOW THEY VOTED on AFRICAN and COLONIAL ISSUES in the 1954 ASSEMBLY

(The letters at top of columns below identify the issues explained at right. "Y" represents approval, "N" - opposition, "O" - abstention, blank space - absent. To aid in analyzing the distribution of votes the 60 members of the U.N. are listed in five groups: Western and associates (19), Latin-America (20), African (3), Arab-Asian (13), Socialist (5).)

The Issues. . .	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
United States	N	N	O	O	O	N	N	O	O	N	N	N	N	N	N
United Kingdom	N	N	N	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
South Africa	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	
Australia	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Canada	N	N	N	N	O	N	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	O	O
New Zealand	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
France	N	N	N	N	O	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Belgium	N	N	N	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Luxembourg		N		N		N	O	N	N		N			N	N
Netherlands	N	N	N	N	O	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Denmark	O	O	O	O	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	O	O	N	O
Norway	O	O	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	O	N	Y
Sweden	O	O	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	O	N	N
Iceland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			N	N						N
Greece	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Turkey	O	N	O	O	O			N	N		N			N	N
Israel	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	O	O	N	O	O	O	Y	Y	O
Yugoslovia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Formosa	N	N	O	O	Y	O	Y	O	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Argentina	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bolivia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y	Y
Brazil	N	N	O	O	Y	N	Y	O	N	O	O	Y	O	Y	N
Chile	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	O	N	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Colombia	N	N	N	N	O	N	O	N	N	O	N	O	Y		Y
Costa Rica		Y		Y	Y		O	Y	Y	O	O	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cuba	N	N	O	O	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dominican Rep.		O		O	O			O	N		O			Y	Y
Ecuador	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
El Savador		Y			Y	O		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Guatemala	N	Y	O	Y	O	O	O	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Haiti	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	Y		O			Y	Y	Y	Y
Honduras	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	O		Y	Y
Mexico	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N		Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nicaragua		Y		Y	Y		Y	O	N						
Panama	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	N	Y		N		Y				
Paraguay		Y		Y	Y			Y	Y		Y				
Peru	O	O	O	O	Y	O	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Uruguay	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y
Venezuela	O	O	O	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Egypt	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ethiopia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Liberia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Afghanistan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burma	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
India	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Indonesia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y			O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iran	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Iraq	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lebanon	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y
Pakistan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Philippines	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	O	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Saudi Arabia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Syria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thailand		O		Y		N	Y	Y	Y		Y			Y	
Yemen	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Byelorus. SSR	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Czechoslovakia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Poland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ukranian SSR	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Soviet Union	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

The Issues Voted On

A. For the U.N.'s Special Commission, established in 1952, "to keep under review the problem of race conflict in the Union of South Africa." Ad Hoc Political Committee, Dec. 8: 30 Yes, 15 No, 8 Abstentions.

B. The same question. Assembly Plenary, Dec. 14: 35 Yes, 16 No, 9 Abstentions.

C. The resolution as a whole dealing with race conflict in South Africa (of which A forms one paragraph), registering "apprehension" with regard to the South African Government's new laws and regulations, noting "the profound conviction of the Commission that the policy of apartheid constitutes a grave threat to the peaceful relations between ethnic groups in the world," commending the Commission for "its constructive work," inviting the South African Government "to reconsider its position" of ignoring the Commission and its recommendations, and requesting the Commission to report to the next session of the General Assembly. Ad Hoc Political Committee, Dec.8: 34 Yes, 9 No, 10 Abstentions.

D. The same resolution. Assembly Plenary, Dec. 14: 40 Yes, 10 No, 10 Abstentions.

E. For insuring continued U.N. attention to the question of discrimination against Indians in South Africa by requesting the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly at its next regular session on the results obtained from efforts to settle the problem by direct negotiations on the part of India, Pakistan, and the Union of South Africa. Ad Hoc Political Committee, Oct. 28: 45 Yes, 3 No, 10 Abstentions. (Though abstaining on this and other sections, the U.S. voted for the resolution as a whole, which was approved by the Assembly Plenary, Nov. 4: 45 Yes, 1 No, 11 Abstentions.)

F. For explicitly providing for joint consideration of the future status of British Togoland and French Togoland "in the light of their particular circumstances and of the freely expressed wishes of their peoples," instead of considering only the question of British Togoland in relation to the Gold Coast. Fourth Committee, Dec. 11: Rejected, 21 Yes, 23 No, 9 Abstentions. (It was charged by African petitioners Sylvanus Olympio and S.G. Antor that integration of British Togoland with the Gold Coast was being given priority over unity of British and French Togoland because of the Volta River (bauxite development) project which embraces the Gold Coast and part of British Togoland, and British plans for exploitation of mineral resources in the latter territory.)

(Issues continued on next page)

ROUND UP: ROLL-CALL VOTES ON AFRICAN AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS (cont'd)

G. For the "full and early implementation" of recommendations made by the General Assembly in 1953 for the advancement of political democracy and revision of the electoral system in both British and French Togoland. Fourth Committee, Dec. 11: 34 Yes, 11 No, 9 Abstentions.

H. Resolution affirming that Indonesia and the Netherlands should continue to try to solve their dispute over West New Guinea and report progress to the General Assembly at its next session. First Committee, Nov. 30: 34 Yes, 14 No, 10 Abstentions. (The Netherlands, strongly supported by Britain, France, and Australia, insisted that the question of West New Guinea, claimed by Indonesia, was its own "internal affair" and no business of the U.N. The U.S. remained silent throughout the debate.)

I. Operative paragraph 2 of the same resolution, providing for the question to be taken up again at next year's General Assembly. Assembly Plenary, Dec. 10: 33 Yes, 23 No, 4 Abstentions. This and two other sections of the resolution, though having majority support, were considered rejected because of the requirement of a two-thirds majority. No vore was taken on the resolution as a whole.

J. For recognition of "the competence of the General Assembly to decide whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government." Fourth Committee, Nov. 12: 33 Yes, 12 No, 5 Abstentions. (The colonial powers, of course, maintained that this was something that they alone should decide. The question arose in connection with the requirement that annual reports be submitted to the U.N. on conditions in colonies belonging to member states. Some states have stopped submitting such reports for certain territories on the ground that as a result of constitutional changes they have allegedly graduated to full self-government. Denmark's action in this respect with regard to Greenland led to inclusion of the controversial clause in the general resolution approving cessation of the transmission of information regarding Greenland.)

K. The same issue. Assembly Plenary, Nov. 22: 38 Yes, 15 No, 4 Abstentions. (The resolution as a whole was approved by 45 Yes, 1 No, 11 Abstentions.)

L. Resolution dealing with procedures for ascertaining when self-government has been achieved in colonial territories, and providing _inter alia_ that a U.N. mission should "visit the Non-Self-Governing Territory before or during the time when the population is called upon to decide on its future status or change in status." Fourth Committee, Nov. 15: 37 Yes, 11 No, 4 Abstentions. (Assembly Plenary, Nov. 22: 40 Yes, 12 No, 3 Abstentions -- no roll call.)

M. Resolution renewing an appeal to colonial powers which have not already done so to transmit voluntary information to the U.N. on political developments and advancement toward self-government in their colonies. Fourth Committee, Nov. 8: 36 Yes, 9 No, 4 Abstentions. (Assembly Plenary, Nov. 22: 42 Yes, 10 No, 3 Abstentions -- no roll call.)

N. Resolution requesting the Commission on Human Rights "to complete its recommendations concerning international respect for the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, including recommendations concerning their permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources", for consideration at the next session of the General Assembly. Third Committee, Nov. 30: 34 Yes, 14 No, 1 Abstention (Assembly Plenary, Dec. 14: 41 Yes, 11 No, 3 Abstentions -- no roll call.)

O. For inclusion of the underscored words in following paragraph of a resolution embodying recommendations toward securing expression of public opinion on the draft international covenants on human rights and their adoption "at the earliest possible date": "The non-governmental organizations _concerned with the promotion of human rights, including those in the Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories,_ to stimulate public interest in the draft international covenants on human rights by all possible means in their respective countries." Third Committee, Nov. 16: 36 Yes, 14 No, 3 Abstentions. The United States abstained in the vote on the paragraph as a whole, approved by 35 Yes, 13 No, 5 Abstentions; and also on the resolution as a whole, approved by 42 Yes, 5 No (Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, United Kingdom - South Africa was absent), 4 Abstentions (Luxembourg, Netherlands, Turkey, United States).
(For the voting record in the 1953 General Assembly, see SPOTLIGHT 12/17/53)

THE ASHANTI CHALLENGE NKRUMAH

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party today face the most serious crisis since they came to power in 1951. The crisis does not stem, as in days of yore, from any quarrel with imperial Britain, but rather from the National Liberation Movement, a formidable alliance of rebel C.P.P. leaders in Kumasi with the Asantehene, spiritual leader and hereditary chief of the proud Ashanti nation, and the Asanteman Council of Ashanti chiefs.

The spark that set off the Ashanti challenge to the authority of the central government in Accra was Nkrumah's policy of holding down the farmer's price for his cocoa--cocoa is the main source of Gold Coast revenue and Ashanti is the country's key cocoa-growing area--and providing for the Gold Coast Government to take a bigger and bigger slice of the difference between the soaring world price of nearly $1400 and the farmer's price, pegged for four years at about $375 a ton of cocoa.

At the great rally of 40,000 people in Kumasi on Sept. 19 launching the National Liberation Movement, there were placards displayed with such slogans as "Down with Black Imperialism." A few days after this rally Emmanuel Baffoe, N.L.M. prpaganda secretary, was stabbed to death under circumstances suggesting a political motive, There has been other violence and attempts or threats of violence, and police reinforcements in Kumasi have not lowered the tension.

First chairmen of the N.L.M. is Mr. Baffour Osei Akoto, one of the Asantehene's six senior linguists (a post which has been in his family for 200 years).He is also a big cocoa farmer employing 24 laborers. On the N.L.M. Executive 21 of the 24 members are former C.P.P. young men who are now building the Movement with the same zeal and effective organizational and propaganda tactics they acquired in Nkrumah's party.

Though the cocoa issue remains important, it is only one element in the larger Ashanti demand for safeguards against dictatorship and domination from the C.P.P. or any other government in Accra, and for preservation of regional customs and culture. This can only be secured, says Baffour Akoto, by a federal constitution. On October 21 a resolution, signed by the Asantehene and all but one of the Paramount and Divisional Chiefs of Ashanti, was addressed to the Queen asking that a royal commission of inquiry into a federal form of government for the Gold Coast be set up.

The C.P.P. contends that the Ashanti demand for federation represents a backward step toward tribalism, and Nkrumah calls it "not only absurd and ridiculous but it is also fantastic to think of a federal form of government for the Gold Coast-- a small country of only four and a half million people whose affinities have been so close from time immemorial." The Ashanti view, on the other hand, is that "the unity of the Gold Coast should not abuse the economic, historical and cultural background of the component units. When people glibly decry tribalism, do they seriously consider that tribalism could be more injurious to this country than party loyalty when either of them is adhered to blindly?"

* * *

AFRICAN WORKERS IN RHODESIA COPPER MINES OUT ON STRIKE

A strike of all African workers on the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia began on Jan. 3. The walk-out was described as 95% effective, as was their their last victorious strike of three weeks in the fall of 1952. In 1952 the Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers Union asked for a wage increase of 35¢ a day; it is now demanding an increase of 10s. 8d. ($1.55) a day for its members, most of whom get only about 40¢ a day plus rations and lodging. The strike action, the latest move in a twenty-year-long struggle for a decent living wage, was approved by the Union membership by vote of 18,110 to 365.

The Chamber of Mines has retaliated by withdrawing its offer to arbitrate the wage demand. The Union is not averse to arbitration, but it is tired of waiting. Over a year ago, in Dec., 1953, the Union's General Secretary, Matthew Nkolomo, warned, "Unless the Northern Rhodesia copper mines make a definite effort toward African advancement in the mining industry, we shall take action ourselves and they may not like it. We have waited long enough."

Taking a look at the conditions and struggles of these African copper miners, The Union (May 4, 1953), organ of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, commented, "The copperbelt workers of Northern Rhodesia work for the same companies we (in the U.S.) do. When dollar-a-day wages compete with fifteen-dollars-a-day wages, one of two things has got to happen: either the dollar-a-day has got to be substantially raised, or the fifteen-dollars-a-day will inevitably be cut. It is just common sense for us to do everything we can to help the African workers raise their wages."

(The story of the American Metal Company's highly profitable interests in Rhodesian copper and the history of the African mine workers' fight against exploitation and discrimination have been reviewed in previous issues of Spotlight: March 19, 1953 and Jan. 21 and Sept. 15, 1954.)

* * *

BRITISH M.Ps. URGE END OF KENYA WAR (cont'd from pg. 9)

offences less than murder; 290 were condemned for unlawful possession of arms and ammunition. Recently the number of executions has reached 50 each month. This fact has aroused deep misgivings, to which The Times (London) and Christian missionaries from Kenya have given expression. The Secretary of State has indicated that a modification of the charges open to the death penalty is under consideration. May we urge you to advise an immediate decision limiting the death sentence to cases of murder?

"We urge upon you that a renewed effort be made to terminate the conflict by entrusting persons who have the confidence of the Kikuyu to make contact once more with Mau Mau leaders on lines similar to those adopted in the case of 'General China.' It would be essential to restore the promise that no one laying down arms would be executed."

* * *

U.S. OFFICIAL PRAISES S. AFRICAN ACTION AGAINST "SUBVERSIVES"

Before leaving South Africa to return to the U.S., Col. M.B. de Pass, who served two years as Army Attache to the U.S. Embassy there, praised the South African Police, said he believed the country's security was completely safe in their hands, and that he would have been grateful if the United States could have acted just as efficiently against its own "subversive elements."

He perhaps had in mind the fact that up to last July, under South Africa's "Suppression of Communism" Act of 1950, a total of 516 persons had been "named" as "Communists" and deprived of their rights of freedom of movement, association, etc. Of this number 216 were Africans, 207 white, 50 Colored, and 43 Asians. A British Trade Union Congress delegation to South Africa last year described this Act as "the greatest single threat to the trade union movement and to the entire democratic life of South Africa."

THE VOICE OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICA (cont'd. from page 7)

urban workers, the peasants, the farm laborers, the domestic servants, the businessmen, the intellectuals and professional men, the women and the young people--the youth.

Africa and the International Situation

The cardinal points of our foreign policy are opposition to war and an uncompromising stand for world peace and opposition to colonialism and white domination. The dynamics of history say the imperialists are doomed to ignominious defeat at the hands of the oppressed Africans. Already the whole continent is awakened and is tramping the road to freedom. The nature of our programme, the forces ranged against us mean that the freedom of Africa can never be a local problem--an internal or domestic affair. However we look at it, the freedom of Africa is an international question. It is true the struggle will only be fought by the Africans themselves under their own independent leadership, but they will have to keep a very clear eye open for international developments detrimental or advantageous to them. . .

The expulsion of colonial powers in the great land of Asia is a source of inspiration to the African people. The emergence of the two great powers in this continent, China and India, both enemies of war and imperialism, has shattered the hopes of the imperialist powers and made their rule impossible even under the military might of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France.

We now not only enthusiastically salute the victorious struggle of the Viet Minh against the powerful imperialists of France and America, but have every reason to celebrate this victory and the end of the war in this part of South-East Asia. But brutal wars are still being waged in Kenya, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco--all of which are in the continent of Africa.

We express our solidarity and sympathy with these countries in bitter and bloody struggles, not excluding the people of British Guiana and other oppressed peoples in other parts of the world. We call upon the British and French Governments to withdraw their armed forces and to release the jailed leaders and thus pave the way for permanent peace in the world. We appeal to the civilized world, to all democracies and peace-loving peoples to call for an immediate peace in Kenya and other affected places, to save innocent and defenceless people from war.

The rise of the national liberation movements in Asia and the Pacific regions and the loss of those vast countries as war bases and centers for investment have forced the imperial powers to turn their magic eyes on Africa. To protect their markets and investments, to crush the national liberation movements and to forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa, and to ensure an abundant cheap labor supply, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the continent. America has land, sea and air bases in Morocco, Libya and Saudi Arabia. There are British military bases in Egypt, East Africa, Somaliland and Sudan.

The struggle for national liberation is inextricably linked up with the fight for peace and against imperialism. It is because of this fact that we welcome the participation of our leaders in the peace movement. We urge the widest sections of our people to take up the cause of peace and to uphold it until the scourge of imperialism is vanquished from the face of the earth. . .

Friends, you are all aware that Mr. Strydom, the fanatic of the Nationalist regime, has replaced Dr. Malan. As we have warned you before, we are heading for a fully-fledged fascist state not unlike the Hitlerite regime in Germany. We can now promise you nothing but greater hardships, more forced labor, bannings and deportations on an unprecedented scale, which will apply as much to the Non-European people as to the non-Nationalist European people of this country.

There can be no doubt that the salvation of the people of South Africa today lies with the mighty strength of the African National Congress and its allies and in the knowledge that history and the world are on our side; and provided we are determined to resist fascism and increase the pace of our march, we must see victory and freedom within our life-time.

Long Live Our Banned Leaders! Long Live the Liberatory Movement! Inkululeko Ka Nako Ea Rona! Mayibuye i Afrika! (Freedom Within our Generation! Let Africa Come Back!)

* * *

AFRICA and the Commemoration of NEGRO HISTORY

Paul Robeson says: "I believe the misrepresentation of the African and the distorted picture of the American Negro still so prevalent in our American culture, stemming as they do from the same basic cause of economic exploitation, can NOT be attacked or rooted out separately. Each myth is propped up by the other; both must be destroyed. When that happens, the true worth of the Negro--whether in Africa or in the Americas--and his place in the mainstream of the world's culture will be properly understood. When that happens, no one will dare speak of white supremacy or Negro inferiority.

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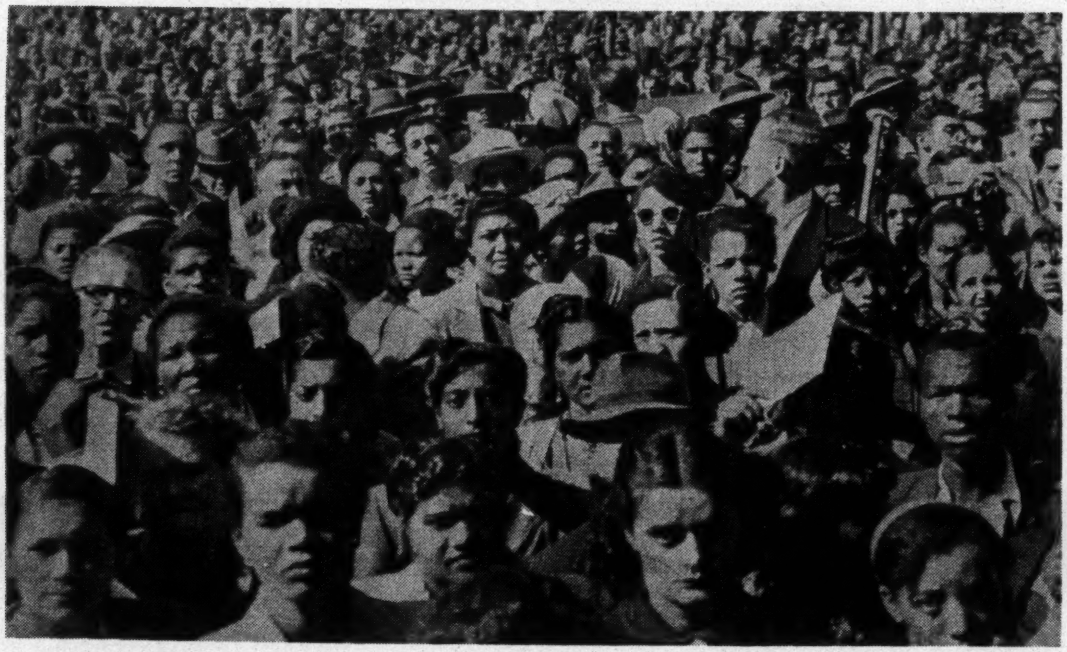
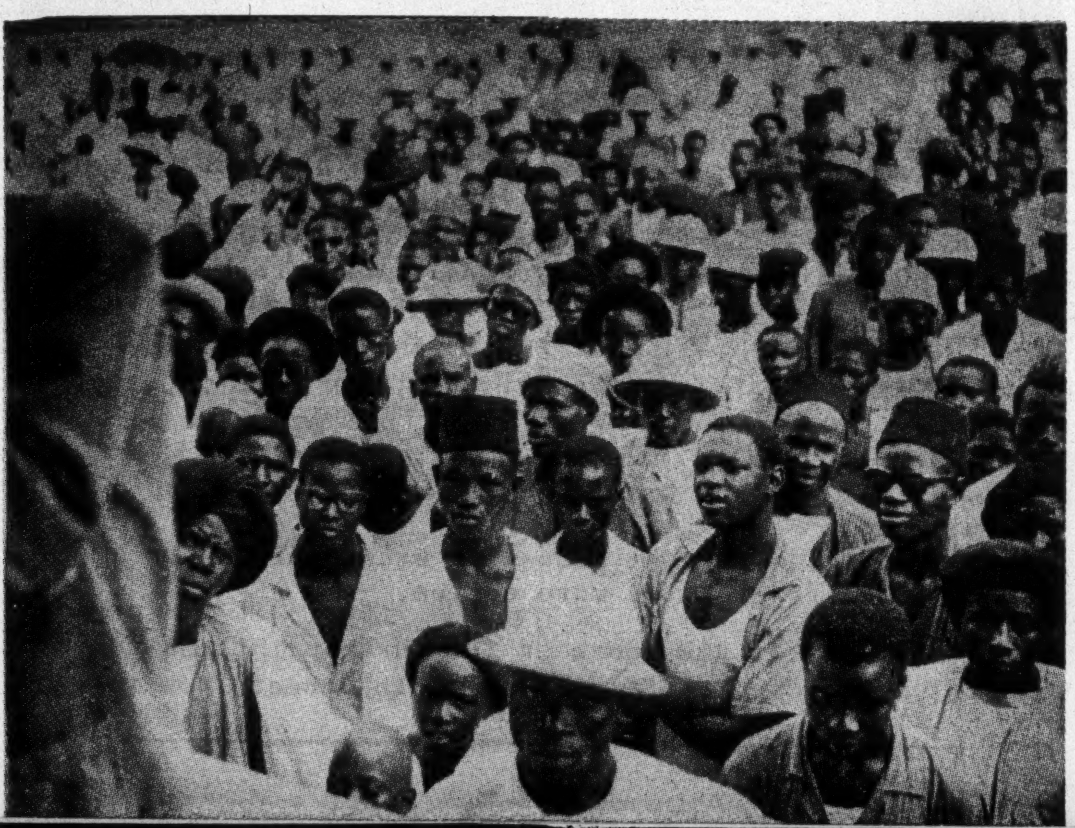


Upper: These are workers in South Africa, members of the Garment Workers Union, assembled in the streets of Johannesburg on the occasion of their great protest demonstration against the Government's victimization of the Union and its leaders because of its progressive policy of serving workers of all races.
Lower: Some of the crowd of 7000 who recently gathered at a meeting in Senegal, French West Africa.



THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF RACIAL OPPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The roots of oppression: a landless peasantry. In South Africa as in the rest of the continent, the African people have been predominantly a peasant people, subsisting by their tilling of the soil. With the coming of the white settlers who robbed them of more and more of their land, the Africans -- like the Indians of the United States -- were forced into so-called reservations, the best land being taken for the vast plantations and farms of the aliens. In the Transvaal Province of South Africa, Africans, 70 per cent of the total population, occupy a bare 3.7 per cent of the land. In South Africa as a whole, the Africans who outnumber the whites 4 to 1 are restricted to less than one-seventh of the total land area.

Deprived of subsistance from the land and burdened with head, hut, and other direct and indirect taxes, the Africans are forced to seek work on the white farms or in the white cities of South Africa. The 8½ million Africans in the country are roughly divided into one-third living in the "reservations", one-third employed on the white farms, and one-third in industry.

Keeping the African "in his place". Malan's Minister of Labor, Mr. Ben Schoeman, said very plainly last year that the government's policy was that un-skilled work was to be left to non-whites and that white workers should be employed at higher levels. White workers, he said, could not be allowed to develop the inferiority complex that resulted from doing the unskilled work performed by non-whites. This policy is not peculiar to the Malan regime. It has characterized white ruling-class policy in South Africa for 300 years.

The vast gap between the high wage level for the minority of privileged white workers and the miserably low level for the great mass of non-white workers explains the reason why white South Africa runs the United States a close second in the ratio of automobiles to population while the poverty and misery of black South Africa has become a world scandal.

The legally-enforced servitude. The entire legal apparatus of control over the Africans, such as the pass laws, serves to maintain a permanent and readily available supply of cheap labor. The Masters and Servants legislation, for example, makes it a crime for Africans to be "neglectful" of duty or absent without leave from employment. Black workers are subject to criminal prosecution for breach of contract.

Though they have organized in trade unions, their unions have no legal standing. Moreover, black workers are subject to criminal prosecution for going on strike.

Slave labor on South African farms. By the terms of the Native Service Contract Act of 1932, "Every Native resident on a private farm is required to obtain a document of identification before proceeding to any place other than his home. No one may employ a Native domiciled outside a location unless he can produce a labor contract between himself and the owner of the land on which he is domiciled, or a signed statement, which may be endorsed on the document of identification, that he is not obliged to render any service during the period in question." Even children between the ages of ten and eighteen may be subjected to farm labor contracts and sentenced to whipping for breaking the contracts. In addition, the whole family is liable to eviction if one member fails to render the required labor service, which may extend from one to three years.

The Natal Mercury (June 28, 1947), in an article entitled "Treated Like Slaves," stated: "Conditions akin to slavery exist on some farms in the Bethal district of the Transvaal, says our Johannesburg correspondent, who reveals evidence disclosed by various authorities and supported by a report after a visit to the area by the Rev. Michael Scott."

South African police in the service of farm peonage. Africans convicted under the Pass Laws have the alternative of serving a prison sentence or of "volunteering" for farm work. With the approval and encouragement of the Minister of Justice, white farmers have built private jails in the rural areas for the accomodation of farm-labor convicts. Prison labor is hired to farmers at the rate of 1 shilling and 9 pence (about 20¢) a day -- paid not to the workers but to the prison authorities. Others besides farmers profit from this convict labor system. Private employers such as the gold mines, as well as railway, road-building, and other agencies, may contract with the director of prisons for a daily supply of prison labor, totalling thousands of prison workers.

For further information on the conditions of African workers in the Union of South Africa, see the following articles in World Trade Union Movement, bulletin of the World Federation of Trade Unions:

"South Africa: Economic and Social Discrimination," November 1949.
Desmond Buckle, "Convict Labor and Private Jails in the Union of South Africa," April 1950.
"Umsebenzi," Opposition to Malan Government Mounts, June 16-30, 1952.

SOUTH AFRICAN HONOR ROLL

It is a commonly understood thing in colonial countries all over the world, but is apt to be forgotten sometimes by people in countries like the United States: to go to jail for refusing to compromise with one's belief in liberty and justice is not a thing of shame but of honor. As a young African leader, Raymond M. Mhlaba, said as he was taken to jail a few days ago for defying apartheid regulations in a South African railway station, "The proper place today, the only place which South Africa has provided for those who believe in justice, democracy, and fair play, is in our prisons."

Who are these men and women who have defied racist tyranny and set an example of courage and integrity, not only for the millions of their fellow-men in South Africa, but for subject and oppressed peoples everywhere? Newspaper dispatches tell little about them, hardly even their names. From direct sources in South Africa, however, the Council on African Affairs has been able to secure detailed information concerning many of the people's leaders who have been jailed in the past few weeks. The leaders listed below (space limitations prevent giving all the names and full detail), together with the hundreds of unnamed men and women who have also been imprisoned, comprise South Africa's honor roll.

An asterisk before the name of a person signifies that he was arrested under the Suppression of Communism Act for actions disallowed by the Minister of Justice, such as addressing public meetings or taking part in the activities of African, Indian, peace, franchise, and labor organizations which are officially regarded as "subversive" because they oppose the Malan government's policies. Our correspondent in South Africa writes, "The attack on the leaders of the non-European organizations under the Suppression of Communism Act is a despotic and dictatorial measure, and the Malan government is trying to discredit the legitimate struggle of the non-European people by linking it up with Communism."

The other leaders listed, arrested in most cases for their participation in civil disobedience actions, have usually been charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act passed by the Smuts government in 1914 with a view to curbing all opposition to the government in that period, by the same means used in the Suppression of Communism Act.

AFRICAN LEADERS ARRESTED

*DAVID WILCOX BOPAPE, Transvaal Secretary, African National Congress (A.N.C.). A member of the teaching profession, he was a leader in the Organization of African Teachers for their struggle for decent wages and living conditions. He resigned from the teaching profession to devote full time to A.N.C. work. Arrested June 5 for addressing a public meeting in Johannesburg.

FLAG BOSHIELO, Chairman, Central Johannesburg Branch of A.N.C. Arrested the night of June 26 as he led a group of 54 volumteers in defying curfew regulations which bar Africans from the streets after 11:00 p.m.

*MOSES MUANE KOTANE, Member, National Executive of A.N.C., and former General Secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa which was dissolved June 20, 1950. He has served his people and the South African working class for the last 25 years and is highly respected in all circles of South Africa. Arrested June 2 for addressing a public meeging in Alexandria Township. Sentenced July 15 to 4 months imprisonment at hard labor.

NELSON R. MANDELLA, President of the A.N.C. Youth League and National Volunteer-in-Chief in the Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws. He is an attorney by profession and a descendant of the Royal House of Timboland in the Transkei. Arrested June 26.

*J. B. MARKS, President of the A.N.C. (Transvaal) and Secretary of the African Mine Workers Union. Popularly known as the Lion of the North, he is a veteran of many trade union and national liberation campaigns, having led the great strike of 60,000 African gold mine workers in 1946. He has represented the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and other organizations in conferences abroad. Arrested June 5 for speaking at a public meeting at Orlando Township.

R. MATJI, Cape Provincial Secretary, A.N.C. Arrested July 5 leading a group of 19 Africans to a section of the post office reserved for whites only.

RAYMOND M. MHLABA, Chairman, New Brighton Branch, A.N.C. Arrested for leading a group of 30 volunteers into a section of a railroad station reserved for whites only.

*JOHNSON NKOHLISO NGWEVELA, President, Cape Western Region of A.N.C. He is a leading churchman in the township of Langa where he has lived for the past 20 years. He was a member of the Langa Advisory Board for 8 years and also a member of the Cape Town Peace Council and of the Franchise Action Council. Arrested June 23 for addressing a public meeting in Cape Town.

MISS KARABO SELLO, 17-year old Executive Member of the A.N.C. Youth League. Ar-

(continued on next page)

rested June 26 for participating in the first civil disobedience action in Port Elizabeth.

WALTER M. SISULU, Secretary-General of the A.N.C. One of the chief architects of the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and a Joint Secretary of the Campaign's National Action Committee, composed of leaders of the A.N.C. and South African Indian Congress (S.A.I.C.). He was for many years an active worker in the A.N.C. Youth League. He gave up his business two years ago to devote his full energies to the cause of the African people. Arrested June 26.

INDIAN LEADERS ARRESTED

*ISMAIL BHOOLA, 22-year old Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress. Arrested in Johannesburg June 18 for continuing his functions in the said organization.

YUSUF AHMED CACHALIA, Joint Secretary of the National Action Committee and Secretary of the S.A.I.C. Imprisoned in 1946 for his participation in the Indian Passive Resistance campaign at that time. An active leader of the People's Assembly and of the Defend Free Speech Convention. Arrested July 6 at a meeting at Evaton.

*DR. YUSUF MOHAMED DADOO, a Glasgow-trained physician, he has been active in political affairs in South Africa and in promoting African-Indian unity since his return to South Africa from studying abroad in 1936. In addition to numerous arrests on sundry charges arising from his role as a respected people's leader, he has served two prison terms for resisting residential segregation. He was a prominent member of the Communist Party up to the time of its dissolution, and was elected President of the S.A.I.C. in 1950. Arrested June 5 for addressing a public meeting in Johannesburg. Sentenced July 16 to six months imprisonment at hard labor.

R. DESAI, Joint Secretary, Transvaal Indian Youth Congress. Arrested July 6.

S. NATHIE, Chairman Evaton Branch, Transvaal Indian Congress. Arrested July 6.

NANA SITA, President, Transvaal Indian Congress. Arrested June 26, as he led the first group of 52 volunteers in Johannesburg in violating pass regulations at Boksburg Location.

WHITE LEADERS ARRESTED

*MICHAEL HARMEL, Executive Member of the Transvaal Peace Council. Arrested June 4 for addressing a public meeting in Johannesburg.

*SAM KAHN, elected to the South African Parliament November 1948 as a representative of Africans in the Cape Province, receiving 3780 votes as the Communist Party candidate against the total of 948 votes of his two National and Liberal Party opponents. Expelled from Parliament by government action May 24, 1952. He was also a duly elected member of the Cape Town City Council and his continuance as a member of that body was supported by a majority vote of the Council. Arrested June 26 for violating an order served on him the same day, barring him from attending meetings of the Cape Town City Council.

*E. S. (SOLLY) SACHS, General Secretary of the Garment Workers Union. Prominent figure in South African trade union circles and one-time South African labor representative to the International Labor Organization. Arrested May 24 while addressing a crowd of 10,000 in City Hall Square in Johannesburg. Arrested again May 26 on his release on bail for starting to make the same speech on the City Hall steps. Sentenced July 15 to six months imprisonment at hard labor. Appeals are pending on his case and that of others who have been sentenced.

WHAT THEY WERE PROTESTING AGAINST

Leaders of the Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws gave the following explanation of the motives underlying the civil disobedience actions which occurred in six different sections of the country during the first stage of the struggle.

"The batch of volunteers defying the location Permit Regulations (Boksburg) will focus the attention on the system which turns African townships into fenced compounds, closeted away from the outside world, and which relatives and friends may enter only on the good grace of the authorities. This system, entailing monthly permit fees, drains the family incomes and separates children from their parents.

"In attacking the Curfew Regulations (Johannesburg) the African volunteers are assailing the system that sends thousands of innocent Africans to jail every year (about 100,000 yearly) for an act that would be judged an offence in other countries only in times of strict martial law. In South Africa, Africans live permanently under Martial Law, never safe from the raiding police, never secure in their beds at night, liable at any time to be pushed roughly into a police pick-up van and into a cold concrete cell for not carrying the right number of passes on their persons or for being out after 11 o'clock at night."

Edith Roberts
at "Freedom"

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To get Congressional action it is necessary to prove the people WANT it with thousands of signed petitions from all communities.

SEND FOR A PETITION, if you don't have any.
GET IT SIGNED, if you already have one.
MAIL IT BACK as soon as possible to

W. A. Hunton, Suite 6, 139 West 125th St., New York 27, N.Y.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS NEWS RELEASES 1946-54 10/7

For Release Friday A.M., June 7, 1946.

ADDRESS BY PAUL ROBESON
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN RALLY, JUNE 6th.
SPONSORED BY THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

- - - -

I have spoken for other causes on other occasions in this great hall. And while they were all important causes about which I was keenly concerned, I think I can say that never before have I faced such an audience as this with the sense of responsibility, of urgency, of intimacy with you that I now feel.

The Negro - and I mean American Negroes as well as West Indians and Africans - has a direct and first-hand understanding, which most other people lack, of what imperialist exploitation and oppression is. With him it is no far-off theoretical problem. In his daily life he experiences the same system of job discrimination, segregation, and denial of democratic rights whereby the imperialist overlords keep hundreds of millions of people in colonial subjection throughout the world.

The one basic difference is that here in America the Negro has the law-at least partially and in some sections of the country - on his side, and he has powerful allies in the ranks of white organized labor directly involved in his daily fight for justice. In Africa, in the West Indies, and in Asia, the colonial peoples wage a desperate struggle for recognition simply as human beings - as human beings to whom human rights are due. And these colonial peoples fight alone in each country - alone except for the help which reaches them from afar, from world-conscious labor in free countries and from other anti-fascist, anti-imperialist forces.

And that is why we are gathered here tonight. Because our own rights and liberties - even though limited - are far, far greater than those of our brothers in colonial bondage. Because we must exercise the greater strength which we have to help win freedom for them. And also because in that very process of helping others, we add to our own strength and bring nearer full freedom for ourselves.

Besides people like those of us who are here tonight, there is another category of Americans, quite few in number, but extremely powerful, who are interested in Africa. They are concerned, however, not with the people of the continent of Africa, but with the wealth that they can extract from it, and from the labor of the people there. These American financiers and corporation heads have their own ideas about the future of Africa, and they don't include the idea of freedom. You can be sure of that. And another thing you can be sure of is that they're not losing any time in putting their ideas into action.

Our government, reports indicate, is getting uranium from the Belgian Congo for atomic bombs. American companies are prospecting for oil in Ethiopia and for minerals in Liberia. Mr. Firestone now has competitors in the latter country. These manifestations of a new and heightened interest in Africa on the part of American Big Business represent a challenge to the rest of us.

The race is on - in Africa as in every other part of the world - the race between the forces of progress and democracy on the one side and the forces of imperialism and reaction on the other. And Africa, with its immeanse undeveloped and unmeasured wealth of resources, is a major price which the imperialists covet and which we, the anti-imperialists, must defend.

We on the anti-imperialist side are handicapped by lack of money, lack of powerful organization, lack of influence in state and international affairs. But, although the enemy has all the advantage and has a head start in the race, it is yet possible for us to catch up and win. It is possible to win if the majority of the American people can be brought to see and understand in the fullest sense the fact that the struggle in which we are engaged is not a matter of mere humanitarian sentiment, but of life and death. The only alternative to world freedom is world annihilation - another bloody holocaust - which will dwarf the two world wars through which we have passed.

We have been hearing a lot of talk about a coming war. It has been defined by some of the bolder reactionaries in brutally clear terms as a war of the United States and Great Britain against the Soviet Union. This war-mongering is the logical consequence of the get-tough-with-Russia policy preached and practiced by those who direct American and British foreign policy.

"Stop Russia!" the brass voices cry in chorus, and the men behind the voices hope that the people will be afraid and will turn against their wartime ally. Their frantic cries mask the program of imperialist aggression which these men themselves are seeking to impose upon the world.

The "Stop Russia" cry really means - stop the advance of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa toward independence; stop the forces of the new democracy developing in Europe; stop the organized workers of America from trying to hold their ground against their profit-greedy employers; stop the Negro people from voting and joining trade unions in the South. "Stop Russia" means - stop progress - maintain the status quo. It means - let the privileged few continue to rule and thrive at the expense of the masses.

A day or two ago Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister said, and I quote, "If we do not want to have total war, we must have total peace." For once I agree with him. But Mr. Bevin must be totally blind if he cannot see that the absence of peace in the world today is due precisely to the efforts of the British, American and other imperialist powers to retain their control over the peoples of Asia, the Middle East, Europe and Africa.

We must indeed win the peace - a total peace - but we can do it only by using methods exactly the opposite of those pursued at present by the British Foreign Office and our own State Department. To win total peace there must be total freedom.

At San Francisco, a year ago, it was the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov, who said, "From the viewpoint of the interests of international security, we must first of all see to it that dependent countries are enabled as soon as possible to take the path of national independence."

But we are still waiting for the first European power in Africa to declare that its African subjects may exercise the right of self-determination and achieve self-government in the next ten years, the next twenty years or even the next 100 years.

The colonial rulers will tell you that the Africans will not be ready for self-government in any forseeable future. They lie. They would delude you into believing that the African peoples had no governments, no culture before the European came to Africa. They would delude you into believing that Africans are content to remain under European tutelage, and that this tutelage must continue indefinitely.

You have heard from other speakers tonight what sort of tutelage the rulers of Africa provide. How can they **dare** pose as so-called guardians of the Africans? How can they dare claim the right to continue in that role? The Soviet Union has demonstrated how it is possible to wipe out colonialism and all that that word connotes within a single generation. No wonder the imperialists cry "Stop Russia!".

That cry must be drowned out by the voice of the American people demanding Big Three Unity for Colonial Freedom !

To arouse all sections of our population to the urgency of that demand has been the purpose of this meeting. But we do not in any sense regard our job as finished with the close of this great rally. On the contrary, my friends, the Council on African Affairs regards this job as having just begun. With your help, with the cooperation of the organizations with which you are associated and with the support of millions of like-minded peoples throughout our country and in other countries, we shall win the fight against the forces of imperialism.

Tomorrow is our day, the day of the common people. By God's grace and our united strength we shall win freedom and peace for ourselves and for all the oppressed peoples of the earth.

* * * * *

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
53 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 12, 1951

PAUL ROBESON ANSWERS WARREN AUSTIN'S REJECTION OF APPEAL FOR SUPPORT OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

NEW YORK, June 12 - In an open letter addressed to Warren Austin, chief United States delegate to the United Nations, Paul Robeson defended the proposals of the World Council of Peace, headed by Frederic Joliot-Curie, for a peaceful settlement of current international disputes.

Robeson characterized Austin's "summary and discourteous dismissal" of Joliot-Curie's request for support of the Council's proposals as "a distinct disservice to the peace-loving people of the United States and the world."

On May 27 Austin was reported by the press to have suggested that a delegation which Joliot-Curie is leading to the United Nations should take its plea to Moscow. His comment was in answer to a communication from Joliot-Curie asking support for the group which intends to urge the UN to "return to the role assigned it by the charter, namely that it should serve as a center for agreements between the governments and not as the instrument of any dominant group."

As the American member of the Council committee which is to visit the UN, Mr. Robeson addressed the following letter to Austin:

Dear Mr. Austin:

I address this letter to you as an American member of the committee of the World Council of Peace which plans to present specific proposals on ways to peace before the United Nations at an early date. Your summary and discourteous dismissal of the request for support of this committee's propos constitutes a distinct disservice to the peace-loving people of the United States and the world.

Dr. Frederic Joliot-Curie, chairman of the Council, in directing a request to the United Nations for a conference, carries out the mandate of literally hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world. And included in these millions are great sections of the American people, especially women and youth, who today are finding new courage and strength to sign petitions for peace, participate in the various peace polls, attend peace conferences, and march in magnificent peace parades and caravans. They are making it clear that they, as well as the peoples of Europe and Asia, want peace and not a senseless war of mutual destruction.

The governments of the United States, Western Europe, Latin America, England and India must hearken to the voices of their peoples. These

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

population majorities say: negotiate a five-power peace pact and give the new Chinese Republic of 475 million people its rightful seat in the United Nations, if the world is to have a United Nations that bears any resemblance to the intent of its founding Charter.

You may recall that M. Joliot-Curie has received the respectful and seriously-considered replies of many world organizations devoted to peace, including the world organization of Quakers and the Vatican, agreeing with the eminent scientist on the basic need for peace.

You seem to forget that you are presumed to be a servant of the United Nations, of many nations, not one. Your reply to M. Joliot-Curie has a familiar ring. You seem to think that the United Nations, far from representing the hopes and aspirations of the greater portion of mankind, just remains what it has tended recently to become -- the parroting whisper of powerful American corporate interests which many officials in positions of public trust happen to represent.

The people of the United States have struggled throughout our history with the selfish and greedy powerful few who have ever attempted to silence the voice and will of the majority -- indeed, who today arrogantly dare to dictate to all of the so-called "free" Western nations by virtue of the supposedly benevolent Marshall plan.

Jefferson fought such would-be perverters of our democratic traditions in his time. Frederick Douglass, a former slave, the greatest fighter for the emancipation of his people, named his enemies for what they were, travelled the world telling the truth about the slavery and oppression of millions of his colored brothers and sisters in the Southland, and made no pretense of loving or being supinely "grateful" to his oppressors.

In our time, Roosevelt fought the neo-fascists, and today the American people have the deep responsibility of recapturing some part of our honest democratic heritage to hand on to those who follow. Justice Black of the U.S. Supreme Court, in his ringing dissenting opinion in the case of the eleven Communist leaders, gives evidence of this democratic honesty.

For if these military and profit-hungry men had their will, they would bequeath to our children Ku Klux Klan terror and the legal murdering of a long-suffering people. They would hand down the hideous remnants of Hitlerism and Francoism, raised to new levels of barbarousness. They would bequeath contempt, hatred and destruction for the working masses, colored and white, all over the world.

These modern conquerors are the spiritual descendants of the robber barons who, a half-century ago, under the banners of Anglo-Saxon superiority and

American Manifest Destiny, took Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, and a half-century earlier robbed Mexico of Texas.

It is becoming increasingly clear that this senseless dream of American world domination will remain a dream. The colonial peoples of the world are not interested in a new serfdom. They will reject all efforts at American domination of their economies and their political institutions, even though such domination is attempted under the benevolent phrases which describe the Point Four program.

No, the peoples of Asia, the Near East, Latin America, the West Indies, Puerto Rico and Africa want independence to govern their own destinies. And they want peace. They signed peace petitions, with their marks where necessary, in the millions.

And so did their true friends and allies, the peace-loving masses of Europe. All of these peoples love and deeply respect Joliot-Curie. These are the hundreds of millions who know that we can and must live in peace and friendly cooperation with our recent friends and allies - the courageous people of Stalingrad and of the Soviet Republics, the citizens of the new Peoples Democracies of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the German Democratic Republic, with the brave folk of the new People's Republics of China and Korea.

The tremendous and heartening world success of the Stockholm Peace Petition is witness to this indisputable fact, and the petition of the World Council of Peace for a five-power peace conference is being signed daily by tens of millions all over the globe.

And in America today, the Quakers, thousands of intellectuals and clergymen, millions of working people, colored and white, many public servants, such as Senator Johnson of Colorado, all people of good will, ask our leaders in government to act on the understanding that we, the American people, want to join the human race, not destroy it. We have a sacred obligation in our time to insist on peace, not peace phrases mouthed by responsible officials while we mount "operations killer" against people struggling for the first time toward new and deeply rewarding ways of life.

As an American of African descent born and raised in these United States of such horrible contradictions, I am certain that the people of Asia, Latin America, the West Indies and especially Africa, want us to keep our Jim Crow practices as far away from them as possible. They say to us:

"Stop the terror and age-long oppression of 15 million of our brothers and sisters over there, and let us go our own way. We will pick and choose our own friends."

And these colonial peoples cry out to us, their brothers and sisters of African descent: "Why do you come over here to harm us; why don't you root o Jim Crow and Ku Klux Klan terror in the South of James Byrnes, Talmadge and Rankin?"

The struggle today is one for peace, not war with anyone. The people will never lose their courage and strength to shout for peace at the top of their voices, to fight fascist persecution and death, to labor diligently every moment to save themselves and mankind for the constructive building of new and rich cultures for the universal attaining of full equality and full human dignity.

NEWS RELEASE from

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

23 WEST 26 STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 3-6209

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman*
W. E. B. Du BOIS, *Vice Chairman*
ESTELLE M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer*
W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

New address: 53 West 125 St. ENright 9-8110

June 28, 1951

Jacob Malik, chairman of the Security Council of the United Nations, today received representatives of the World Peace Council who presented him with resolutions adopted by that body bearing on peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict and other major world problems.

Representing the World Peace Council were Dr. Clementina Paolone, who was present on behalf of the Rev. Willard Uphaus, and Paul Robeson. Rev. Uphaus and Mr. Robeson were the two members from the United States of the committee of 14 designated as the World Peace Council's delegation to the UN.

The delegation felt encouraged by the recognition given to the proposals of the World Peace Council in light of the fact that Mr. Malik's illness had prevented him from keeping a number of other important engagements.

Mr. Robeson expressed the full support of the world peace organization for Mr. Malik's efforts to secure an immediate end of the hostilities in Korea. This action, he pointed out, was in full accord with the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw in November 1950 and also of the meeting of the World Peace Council in February of this year.

Mr. Robeson also expressed regret that it had been impossible for the full delegation to secure an audience with Warren Austin, chief U.S. delegate to the UN, as requested by Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Council, and that all of the other members had been refused visas to enter this country on the mission to the UN.

The delegation, he said, would also seek an audience with the chairman of the General Assembly.

Mr. Malik told the delegation that manifestations of the people's desire for peace, such as the World Peace Council is expressing, would be the decisive factor in winning world peace.

He indicated that he had received no answer to his telegram to Secretary of State Dean Acheson requesting information as to the refusal of American visas to Mrs. S.O. Davis and Mrs. Jessie Street of England, who were to have been members of the delegation to the UN.

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PRESS RELEASE

From
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

For Release
Tuesday, July 1, 1952
(For further information
Telephone EN 9-8110)

New York -- More than 160 Negro clergymen, educators, doctors, lawyers, cultural, civic, and labor leaders from 28 states and the District of Columbia, have joined in signing a 2500-word Petition to President Truman, urging the United States Government's "genuine and unequivocal support of the principle of self-determination" for the peoples of Africa and other subject lands, in order to provide the essential basis for lasting world peace.

This was announced today by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, speaking on behalf of the initiating sponsors of the petition, who said that the document had been transmitted to President Truman and to the United States Delegation to the United Nations and would also be submitted to the Platform Committees of the coming conventions of the Progressive Party, Democratic Party, and the Republican Party.

"If America's name is not to be hated throughout the world wherever people struggle for liberty," the Petition states, "our government must completely revise its foreign policy and give concrete evidence, through its conduct in the United Nations and in all areas of international economic, political and military relations, of its genuine and unequivocal support of the principle of national self-determination.

"The policy now being pursued, the policy of bribery and coercion to make the American or Western way of life prevail, can lead only to national and international disaster. This policy if continued, we believe, will surely lead only to more Koreas. Peace cannot be won with either guns or dollars. The only conceivable world of lasting peace is a world of free peoples living together in mutual cooperation, equality, and respect."

The Petition sets forth a factual, documented review of the short-comings and failures of U.S. policy as manifested by the U.S. Delegation at the last

Paris U.N. General Assembly meeting on the questions of South Africa, Morocco, human rights, and colonial liberation, as well as by the collaboration of the Truman Administration with European imperialist powers on Middle-Eastern and other questions.

"The Negro people of the United States," the petitioners state, "are deeply concerned with the achievement of effective international safe-guards for human rights -- for themselves and for darker peoples throughout the world who are the victims of the racist doctrine of white-supremacy. From this racism stems the failure of our government to protect the lives and rights of its Negro citizens -- in Cicero, Illinois; in Groveland and Mims, Florida; and from it stems also the inhuman repression of non-white peoples in Asia and Africa by the Western powers. Those non-white peoples most assuredly want none of the 'American way of life' experienced by 15 million Negro Americans. Nor can the continued rule of racism in the United States be ended as long as the enslavement of darker peoples throughout the world continues."

The Negro leaders conclude their statement by urging adoption of a six-point program by the United States government: condemnation of the "racist program" of the government of the Union of South Africa as a "flagrant violation of human rights and a serious threat to world peace"; "fullest and speediest implementation" of U.N. action toward advancing the welfare and freedom of colonial peoples; support of a U.N. Human Rights Covenant providing "truly effective protection of the economic, social, civil, and political rights of all peoples in all countries"; withholding of assistance of any kind from any government engaged in suppressing the national self-determination demands of subject peoples in Africa and other lands; and withdrawal of military forces and installations by the U.S. "and all other governments from all foreign territories where their presence is not authorized by agreement of all the major powers".

The Petition concludes: "We urge that our government, together with the other major powers, undertake sincere and serious efforts toward reaching a general agreement so that the world of lasting peace which we seek may become a glorious reality."

Among the Negro church leaders who signed the Petition were Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Philadelphia; Rev. James W. Eichelberger, Chicago; Rev. Edward D. McGowan, New York; Rev. David H. Brooks, A. & M. College, Tallahasse, Florida; Rev. John M. Miles, Detroit; Rev. Stacy Adams; Dallas,Texas; Rev. G. Linwood Fauntleroy, California; Rev. Charles C. S. England, Brooklyn; Rev. William D. Turner, Philadelphia; and Rev. Ely L. Lofton of Baltimore.

Among the educators listed as signers were Prof. John H. Carter, Houston, Texas; Prof. Edward M. A. Chandler, Chicago; Prof. Henry D. Davidson, Principal, Bibb Training School, Alabama; Rev. D. V. Kyle, Dean, Jackson Theological Seminary; Mrs. Maudelle B. Bousefield, retired principal, Phillips High School, Chicago; and Prof. Forrest Oran Wiggins, University of Minnesota.

Among signers in the legal and medical professions were Dr. Cecil Marquez, Dr. Phillips Brooks, Dr. Lucien Brown, and Dr. Catherine D. Lealtad of New York; Dr. Eugene T. Hinson and Dr. Samuel E. Robertson of Philadelphia; Dr. H. G. Callis, Washington, D.C.; Atty. Chester K. Gillespie, Cleveland; Atty. Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago; Atty. C. L. Simmons, Detroit; Atty. James W. Rowland, West Virginia; and Dr. Brandon A.T. Bowlin and Dr. Carleton B. Goodlett of California.

Allied with Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson as signers were other Negro cultural leaders, including actors Sidney Poitier and Julian Mayfield; Georgia Douglas Johnson, poet and author; Charles White, artist; writers Carlton Moss, Lloyd L. Brown, Frank Marshall Davis, and others.

Endorsers from the Negro labor movement included Ernest Thompson, Secretary, Fair Employment Practices Committee, U.E.R.M.W.A.; Clayborn T. Dillard, Chairman, C. & O. Railway Co. Colored Workers, West Virginia; Ewart Guinier, Secretary-Treasurer, United Public Workers of America; Raymond Dennis, International Representative, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and William R. Hood, Secretary, Ford Local 600, U.A.W.-C.I.O., and President, National Negro Labor Council; Coleman A. Young, Executive Secretary of the National Negro Labor Council, and officers of local Councils of the N.N.L.C. in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, and Los Angeles and Oakland, California.

Among Negro civic leaders supporting the Petition were Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, Vice Presidential Candidate for the Progressive Party; J. Harold White, Grand Secretary, Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A. Masons, State of Illinois; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Mojeska M. Simkins, Columbia, South Carolina; Mrs. Senora B. Lawson, Richmond, Virginia; Willard B. Ransom, Indianapolis, Indiana; Harcourt A. Tynes, New York State Chairman, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary, Council on African Affairs, New York; Louis E. Burnham, Editor of Freedom.

Also, William L. Patterson, Executive Secretary, Civil Rights Congress; Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director, National Peace Crusade; Mrs. Enid Tyler, Co-Chairwoman, Brooklyn Women's Council for Peace; and Mrs. Halois Moorhead, Executive Secretary, American Women for Peace.

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COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.
53 WEST 125TH STREET ● NEW YORK 27, N. Y. ● ENRIGHT 9-8110
PAUL ROBESON *Chairman* W. E. B. Du BOIS *Vice Chairman* E. M. OSBORNÉ *Treasurer* W. A. HUNTON *Secretary*

NEWS RELEASE

July 25, 1952

NEW YORK CONFERENCE LAUNCHES SOUTH AFRICAN PETITION CAMPAIGN

A campaign to secure, between now and September 15, 100,000 signatures to a petition dealing with the present crisis in South Africa was launched July 24 in New York at an Emergency Conference sponsored by the Council on African Affairs in association with several community leaders, and attended by more than sixty Negro and white representatives of churches, trade unions, peace movements and other organizations in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

Identifying Malanism with Hitlerism as "a matter of world concern," the petition calls upon President Truman "to halt United States assistance in any form to the Government of the Union of South Africa, and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace."

Signers of this petition are asked to contribute something, no matter how little, "in response to the urgent appeal from South Africa for help to the hundreds of victims of Malanazi persecution."

It is proposed by this means to collect a minimum of $5000 to be sent to the Fund for the Victims of Nationalist Persecution, which has been established in Johannesburg under the joint auspices of the African National Congress and four other South African organizations participating in the struggle for democratic rights in that country. Copies of the petition on South Africa may be obtained from the Council on African Affairs, 53 West 125th Street, New York City. The organization can also provide organizations with speakers and a documentary film on South Africa.

The conference participants pledged full support of this petition campaign and appointed a Continuations Committee to direct the mobilization of public opinion through the press, churches, and other agencies on the side of the African people in their struggle against white supremacy tyranny in South Africa.

Members of a panel, under the chairmanship of Rev. Edward D. McGowan, and conference delegates joined in discussing the significance of the South African people's Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws in relationship to the fight against fascism and war and the fight for Negro rights in the U.S., and also dealt with the specific techniques for developing mass support in the United States for the South African people's struggle for democratic rights.

Also adopted by the conference were proposals for bombarding the South African Ambassador to the U.S., Mr. G. P. Jooste, and the South African Consul General in New York, Dr. A. H. Mertsch, with telegrams and resolutions demanding the immediate release of the several hundred South Africans jailed for their participation in the Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws and under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, pointed out that this Act was in fact aimed at suppressing all S. African organizations which oppose the government's policy. As evidence of this, he cited the statement of the magistrate who, in sentencing several of the African and Indian leaders to jail on July 16 under the Suppression of Communism Act, said: "It is common knowledge that one of the aims of Communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without any discrimination of race, color or creed. . . This would endanger the survival of Europeans, and therefore legislation must be pursued with the object of suppressing Communism."

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

53 WEST 125TH STREET ● NEW YORK 27, N. Y. ● ENRIGHT 9-8110

PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman*
W. E. B. Du BOIS, *Vice Chairman*
E. M. OSBORNE, *Treasurer*
W. A. HUNTON, *Secretary*

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
SEPTEMBER 19, 1952

$900 SENT BY COUNCIL FOR SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

New York -- The sum of $900, first installment of contributions collected for the support of the civil disobedience struggle for human rights in South Africa, has been forwarded by the Council on African Affairs in New York to the leaders of the South African struggle in Johannesburg, it was announced today by Dr. W. A. Hunton, Secretary of the Council.

The contributions were collected as part of a petition campaign being conducted nationally by that organization in response to an urgent appeal for support of the National Assistance Fund, jointly sponsored in South Africa by the African National Congress, Springbok Legion, Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and Transvaal Peace Council, for the aid of the victims in the South African struggle for democracy.

Announcing the continuation of the petition drive to October 15, the Council on Affairs, headed by Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Chairman and Vice Chairman, called for "redoubled efforts on the part of the organization's members and friends to broaden the petition drive and thus translate into concrete and effective action the widespread bitterness and indignation of Americans, particularly black Americans, over the rampant racist barbarism of the Malan government."

The petitions, obtainable from the Council on African Affairs, 53 W. 125th Street, New York, call upon President Truman to "halt United States assistance in any form to the government of the Union of South Africa and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace."

The donations received to date, according to the Council's Secretary, have consisted for the most part of dimes and quarters from thousands of signers of the petition. The campaign has a goal of 100,000 signatures and $5,000 to be sent to South Africa.

The current issue of the Council's NEWS LETTER - SPOTLIGHT ON AFRICA describes the current trial of 28 outstanding African and Indian leaders in South Africa as an indication of the Malan government's "desperation in seeking to crush the rapidly growing Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws", which has resulted in the jailing of over 4000 volunteers who deliberately violated various Jim-Crow and pass law regulations.

"The South African government," the NEWS LETTER states, "is attempting to do on a grand scale what the United States government did in its prosecution of such leaders as Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and William L. Patterson. It was the loud protest of the Negro people and their allies in the United States, supported by protests from all over the world, including Africa, that saved these leaders. We have a responsibility now to rally to the defense of the South Africans who are on trial for their opposition to white supremacy and fascist tyranny.

The Council on African Affairs urges continued support of its petition campaign and the sending of telegrams to South African Ambassador G. P. Jooste, Washington, D.C. demanding the dropping of charges and release of the African and Indian leaders now on trial.

* * * * * *

Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
ENright 9-3980

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT
October 30, 1952

REMARKS OF PAUL ROBESON
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY MASS MEETING
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK
October 27, 1952

Well, President Truman was up in Harlem the other day -- talking about civil rights.

He promised.

And last Saturday, General Eisenhower condescended from Morningside Heights to Harlem -- talking about civil rights.

And he promised.

And Mr. Stevenson -- the papers say he's coming up to Harlem -- to talk about civil rights.

He's going to promise, too.

FEPC? --naturally! Anti-lynching?--absolutely! Jobs, housing, equal rights? -- Positively!

They come and they go -- these Democrats and Republicans. And they hope to go on forever. Promise and forget. Pledge and betray. Bow in -- and sell out. Grin in your face and stab you in the back. Last election -- this election -- and the next one too, they hope.

Eisenhower? -- well, it seems that my people don't like Ike, or Nixon either. Stevenson? -- well, the best I can hear about him is from those folks who say, "He doesn't mean us any good but that's more than you can say for that other one." And as for Sparkman -- well, they figure that the best thing to do is to keep him out of Harlem and just pretend that he's a smear invented by the other gang!

But I'm here to say this: On Election Day I'm not going to vote for any kind of evil -- not the 5-star evil or the no-star evil.

Brass-hat or silk hat -- Jim Crow has got to go!

I say: no more of this double-talking, double-crossing business! No more of this lowdown game of the higher-ups! No more of this double-deal of the two old parties of white supremacy!

I say: vote for Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, that remarkable contemporary Sojourner Truth!

I say: get out the vote next week for the people's candidates of the

---more

Progressive Party, the American Labor Party and Local civil-rights and peace tickets!

And I want to say something else too, in answer to those who warn about "wasting your vote" if you don't intend to vote for some kind of an evil that has a chance to win.

There is a lesson here for all progressives from Negro history. My people have been in this struggle for a long, long time. Yes, a hundred years ago we were, as we are now, a minority in this land. Enslaved, we fought for freedom. We founded the abolition movement. We said that slavery had to go. We said that our minority interest in that great struggle was, in truth, the majority interest of the American people. My people persevered on that line from the very beginning. When they got a chance to vote in the North, despite all of the restrictions, they supported those minority freedom parties that first raised the anti-slavery banner.

Did they waste their votes? Did they do wrong by not choosing a "lesser evil" brand of slavery?

No -- and all Americans since that time, and we progressives here today, owe much for whatever freedom we now have.

Their slogan was -- abolition of slavery! and they refused to settle for less.

Our battle cry is -- Civil Rights Now! -- and we aren't going to settle for less. And certainly not for some "lesser evil."

Yes, it's a long, long road, a battle all the way, and we are not going to stop after the ballots are counted this coming Election Day. I know I'm going to stay in there fighting. I promised a dear friend of mine that I'd carry on and I'll never let Ben Davis down.

Yes, we are a minority -- and our party here is a minority -- but we are a minority that represents the rights and interests of the majority of the American people.

Millions of people around the world have come to see that truth. What about the Negro in America? That question -- rising from every part of the globe -- confronts and confounds the rulers of our land. Not all of the jabber about Marshall Plans, Atlantic Pacts, and Point Four, can drown out the clamor of that single question: when will the Negroes in America be free?

And behind that question is something more: it rises with the tide of colonial liberation that is sweeping the continents of the world.

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Yesterday's Times -- did you see it? There was a map and the title was "Troubled Africa". But it seems that it was the Times that is troubled about what is happening over there in what they called "Six areas of tension."

French Morocco -- the trouble there was labeled "Drive for Independence". (That's bad trouble)

Tunisia -- the caption read: "Dispute over home rule." (The Tunisians want Tunisia.)

Egypt -- "Conflict over Suez." (Old Pharaoh's people want to be let go too.)

Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan -- that's a "Dispute over Control."

Kenya -- labeled "Campaign of Violence". (The British are shooting down the Africans who are "conspiring to teach and advocate" freedom).

And finally, there is South Africa: that is called "Clash over Racial Policies". The Africans call it defiance of white supremacist rule.

Trouble -- yes, plenty of trouble for the ruling classes of the so-called Free Nations - and for the Wall Street money-lords, who reap all the profits. (No share for the gentlemen on the London and Paris Stock-Exchanges.)

We might recall the recent editorial in the Wall Street Journal which pointed out "what we (the Bankers and Industrialists) have more than a moral interest in South Africa. We have $137 millions invested there and shiploads of uranium on the way"; yes, on the way, from those "beautiful" mines with further stakes in copper, manganese, chromium - diamonds and gold. (Boy oh Boy!)

What do these fellows plan? See page one of the New York Times of October 27 - British troops marching in Kenya. Another Korea? Only slightly in reverse: This time the British will initiate the deal -- soon they'll send to the United States for help (I know that the United Nations Command dare not play with this). Are you going? Will you support this vicious attack against the Freedom aspirations of our African, Indian and Colored brothers and sisters? Or will you join the fight for Peace to ease world tension; will you enter the fight not only for peaceful co-existence between nations - but for mutual trade, cultural and scientific exchange; friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the New World of this historic period -- with the hundreds of millions of citizens of the New Peoples Democracies, of the New China - and with the history-making peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

You see, Africa and all of the oppressed colonial peoples -- in Viet Nam, in Korea, in Malaya, in the West Indies -- are having an election campaign, too.

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They are electing to be free!

Over here they say that the various predictors and pollsters don't know how our little election campaign is going to turn out -- but one thing is certain: the world-wide "election campaign" I'm talking about is going to be decided in favor of the real peoples' choice -- freedom.

Trouble? -- well, gentlemen of the New York Times and your Wall Street bosses -- YOU AIN'T SEEN NOTHING YET!

We've all got a big job to do here at home. On Election Day to really turn out a rousing vote for peace and civil rights. After Election Day -- to buckle down for the struggle ahead.

I mean, to get those promises fulfilled.

I mean, not to take no for an answer.

I mean, to finally answer the question about Negro rights in America.

I mean, nothing less, nothing "lesser", than CIVIL RIGHTS NOW!;

Than the moving toward full freedom for all of us - whose families came from many lands to build this America - for the Negro People, for the brave Jewish People, for the Puerto-Rican People, for those of various language groups - together with the toiling and aspiring millions of this land. This too, is our America, and to save it, we will march forward, under the leadership of Hallinan and Bass, to a Smashing Vote for Civil Rights - Peace - Decent Lives and Human Dignity - on this Nov. 4th.

FOR ALL PUBLICATIONS
IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MARCH 3, 1954

139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.
MO 6-8700

STATEMENT BY PAUL ROBESON

Though I recognize the difficulty which truth has in overtaking the lies which abound in the public press these days, I feel I must address myself to a few of the irresponsible, fantastic and absurd items which have appeared recently concerning my work, my outlook and my family. It would not be a matter of major concern that one slanderous fiction, manufactured out of whole cloth, was spread by a guttersniping gossip columnist of the Hearst press; the American people have learned to expect, and discount, the trash which spills forth from this most anti-democratic, anti-Negro flank of American journalism.

But when Negro picture-magazines pick up the slander and elaborate others, and when at least one of our respected weekly newspapers joins the game, the implications regarding the ethical standards and journalistic practices of the Negro press require that the record be set straight.

I happen to be working on a book which will answer many of the questions asked me from time to time. For the moment these few paragraphs will suffice.

My views should be well known. When, years ago, I came to understand that the advances of the few of us, while fine, cannot in the name of "great progress" be used as a catch-all to justify the oppression of the millions of our people in this and in other lands, I gave up my career as such to enter the struggle for freedom at another level. Since then I have fought uncompromisingly for the full citizenship of my people - for full justice to the working people and the long-suffering sharecroppers, white and colored - for the intellectual and cultural freedom of the scientists, scholars and artists of our precious but beleagured land. And to help attain these goals, I fight for peace and friendship among the nations of the earth.

In all these struggles my activities have been varied: singing concerts to help the needy and struggling descendants of my forbears in Africa, joining picket lines against segregation, singing in the South to non-segregated audiences, speaking out in the near and deep South - Richmond, Norfolk, Charlotte, Birmingham, Atlanta, Mobile, Memphis, New Orleans, Dallas - for the full freedom of my people. I have been on picket lines for auto workers in Detroit in their trying days, on dangerous picket lines on the Mesabi iron ore range for the steel workers, and in the full tide of the trade union struggles in the maritime, longshore, packing, electrical, farm-equipment, fur, smelting and tobacco industries.

Finally, surrounded by some of the bravest men, women and children in our land, white and black and brown, I have stood guard against American fascism in Peoria, Ill., Albany and Peekskill, New York.

All these activities, both here and throughout the world, have been done in full view, for all to see and to hear. I have shouted and shall continue to shout at the top of my voice for liberation, full emancipation - yes by 1963 (a full hundred years after the blood-stained promise) but before 1963, now, if possible.

As for my political faith, all peoples have within their ranks differences of opinion. Certainly among no people is this clearer than among the colored folk of these United States. We had Denmark Vesey, a martyr to our cause. We also had his opposite, the handkerchief-head who handed him over to the "massa."

-more-

Our history, however, has been for the most part, one of magnificent and militant struggle. The pages are full with names like Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Bishop Logan, Frederick Douglass, Richard Allen - and close to our own time the great W. E. B. DuBois and the valiant Mary Church Terrell.

Always we have had differences of approach, of tactics, yes, of belief. So, today, our problems are complex. We live in a complex society. We are Progressives, Republicans and Democrats. Is it surprising to see that there are those of us who refuse to compromise with trickery and double talk and become Progressives and, yes, radicals? Anything wrong with some radicals among a people who have suffered slavery for 300 years, who have been the primary source, in human bodies, in human toil, of much of the great wealth of this land - and who still live in poverty and in unspeakable ghettoes. A few outstanding figures, posed against the suffering many, can't be the whole answer. This would be a strange kind of progress indeed.

Now I have been privileged to see and to know many fine, sincere, great-hearted radicals. Today some are being persecuted and sent to prison, others harried to their deaths by the enemies of the Negro people and of the ordinary working folk of this land. They have long supported and identified themselves with the struggles of all laboring peoples, of every group - of the Jewish-American, Italian, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Hungarian, and all Americans in their hard fight for decent wages, decent homes, full education for their children, and against the McCarthys and the McCarrans - for full status in this land of ours and theirs.

Of decisive importance in these struggles have been the unceasing labors, sacrifices and devotion of many working class leaders - Negro Communists such as Benjamin Davis, Claudia Jones, Pettis Perry, Henry Winston and James Jackson. Their civil rights and liberties measure the liberties of all Americans. This is glaringly evident in these days of arrogant McCarthyism when any opposition to the status quo is regarded as "communism" by the powers that be.

In the pages of many journals, domestic and international, is reflected my deep desire for peace, not war, for abundance, not poverty, in the world. I have travelled in many lands, seen and known many peoples. They are like the most of us.

They want their children to live without fear, in friendship, with cultural exchange and mutually profitable trade - and enduring peace. My experience, not my reliance on biased newspaper accounts, tells me that this is particularly true of the new lands of socialism - the Union of Soviet Republics, the New China and the new People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. We can and must live in peace with these peoples. We must respect them as they respect us. Personally I have for them a profound respect and affection.

Finally, born and raised in this land, my roots go deep. My father, my mother - my father's folk in North Carolina, my mother's folk in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and all my hard-working brothers and sisters as a whole, all over this land - have poured a lot of their blood and toil into this rich American earth; and, brothers and sisters, some part of it belongs to me, whatever I believe, and whoever my friends, domestic and international, happen to be.

I know of no force on this earth that can make me retreat one-thousandth part of one inch from my firm, well-considered, repeatedly declared and fully openly-lived beliefs.

As one of the great songs of my people says: "...I never will turn back - I will go - I shall go - to see what the end will be."

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
All Papers

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
May 3, 1954

STATEMENT BY PAUL ROBESON

"Various newspaper columnists, radio commentators and magazines are now spreading the fantastic slander that Paul Robeson is 'changing his views.' Well, liars will continue to lie, and it's a sad but true fact that nowadays American manufacturers lead the world in the production and distribution of every variety of falsehood -- including, as we have just seen in Washington, 'doctored' photographs.

"But let me say this for the record:

"The very essence of my life and work is loyalty to my convictions. I am, as I have been for many years, firmly and fully devoted to the struggle for peace and democracy throughout the world, for Negro liberation and colonial freedom, for friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, new China, and the people's democracies of Europe. The interests of the working people of every land are my guiding principle, and I know of no force that can make me change.

"As for those who are telling the public that I have changed my mind, I might ask: 'How stupid can you get?' Is the struggle for peace less meaningful today when Dulles threatens momentarily to throw the H-bomb -- and bring retaliation in kind upon our own heads? Is it thinkable that Paul Robeson, winner of the International Stalin Peace Prize, would ever cease for a moment in his efforts in the sacred cause of peace?

"Am I, one of the three men awarded the title of 'Champion of African Freedom' in 1950, expected to ignore in 1954 the continuing massacre of my brothers in Kenya? And here in America -- is Jim Crow dead and buried? Has Congress passed the anti-lynching law or F.E.P.C.? Has my people's demand for economic, political and social equality been granted? If not, why should Paul Robeson, who has dedicated his life to the struggle for these goals, change his mind about them now?

"The fact is, every day brings new proof that the great cause of peace and liberation, in which I am inseparably united with the vast majority of mankind, is invincible. The doom of imperialism has been sounded in all of Asia, and soon Africa and the other colonial lands now straining against their chains, will rise in mighty freedom.

"And here at home, it's beginning to look as if those who want to 'go it alone' into a new world war can't count on having the American people go with them -- and everybody else has already said no.

"Change my mind? Gentlemen of the press, you'd better change yours, because what I believe in -- is happening!"

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MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS CLIPPINGS 1942-53 10/8

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PEOPLE

Acme

ALBERT EINSTEIN & GUESTS*
Toward the left.

The Heavy Heart

Marriage was a pretty trying business.

High-keyed, red-haired, green-eyed Cinemactress **Greer Garson**, pushing 40, told a judge that Actor Richard Ney, 28, had called her a "has-been." She got a quick divorce and left the courtroom sobbing as the flashbulbs popped.

Ripe-mouthed **Hedy Lamarr** found herself playing the understanding older woman. Back to his wife she sent 26-year-old Actor Mark Stevens (now appearing in *I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now*), and freely told the press just how it went. "He is very young," explained Matron Lamarr, 32, "and I told him I thought he and Mrs. Stevens should try to make a go of their marriage. . . . I talked to Mrs. Stevens . . . she sounds like a lovely person. . . ."

Burly-looking Actor **Brian Donlevy's** ex-wife, Marjorie, went to court to get his divorce from her set aside, and also to get a better property settlement this time, and $50,000 for her lawyer. One of her complaints was that Donlevy (now appearing in *The Trouble with Women*) had informed her "he had no energy for anything but his career."

Commentator **Upton Close**, whose fourth wife, Julia, lately sued him for divorce, complaining that he carried on with his secretary, sued back and made his own complaint. Julia was always interfering in his business affairs, said he, and, further, she had hit him a couple of times.

Sugar Heir **John D. Spreckels III's** wife, Lou Dell, was through with love. One month after the Spreckelses were jugged for whaling away at each other in the street (TIME, Sept. 1), Spreckels was picked up again, this time for going at Lou Dell hammer-&-tongs with a fireplace set. As soon as she got out of the hospital, disillusioned Lou Dell filed a suit for separation.

The Bended Knee

Awarded to stately **Viscount Jowitt**, 62, Britain's periwigged Lord Chancellor: an honorary LL.D., by New York University's School of Law.

Associated Press

PIUS XII & FRIENDS
In all directions.

Honored in Boston: Broadway Actress **Ruth Gordon.** On the Ritz-Carlton dessert list appeared a *Coupe Ruth Gordon.*

Offered a friendly hand in Rome: **Pius XII.** But the air was so thick with ecclesiastical greetings when a camera clicked that the occasion came out bearing a remarkable resemblance to an unrehearsed square dance (*see cut*).

Camera-shy **Albert Einstein** was surrounded (from left to far left) by guests: grinning Editor **Henry Agard Wallace,** whose "courage and devotion" got Einstein's bravo; grinning Columnist **Frank Kingdon,** who got Wallace's endorsement for Senator from New Jersey; and grinning Singer **Paul Robeson,** who seconded Kingdon's nomination.

Staggered by the Artists League of America: Yankee Hitter **Joe DiMaggio,** who found himself on the league's list of "the ten most interesting faces in America." Long-jawed Joe's face, bubbled the artists, was "reminiscent of Modigliani's paintings." Among the other most interesting: **Eleanor Roosevelt, Danny Kaye, Sinclair Lewis** and **Kate Smith.** What made Singer Smith's face so interesting: its "simplicity, understanding and kindness."

The Furrowed Brow

"The shorter the skirt the better," was the feeling of shortage-minded **Sir Stafford Cripps,** Britain's Minister of Economic Affairs. But he added quickly that, of course, "there must be some limits."

"Cambridge houses," reported Hollywood Scenarist **Donald Ogden Stewart** after a visit to Boston's blue stocking suburb, "are different in many subtle ways, such as in the fact that the leaves of the editions of the classics in Cambridge homes have often been cut."

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* Henry Wallace, Frank Kingdon, Paul Robeson.

[see 3-1]

PRICE 4d

AFRICA NEWSLETTER

Produced by Africa Committee, Communist Party, 16, King Street, London, W.C.2.

Vol. 4. No. 7. July 1951.

EDITORIAL

The broadcast appeal for a cease fire in Korea made on the anniversary of the war, by Y. A. Malik, demonstrates once again the deep desire of the Soviet people for peace. As in the case of the support given by the Soviet Government to the proposal for peace in Korea made by Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, last year, it is striking proof of the initiative that the USSR readily and eagerly assumes in the cause of peace.

The Anglo-American imperialist camp alone hesitates and seeks to advance all manner of reasons for failure to seize such opportunities when they arise. As in the case of the Nehru proposal the imperialists were thrown into near panic at the prospect of peace. To the merchants of death war is terribly profitable, so there was consternation on the stock markets of London and New York as the price of shares began to fall as a direct consequence of Malik's proposal for a peaceful settlement in Korea.

But the peoples passionately desire peace, and this, together with the heroic resistance of the Korean people and of the Chinese Volunteers, and their own military predicament, has forced the American aggressors to undertake negotiations for an armistice.

It lies within the power of the peoples also to force the imperialists to resume the negotiations of the deputy Foreign Ministers of the four Powers which were so arrogantly broken off by the US Government. Indeed, by mobilising all the potential forces for peace it would be possible to secure a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of not four, but of all five Great Powers, with the representative of People's China taking his rightful place at the Conference table.

In order to help bring this about, the campaign for signatures to the Appeal for a meeting of the Five Powers to settle all outstanding questions which contribute to international tension and menace peace, must reach even more millions than did the Appeal for banning the atom bomb.

The negotiations for a cease fire in Korea are and must be only the first instalment in the campaign to end war and to build lasting peace.

PAUL ROBESON ANSWERS U.S. WARMONGERS

Paul Robeson, the great champion of the Negro people and of peace, in an open letter addressed to Warren Austin, chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, vigorously defended the proposals of the World Peace Council for a peaceful settlement of the problems which divide the nations.

Writing as a member of the Council whose request for support for its specific peace proposals had been arrogantly rejected out of hand by Austin, he said:

"Your summary and discourteous dismissal of the request for support of this committee's proposals constitutes a distinct disservice to the peace-loving people of the United States and the world. Dr. Federic Joliot-Curie, chairman of the Council, in directing a request to the United Nations for a conference, carries out the mandate of literally hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world.

"You seem to forget that you are presumed to be a servant of the United Nations, of many nations, not one. Your reply to M. Joliot-Curie has a familiar ring. You seem to think that the United Nations, far from representing the hopes and aspirations of the greater portion of mankind, just remains what it has tended recently to become - the parroting whisper of powerful American corporate interests which many officials in positions of public trust happen to represent.

"The people of the United States have struggled throughout our history with the selfish and greedy powerful few who have ever attempted to silence the voice and will of the majority - indeed who, to-day arrogantly dare to dictate to all of the so-called "free" Western nations by virtue of the supposedly benevolent Marshall Plan.

"Jefferson fought such would-be perverters of our democratic traditions in his time. Federick Douglass, a former slave, the greatest fighter for the emancipation of his people, named his enemies for what they were, travelled the world telling the truth about the slavery and oppression of millions of his coloured brothers and sisters in the Southland, and made no pretence of loving or being supinely "grateful" to his oppressors.

"In our time, Roosevelt fought the neo-fascists, and today the American people have the deep responsibility of recapturing some part of our honest democratic heritage to hand on to those who follow. Justice Black of the U.S. Supreme Court, in his ringing dissenting opinion in the case of the eleven Communist leaders, gives evidence of this democratic honesty.

"For if those military and profit-hungry men had their will, they would bequesth to our children Ku Klux Klan terror and the legal murdering of a long-suffering people.....They would bequeath contempt, hatred and destruction for the working masses, coloured and white, all over the world.

"These modern conquerors are the spiritual descendants of the robber barons who, a half-century ago, under the banners of Anglo-Saxon superiority and American Manifest Destiny, took Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, and a half-century earlier robbed Mexico of Texas.

"It is becoming increasingly clear that this senseless dream of American world domination will remain a dream. The colonial peoples of the world are not interested in a new serfdom. They will reject all efforts at American domination of their economies and their political institutions, even though such domination is attempted under the benevolent phrases which describe the Point Four programme.

"No, the peoples of Asia, the Near East, Latin America, the West Indies, Puerto Rico and Africa want independence to govern their own destinies. And they want peace. They signed peace petitions, with their marks where necessary, in the millions.

"And so did their true friends and allies, the peace-loving masses of Europe. All of these peoples love and deeply respect Joliot-Curie. These are the hundreds of millions who know that we can and must live in peace and friendly cooperation with our recent friends and allies - the courageous people of Stalingrad and of the Soviet Republics, the citizens of the new People's Democracies of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the German Democratic Republic, with the brave folk of the new People's Republics of China and Korea.

"The tremendous and heartening world success of the Stockholm Peace Petition is witness to this indisputable fact, and the petition of the World Council of Peace for a five-power peace conference is being signed daily by tens of millions all oer the globe.

"As an American of African descent, born and raised in these United States of such horrible contradictions, I am certain that the people of Asia, Latin America, the West Indies and especially Africa, want us to keep our Jim Crow practices as far away from them as possible. They say to us:

> "'Stop the terror and age-long oppression of 15 million of our brothers and sisters over there, and let us go our own way. We will pick and choose our own friends.'

"And these colonial peoples cry out to us, their brothers and sisters of African descent:

> "'Why do you come over here to harm us; why don't you root out Jim Crow and the Ku Klux Klan terror in the South of James Byrnes, Talmadge and Rankin?'

"The struggle today is one for peace, not war with anyone. The people will never lose their courage and strength to shout for peace at the top of their voices, to fight fascist persecution and death, to labour diligently every moment to save themselves and mankind for the constructive building of new and rich cultures for the universal attaining of full equality and full human dignity."

IVORY COAST LEADERS RELEASED

The great wave of indignation and the widespread protests which followed the imprisonment at Grand-Bassam, Ivory Coast, early last year of local leaders of the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (African Democratic Union) have succeeded in securing their release.

The judgement of the Supreme Court at Grand-Bassam has been reversed by the criminal section of the Court of Appeal in France. The vindictive atmosphere surrounding the whole case and the viciously racist character of the judgement are well known. The RDA leaders, J. B. Mockey, Mathieu Ekra, Albert Paraiso and Jacob Williams were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment at the end of March 1950 on the false charge of having been responsible for the bloody affray at Treichville in February 1949, when police fired on an RDA demonstration.

They had been held in gaol for 13 months before being brought to trial. The campaign for their release has been going on without a pause both in France and throughout French Africa.

All the foul tricks known to imperialism when it sets out to get rid of popular leaders were employed in connection with the trial. Documents disappeared, false witnesses were produced, and there were contradictions, retractions and other irregularities. The release of the four leaders 15 months after their sentence is a victory for the progressive forces opposing racism. It now remains for these forces to secure a complete pardon for the leaders.

YOUNG DEMOCRATS OF ALGERIA GET 363 YEARS' GAOL

The campaign of repression against the democratic movement in Algeria has reached an extremely violent stage. After trial for alleged conspiracy at Bougie, Oran and Algiers, 143 young democrats have now been found guilty by the court at Bone.

The verdict was arrived at after a trial in camera lasting two weeks during which the court building was surrounded by heavily armed guards. The court inflicted sentences totalling 363 years' imprisonment, 376 years of restricted movement, 666 years of deprivation of civil rights and 23,200,000 francs in fines.

Stunned by the sentences, 23 of the mothers of those imprisoned immediately sent a telegram of protest to the President of the Republic. It is now the task of the republicans and anti-fascists of France to fight for the reversal of this shameful verdict and to secure for the Algerian democrats respect for their elementary rights and liberties such as are inscribed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, PAUL!

Robeson: The World's Symbol of Freedom

PAUL ROBESON was born on April 9, 1898. In connection with the celebrations of his birthday which are taking place throughout the country during the months of April, May and June, FREEDOM has prepared this Birthday Supplement.

By Eslanda Goode Robeson

Paul Robeson, while still living, has become a symbol and a challenge. Just the mention of his name brings pride and joy, love and courage, and sometimes fear, to the hearts of men, women and children all over the world. He has a few enemies in high places who fear him; he has millions of friends in high and low places who love him, and fear for him.

Ever since his spectacularly successful college days, and continuing through his even more spectacularly successful career, Paul Robeson has been accumulating admirers and friends. Athletes and sports lovers, musicians and lovers of music, actors and audiences, lovers of freedom and fighters for freedom, alike revere his name.

Millions of people in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas call him Paul, with great respect and warm friendship. Millions of people all over the world immediately recognize his beautiful voice.

CZECHOSLOVAK YOUTH demonstrate their regard for Paul Robeson at a great stadium concert in Prague, 1949.

Hardened critics have written of his voice: "It has organ notes"; "His voice is more beautiful than any song he will ever sing"; "It is a voice in which deep bells ring"; "It is like the wind in the treetops" (the bells and the wind of freedom).

And of his acting they have written: "He is one of the most thoroughly eloquent, impressive and convincing actors I have looked at and listened to in almost 20 years of professional theatre-going"; "His personality is more vital and interesting than any role he will ever play."

And of his athletic prowess: "He is the greatest defensive end who ever trod the gridiron."

Along his way, Paul Robeson has collected a fabulous list of honors, among them:

- Class Valedictorian, Phi Beta Kappa, 12 varsity letters in Sports, and election to Cap-and-Skull at Rutgers.
- All-American end in Walter Camp's Football Teams of 1917 and 18.
- Honorary degrees from Rutgers, Hamilton, Moorehouse (Atlanta) and Howard Universities.
- The Abraham Lincoln Medal (1943) for the most notable and distinguished service in human relations in New York.
- The Donaldson Award (1944) for the best acting performance (Othello).
- The Spingarn Medal (1945) awarded by the NAACP for outstanding Negro achievement.

Paul Robeson's voice has become a force to be reckoned with. He has studied the music, languages, and ways of life of many different peoples, and he translates their songs into much more than music.

When he sings folk songs and classics, he translates them from the past into the present, or transports his listeners from the present into the past, and either way adds new life and significance to the songs, and new understanding and appreciation to the listeners.

When he sings "Were You There?" he sings not only of the crucifixion of Jesus, but also of the lynching crucifixion of the Negro people, the cremation of the Jewish people, and of the intolerance, fear, hatred and brutality which caused these tragedies. One can almost hear him sing: "Were you there when they crucified the Moores?"

When Paul Robeson sings songs of sadness, people weep; when he sings songs of hope, they take heart; when he sings songs of protest, guilty governments worry.

No wonder our nervous government tries to keep him quiet, tries to prevent people from listening to him, tries to immobilize him. I do not know of any other single person who has required the combined power of the State Department, the Administration, the theatre, film and concert industries, the press and radio to keep him from the people. He is a powerful man.

The late Alexander Woollcott wrote of him:

"Of all the people I have known in my wanderings over the world, Paul Robeson is one of the few of whom I would say they have greatness. . . . In his case I despair of ever putting into convincing words my notion of this quality in him. I can say only, that what he does, thinks and is, by his unassailable dignity, his serene incorruptible simplicity, Paul Robeson strikes me as having been made out of the original stuff of the world."

Paul Robeson is, indeed, a member of the human race; and as such he is interested in, sympathetic with, and doing what he can about the problems and yearnings of his fellow human beings, especially their yearning to be free and at peace.

That is why Paul Robeson has millions of friends all over the world. His only enemies are those who do not want him and his fellow human beings to be free and at peace.

Yes indeed, Paul Robeson, while still living, has become a SYMBOL and a CHALLENGE, THE SYMBOL AND CHALLENGE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE.

IN 1944-45 ROBESON gave the greatest performance of "Othello" in the history of the American theatre.

Peace Leader Describes Robeson's World Peace Role

By REV. WILLARD UPHAUS

It was a high moment in my life when our common concern for peace brought me together with Paul Robeson as fellow members of the World Council of Peace. It is a rich experience to participate in committee meetings when his world outlook and richly-stored mind are applied to questions at hand. I know now how a dishonest and hostile press can misrepresent a truly great man.

That Paul Robeson is one of the world champions of independence and self-determination for all under the heel of the imperialist oppressor has been proved many times, but never more clearly to me than at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw. The mere mention of his name there brought heartfelt acclaim.

The dictatorial policy of the U.S. State Department that denied him a passport to attend kept his body at home, but it could not contain his spirit. Three thousand delegates and visitors sat in rapt attention as they listened to a recording of his message to carry on the struggle for peace and freedom.

Few people appreciate fully how much Mr. Robeson's social insights spring from a deeply religious background. The son of a minister and the brother of one of New York's leading Negro pastors, he has taken seriously the Biblical concepts of justice and brotherhood and then bravely gone ahead to translate them in terms of homes, health, education and full emancipation for his own people—indeed, for all those who toil without full reward. To him this emancipation is world-embracing, so that the hungers of colonial peoples everywhere lay claim to his heart.

Paul Robeson's life proves that all great art takes its inspiration from close contact and fellowship with the common people. He feels their aspirations and hopes and applies his great gifts of speech, drama and song to the cause of human liberty and peace.

4,000 at Rally Urge Arming of Colonial Peoples, End of Discrimination in U.S.

D. W.
April 10.
1942.

By Eugene Gordon

Paul Robeson, Max Yergan, Channing Tobias and other members of the International Committee on African Affairs, before an audience of 4,000 Negro and white persons in Manhattan Center Wednesday night, called for arming a billion Africans and other colonial peoples of the world for defeat of fascism. They were joined by guest speakers in attacking discrimination in our war effort as an impediment to victory.

Sharing the rostrum with officers and members of the Council, and wildly applauded with them by one of the most enthusiastic audiences ever seen in that popular meeting hall, were Pearl Buck, noted novelist; Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal; Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union and vice-president of the CIO, and Lillian Hellman, playwright.

The unusually large proportion of Negroes in the audience was a strikingly conspicuous feature of the meeting.

Referring to a book written by a French anthropologist in 1915, in which the peoples of the eastern part of the Soviet Union were described as "primitive," Mr. Robeson said:

"I visited the Soviet Union in 1934. In 1915 the Tajik people of Siberia could not have functioned in a thousand years. Today these people are manning the furnaces and the factories and the sources of the industrial defense of the Soviet Union that have been moved behind the Urals. Those people have a theater that is comparable to the Bolshoi in Moscow. These are the people who 'could not function in a thousand years.'

"If the American people really want to see that this is a free America, they must see in this struggle that their freedom is tied

(Continued on Page 3)

As 4,000 Urged Arming of Colonial Peoples **Photo above shows noted leaders who addressed the rally for colonial peoples at Manhattan Center Wednesday night. Left to right, are Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the meeting; Pearl S. Buck, novelist; Paul Robeson, noted singer; Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, and Max Yergan, secretary of the Council on African Relations. P[illegible]o below shows a general view of the audience.**

—Daily Worker Photo

DAILY WORKER
[10 APRIL 1942]

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

4,000 Call for Arming of Colonial Peoples, End of Discrimination

Curran, Robeson, Yergan and Others Urge Second Front

(Continued from Page 1)

up with the freedom not only of the European peoples but of the colonial peoples everywhere, and very clearly with the freedom not only of the 15,000,000 colored Americans, but with the freedom of millions of other colored peoples, and certainly of the 160,000,000 Africans who might stand between Hitler and Dakar, between Hitler and South America, between Hitler and New York."

Following his address Mr. Robeson sang a spiritual, an African song found in Cuba, a modern American song, "The Bill of Rights" and, later, excerpts from "Ballad for Americans." Robeson was given a standing ovation.

Miss Buck, complim[illegible]ed highly by Dr. Tobias for he[illegible]ti-fascist stand and her interest [illegible] behalf of Negro rights, declared that the American people "want to be sure that the one thing which makes them a great democratic people, their form of government, is not lost from within while they fight fascism without." This," she said, "is our great unity." Miss Buck warned against that distrust which causes disunity against the Axis.

Miss Buck condemned anti-Semitism and anti-Negro prejudices as harmful to democratic unity.

Dr. Yergan said:

"Our approach to this need of mobilizing the colonial world and our discussion of their stake and the stake of the Negro people in this war has one primary purpose—to aid in the complete crushing of fascism . . . by striking at its spearhead NOW on the Eastern front and opening up a second front in Europe."

"The Negroes' loyalty to their country's cause and the cause of democracy against fascism is unquestioned and unqualified," Dr. Yergan said. "Whoever attacks our country attacks us."

"In the interest of victory over fascism Nehru's demands should be met by Britain," Dr. Yergan continued, while the house applauded. "With these demands met, the Indian people can defend their country as the Russian and the Chinese peoples have defended theirs."

"Let our country and the administration possess itself of imagination, boldness and courage. Let it rise above pettiness in the treatment of 13,000,000 Negro citizens. Let it, with one fell swoop . . . really remove barriers against Negroes in the Navy, in employment, and everywhere else. Let it do that, and the colonial world will rise up and acclaim the substance of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter," Mr. Yergan continued.

Joseph Curran, following Dr. Yergan, told of CIO's policy of "absolute equality" of whites and Negroes as the only way to defeat fascsm. That "humble messman," Dorie Miller, who manned a machine gun at Pearl Harbor typified the real American, Curran said, and should have every right for which American democracy supposedly stands.

CITES NMU VICTORY

Mr. Curran, to illustrate his assertion that the CIO "recognizes that the way to win this war is to achieve national unity," told of a steamship owner who, five months ago, swore he would have no Negro seamen but who, being challenged by the NMU, was forced to hire Negroes. Since that time, Mr. Curran said, that ship has been manned by Negro seamen, "who are still transporting war materials to our allies."

He said that in its meeting with Donald Nelson, head of the War Production Board, the other day, the NMU was promised the training of 50,000 Negroe workers in the next three months.

The following cable from Sir Stafford Cripps to Mr. Robeson was read to the gathering:

"Thanks very much indeed for your telegram from the Council on African Affairs, and your suggestion that the African troops should be armed to the fullest extent. I shall certainly bear this in mind, but the difficulty, as you know, at the present time, is finding equipment and materials to arm all the men who are already available."

Miss Hellman, author of the anti-fascist play, "Watch on the Rhine" and "The Little Foxes," said "we're only half an hour, in history's time, from a holocaust," and declared that to forestall it we must grant the Negro people the right to help destroy fascism. "And when that is done you will be a long way toward doing away with injustices at home."

Herbert Agar spoke briefly of the necessity of carrying on two wars simultaneously, "one against fascism at home and the other against fascism abroad." "If we do not fight the enemy abroad and the enemy within our own hearts," he said, we should lose both wars.

New York [illegible]

Nehru Greets Rally Here

Cable Wishes Success to Meeting of African Affairs Council

A cablegram from Jawaharlal Nehru, former president of the All-India Congress (Nationalist party), addressed to Paul Robeson and Dr. Max Yergan, chairman and executive director, respectively, of the Council on African Affairs, was received yesterday at the council's office at 8 West Fortieth Street, according to an announcement made by Dr. Yergan.

The message, sent in connection with a mass meeting sponsored by the council to be held at Manhattan Center, Thirty-fourth Street and Eighth Avenue, tomorrow evening, said: "All good wishes for success against Fascism and imperialism and establishment of true freedom everywhere; recognition equal rights, opportunities all races and peoples."

N.Y. Herald Tribune
April 7, 1942
[illegible]

Appeal to Arm Africans Made At Rally Here

Paul Robeson Pleads for Colonial People; Distrust Assailed by Pearl Buck

An appeal that Africans and colonial peoples everywhere be armed to the fullest extent and be allowed to join as free men in the fight when Axis armies bear down on their homes was voiced last night before 3,000 Negroes and whites gathered in Manhattan Center, Thirty-fourth Street and Eighth Avenue, under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs.

Participating in the appeal were Paul Robeson, Negro barytone and chairman of the council; Dr. Max Yergan, executive director of the council who passed many years in Africa, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a member of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Mr. Robeson, saying that he was "proud to be an African," assured his listeners that if given the means and the opportunity the African people will function as effectively as and in just as short order as the Russians.

"Fascism and slavery know no difference," Mr. Robeson said, "and we African people have suffered enough. We must be on the side of all peoples struggling for their freedom."

One hundred and sixty million Africans, he asserted, in the very near future may stand between "Hitler and Dakar, Hitler and South America and Hitler and New York."

Pearl Buck Speaks

Lillian Hellman, playwright; Pearl S. Buck, author and authority on China; Herbert Agar, editor of "The Louisville Courier-Journal" and president of Freedom House, and Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliate, were among the other speakers.

Mrs. Buck warned that this country's war effort will not operate smoothly and efficiently until Americans learn to trust and believe in each other regardless of race or religion.

"The cause of uncertainty in the American people now," she said, "is not lack of unity, it is lack of trust in each other. We all want the same thing, all of us, Gentiles and Jews, black and white, Catholic and Protestant, North and South, East and West, but we are not sure of each other's democracy.

"We distrust the geuineness not only of the individual but of men of other classes and races. Thus labor distrusts capital and capital certainly distrusts labor. The Jew distrusts the Gentile and the Gentile distrusts the Jew. Black distrusts white and white distrusts black — that is, they distrust the democratic determination in the other.

"It is this distrust," she asserted, "which holds back our war effort. Instead of uniting against the enemy, we are fearful lest the enemy is in our capital, in our town, and even next door to us."

Appeal by Miss Hellman

Miss Hellman told the gathering "no white man has the right to ask you or Indians or Africans or any minority peoples who have not had the voice they deserve in the ruling of their own affairs to forget the injustices which have been done you.

"One does not forget injustice," she said. "But there are two kinds of remembering. One, in which the evil done is harped on to the exclusion of all else, in which the memory of how a black man was treated at school, or in camp, or in a government housing project becomes the greatest of the battles to be fought.

"That," she asserted, "is a very understandable remembrance and for my money a very short-sighted one. And there is another kind of remembering: how a black man was treated in a school, how he was treated in a camp, how he was treated in a government housing project and how all those wrongs belong in a larger picture. The picture of black man and white man faced with a total annihilation of their right to their freedom.

"Memory of past evil is a good thing," she concluded, "only when it is neither bitter nor sterile nor blurring; it is good only when it is used for a greater end, an end without malice or revenge. If you fight against the greatest evil, Fascism, you will be far along the way to insisting that other evils be cleared away."

N.Y. Herald Tribune
April 9, 1942

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, APRIL 9, 1942

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PAUL ROBESON—*Plain Talk*

On Returning To Our Roots

12-27-47

LAST week I went down into the country of my forefathers and was inspired and re-invigorated by what I saw, heard and felt in that atmosphere. I like to go back to the land of my fathers for it brings me close to my roots. I think it important for all of us to get back to our roots every now and then.

ROBESON

My roots are in North Carolina. My father worked here in slavery. My grandparents lived here as slaves, working land which they did not own and creating wealth in which they never shared. Their blood and sweat went into the making of the great cotton economy of the South and hence into the building of America into the greatest economic power on earth. Their contributions are unhonored and unsung but were nevertheless substantial. They helped to build the region which produced them and gave birth to other human beings who continued the tradition of building.

I came from this land and these people and am accordingly grateful to it and to them. I have a strong sentimental attachment to this section of North Carolina for it has been a part of my consciousness ever since I can remember. This land is rich and its people are strong and full of dignity and a feeling of moving forward. That is why I like to go back to this country every so often.

On this last trip I met again my cousins and other distant relatives, and felt, for the first time, a definite feeling of being on my own land and among my people. I felt a real pride in belonging to these people.

My people are from the northeastern corner of the state and it was toward this section that I turned my steps. Accompanied by m friend and associate, Dr. Max Yergan, the executive director of th Council on African Affairs, I visited Raleigh first—spent two da there during which I gave a concert at Shaw University, and me with the students of that splendid school. From there we journeyed t Bennett College at Greensboro, some 80 miles away.

After a thoroughly successful concert there we moved on t equally satisfying engagements at Livingstone College, which is near Salisbury, NC, and Johnson C. Smith University, at Charlotte.

I was particularly impressed by the excellent work being done by the presidents of these Negro private colleges, who despite tremendous limitations have established high academic standards and maintained a dignified, cultured atmosphere on their respective campuses. They have also inculcated in their students a powerful desire to use learning to help set their people free.

I sang before unsegregated audiences in the city auditoriums of Raleigh and Charlotte, as well as in the auditoriums at Bennett and Livingstone colleges. This to me was a sign of real progress in this part of the South. Certainly the presidents of the schools concerned had a great deal to do with the absence of Jimcro at these concerts. Their integrity, influence and moral strength enabled them to insist on unsegregated seating arrangements.

All in all, last week's trip to North Carolina was a source of tremendous personal satisfaction. My people are going forward in this region, despite the usual oppressive restrictions that characterize Negro life in the South. This made me proud and happy.

There was something else that made the trip rewarding. I was back home.

11-11-48

A Rollcall For Peace...
End the cold war- get together for peace!
Soviet Friendship

Robeson Signs Peace Rollcall: Paul Robeson, Negro people's leader, signs a seven-foot replica of the Rollcall for Peace that is currently being distributed throughout the nation by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Peace-loving Americans signing the Rollcalls are demonstrating their demand that our Government stop the cold war and work for peace, based on U.S.-USSR cooperation. The Rollcalls will be presented to President Truman and the Secretary of State.

P 6/1/46

fredi says..

By FREDI WASHINGTON

PV's Theatrical Editor

Open Letter to Paul Robeson

DEAR PAUL: Though you have been out of town almost constantly during the theatre season which is just about at an end, I know you have been kept apprised of what has been happening along Broadway and what particularly has been happening with plays having as their theme questions which vitally concern minorities. Though I have not had the opportunity to discuss with you the far-reaching effects of the bad notices given these plays on producers who have the courage of their convictions, on the theatre-going public, on the Negro actor and last, but by no means least, on the actual struggle against discrimination of all kinds, **I know we are in complete accord that under no circumstances can we allow such vital theatre to die from lack of leadership and support.**

While we are putting up a fight to keep **On Whitman Avenue** at the Cort theatre, we cannot become so engrossed with the present that we fail to plan for the future. It is the future of one particular production with which I am now concerned and one which I know you too are concerned.

I have just finished reading Dorothy Heyward's script, **Set My People Free**, in which she has taken the great historical slave character, Denmark Vesey, and woven a most fascinating and moving story of the struggle of slaves to gain their freedom in Charleston, S. C. The thing which struck me so forcibly about the play is that in 1810, relatively the same underlying motives existed for keeping the Negro down as exist today. Dorothy, doing some of the best and most important theatre writing of her career, has brought her characters to life, giving them all the strength and frailties of human nature. The play, covering a span of 12 years, draws a vivid picture of hate, love, suspense and excitement—all drawn against a background of the complexities of the slave era.

The author has written with clear accuracy about a period in our history which is little known to the American public. Our history books have not bothered to tell us about the near overthrow of the slave masters by the slaves, led by Denmark Vesey in the state from which our Secretary of State, James Byrnes, hails. Nor have they bothered to tell us that, despite the lack of an educational system, **there were slaves with high intellect and education, informal though it might have been.**

Perhaps by this time you've gathered why I've directed an open letter to you. Well, you're not wrong. There is but one person who has the stature as an actor to play this great historical role of Denmark Vesey, and that person is you. It is you, Paul, because you are known far and wide as not an actor alone, but as a champion of better racial relations through education—as one who is vitally interested in the rights of all minorities whether here or abroad, and for the reason that your name in the marque of a theatre means customers.

It is not for that reason alone that **Set My People Free** is an important document, which all Americans should know about, that I, as many others who have read the script, implore you to lend your time and talents to it; but because it is an exciting drama. **This is the kind of theatre vehicle that should by all means be produced, getting the best possible casting, direction and production.**

ou might point to other actors of ability who could play the role e no doubt that that is so, though I don't know who they could be. here is one thing you cannot deny, and that is there is no actor , your diversified ability who has consistently fought for and demanded an end to jimcro in the theatre as well as outside the theatre.

The fact that you were the first Negro to play the title role in **Othello** opposite a white "Desdemona" in the American commercial theatre to packed audiences throughout the country, proves that the success of plays dealing with Negro characters and life, good though they be in their own right, must not only have good and competent actors, **they must have in addition a name which has tremendous box office value.**

Your name, Paul, carries that box office value. And that val carries with it a tremendous responsibility to the cause for which yo have given unstintingly of your time, energy, abilities and finances. **This is not the time nor the place to slacken the intense drive to bring to theatre goers better theatre, educational theatre, a more stimulating theatre, yes, and an artistic theatre which clasps hands with reality.**

Set My People Free has all of these things and more. It is a play which should and must reach Broadway next season. To play the role of Denmark Vesey, is but part of the work you have cut out for yourself. **Using what influence I have to get you to play the role is part of the work I've cut out for myself.**

The plea I'm making to you, Paul, is being made pretty much in the dark. I don't know what your fall commitments are, but somehow I'm pig-headed enough to believe that whatever they may be, they are hardly as important to the rounded picture we are striving for, as a production of **Set My People Free** with you as its star. I dare say that lending yourself to this play is of far more importance today than it would have been last year. **This is the time when we, the people, must press for the kind of freedom to which all human beings are entitled, whether it be in the coal mine, railroad, factory, farm, or theatre, for the forces which would ruin our chances of freeing ourselves from the bonds of prejudices are hard at work.**

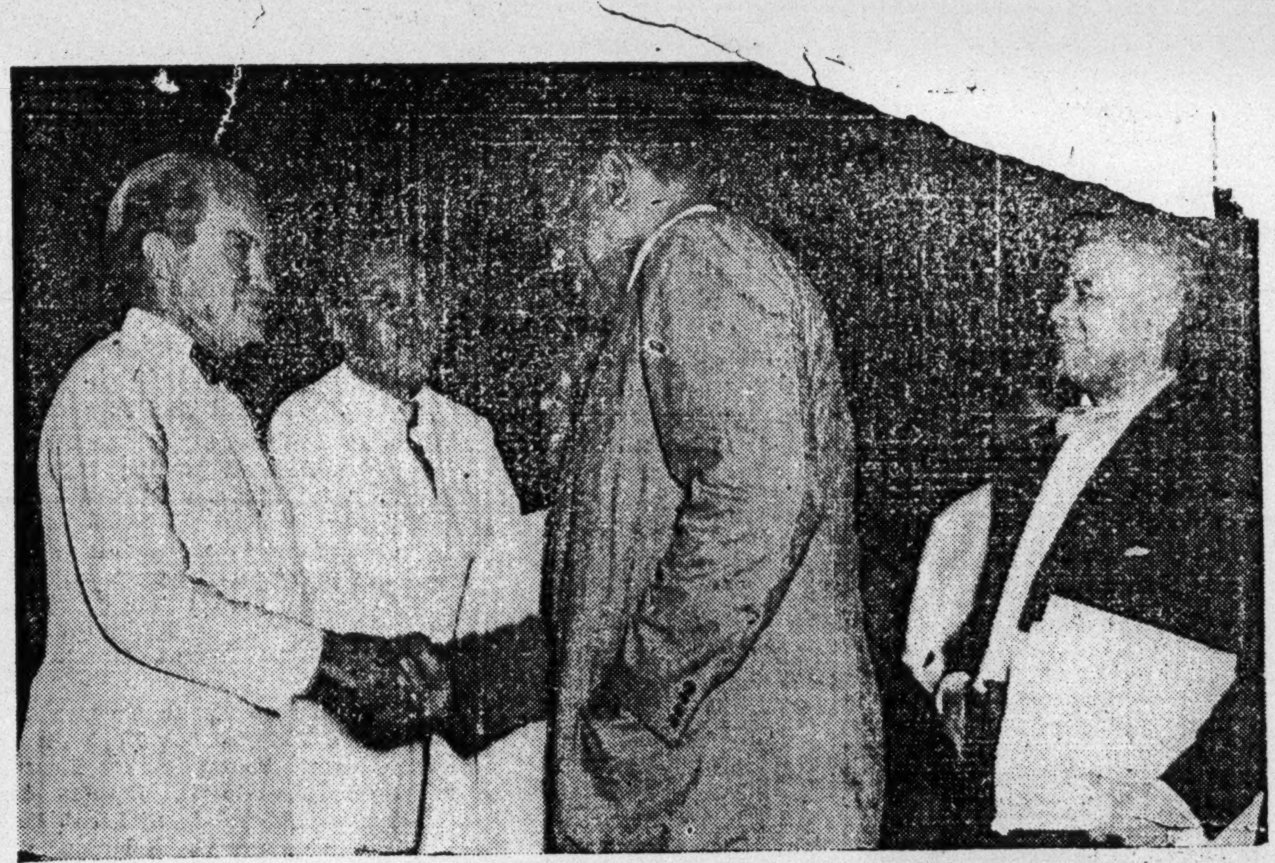
A very large part of our work is to break down the wall of ignorance about the Negro through the medium of good theatre. It is our opportunity to bring to Negro and white America, the vital part Negroes have played in American history. **The theatre is the best format yet to be used for educational purposes.** A good illustration of this is the effect **On Whitman Avenue** has had on all who have seen it. It is impossible to see this play and forget what has taken place on the stage. Most people with whom I've talked after seeing **Whitman Avenue**, are so aroused that they immediately want to help in their way to right some of the wrongs they have seen dramatized.

This kind of theatre has a definite place in our not so right American scene. It is up to people, who are aware that so long as the white population is ignorant about the Negro and the Negro about the white, to use every method at their command to educate both sides so that a bill like FEPC is understood and respected.

A great deal of the responsibility for pushing such a program rests on your shoulders. It's a big order, but then, you've shown time and time again that your shoulders are broad, your heart is stout and your spirit indomitable. You have proven yourself a leader in the full sense of the word; you have always proven yourself to be the kind of representative of which Negro America can be justly proud. **But most of all, in your chosen field, the theatrical profession, yours has been the truly great voice of our time with the same message of freedom that has come rumbling down through the ages from the time of Moses.**

Paul, there is no other voice, in this—our time, that can have the far reaching effect of yours, saying: SET MY PEOPLE FREE. As ever yours,

Broadcasting. This shot of Robeson was made during an interview on the Colon radio station. While in Colon he and Dr. Yergan had an informal visit with the Governor.



President Greets Paul. Honorable Don Enrique Jimenez, president of the Republic of Panama, greets Paul Robeson during intermission at his Panama City concert. Between them are seen Mr. Aguilera, General Secretary of Panama's "White House," and President Francisco Aranz of Local 713, UPWA-CIO.

Paul Robeson Thrills Panamanians

(By Teodore M. Nolan, Field Representative United Public Workers of America, Balboa, Canal Zone.)

Special to *The People's Voice*

The people of Panama, struggling against discrimination and oppression stemming from United States rule of the Canal Zone, were inspired beyond measure by the recent concert tour of Paul Robeson. On what was his first visit to any Latin-American country, the famous baritone arrived in the Republic of Panama on May 25 for the purpose of staging three concerts under the auspices of Local 713, United Public Workers of America, CIO. With hi mwere Dr. Max Yergan, director of the Council on African Affairs, and his wife, Dr. Lena Yergan, Robeson's physician.

CIO UNION FORMED

Feelings ran high on the Isthmus in anticipation of the party's arrival. Only ten months before Local 713 had been formed by the amalgamation of three other labor groups. Their union resulted from the futility of separate operation on the part of underprivileged government workers who had everything in common and only the path of unity and CIO affiliation as a means for success.

The new CIO local 17,000 strong, is the first of its kind and size in the history of the country. It represents the first real effort of concerted opposition to the air-tight discrimination suffered by workers at the hands of their employers, who consider themselves owners of the government jobs they command and not employees in the service of their country.

USA BRINGS JIMCRO?

Was the Federal Government of the United States responsible for the officially sponsored program of discrimination against non-American workers, and even against colored Americans? On the surface, so it appears. But to Local 713 there is more in the mortar besides the pestle.

Officials in Washington, D. C. should be considered as having an over-all responsibility for activities on the Canal Zone. But the worst injustices committed on the Canal Zone are not due to their failure to keep themselves informed on the problems of far-off Panama. They are due to the selfishness and egoism of a long line of Canal supervisors who are vested with the power to make local regulations or to interpret them.

For ten months the battle line had been drawn. Obsolete-minded Americans, under the banner of the A. F. L., stood determined to hold together the standards that made for them a paradise out of the Canal Zone at the expense of th vast majority of workers in the area

But under the banner of the C. I. O. Local 713 kept piling up a wonderful record of achievement as regards the adjustment of working conditions for its members.

WARNINGS ON PAUL

Into this field bounced the announcement that the great Paul Robeson, champion of the oppressed, was scheduled to appear in three concerts. Robeson, outstanding as he is in the field of music and trade unionism, could make a tremendous impression on the workers. That he is on the side of the CIO and against any form of oppression was a significant fact the bosses could not miss.

Some sections of the local press warned that the music-loving public would be bored with talk of communism in the midst of the concerts and receive little compensation in song. No time was lost by anti-labor factions in hinting that Robeson has been dubbed a communist and that as such he could be the most dangerous man on earth against the welfare of the worker.

Questions poured in from all sides and on all angles. Was the great singer coming down as an official of the Union and on Union business? Why was he coming down under the auspices of the Union and not on a straight concert assignment with one of the concert agencies? How was it possible for the low rate of one dollar per ticket to compensate so high-priced an artist if his trip was not being financed by some communistic agency?

But to the members of Local 713 Robeson meant only one thing: another link in the chain of help which is expected to come from the Union headquarters in Washington, D. C. Such other lings are Goldsmith, Weinstein, Strobel, Richardson, Brodsky.

110,000 AT CONCERTS

The concerts were held; one in the open-air stadium in the capital of the Republic of Panama, and two in the city of Colon, to capacity crowds totalling over 10 thousand. There were no speeches; just good expressive singing, of the type seldom heard before in the country. There were no predictions or denounciations; just an excerpt from Shakespeare's **Othello, The Moor of Venice,** masterfully rendered at the end of each concert to the delight of the audiences. For this additional piece of artistry they had not bargained.

But in every note, every word, Robeson drove home a message to his listeners, including those who were looking for the slightest tinge of communism. Even the most ardent advocates of class hierarchy could read the special thoughts which spelled hope and comfort for some and a prophetic warning for others.

The simple, clear and profound message contained in every song could be summed up as follows: **The World is made up of people who have everything in common and who will one day get together to insist and demand that a higher valuation of their position as workers and a worthy people be accorded them.**

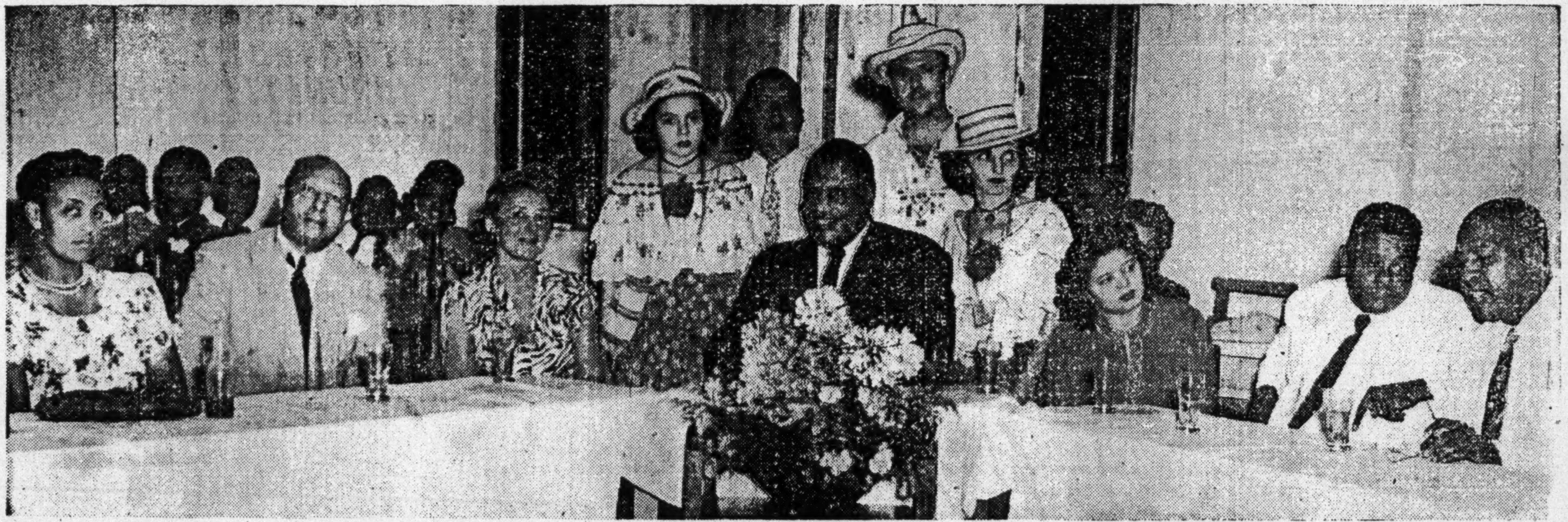
His repertoire consisted of many songs from distant lands and of the loves and cares of simple people. They contained the longings and aspirations of human beings who, though separated by barriers, natural and man-made, never fail to experience the human trait of thinking above and beyond the conditions to which they are circumscribed.

PARTING MESSAGE

On the 3rd of June when Paul Robeson, the last of his party to leave the Isthmus, boarded a PAA plane on his way home, he had endeared himself to his mass of listeners.

The path leading to the La Boca School had been lined with school children, all of whom cheered lustily as he walked through the aisle. His farewell message to them was: **"Whatever you read, the peoples of the world, be they in America or Africa, Russia or China, are all poor and simple people just as you are. In your deepest troubles, remember that you should never let go because all over the world these people are your friends and are holding on too."**

Said Robeson to members and friends of the Local's Board: **"The time is fast approaching when that most precious level of character, HUMAN DIGNITY, shall be in the possession of all people and our actions today determine to an overwhelming extent how soon we shall be free of the shackles that forbid our full participation in a world where there is plenty for all."**



Club Palmira. Paul and his party were honored at a reception at Club Palmira. Seated to Paul's right is Max Yergan's wife, Dr. Lena Yerga with Dr. Max Yergan at her right. Dances in native costume featured the reception.

Calls Negro Fate in U. S. A 'Scandal'

The treatment of the Negro people is America's greatest and mos conspicuous scandal, Dr. Gunna Myrdal, Swedish statesman an scholar, said last night.

Dr. Myrdal, who is secreta general o fthe United Nations E nomic Commission for Euro spoke at a dinner of the Comn tee of 100, given in his honor the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria.

America's treatment of the gro, he added, "is tremendo publicized, and democratic Ar ica will continue to publicize self."

Says Injustices Rankle

"For the colored peoples the world, whose rising influe axiomatic, this scandal is sal their wounds," he continued.

"It can be foreseen with certaint that world politics will increasingly be concerned in the future with the demands for equality raised by the underprivileged colored peoples in the world."

Dr. Myrdal was honored for his book, *An American Dilemma*, published in 1944, a study of the Negro in American life, which he wrote at the request of the Carnegie Corporation.

"A self-righteous, complacent and power-drunk America would, in the present juncture of world history, mean disaster for itself and for all the world," Dr. Myrdal continued.

"An America which would set out to reconstruct half the world, but left its own poor people in big cities to be housed in slums and poor Negroes and whites in the rural South in poverty and distress, would not have the spiritual power it needs."

Another speaker, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, said:

"The abolition of racial and religious prejudice is far from being achieved, but we are moving with increasing speed toward that objective, which must be attained if democracy is to survive."

Cites Discrimination

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, another speaker, said that whenever there is opposition to the stand of the United States in the United Nations, the first point of attack is against discriminatory practices.

"We are attacked practically every day in international meetings in the UN," she said, "and it's one of those things you can't answer, because on that you're at fault."

and awkward look that

11-22-45

'No Real Minorities in USSR'--Paul Robeson

Text of address delivered by Paul Robeson at the Madison Square Garden rally held last Nov. 14 by the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of U.S.-Soviet diplomatic relations.

What constitutes a great nation? Great manpower, yes. Great material and industrial resources, yes. But more than these, the essential element of greatness lies in the ideals which inspire and unite a nation.

In developing our understanding of and closer friendship with the Soviet Union, it is important that we in America try to understand that country's ideals. The one which, in my opinion, has most significance for us, especially right now—**is that of democracy among peoples of different race, color, creed and nationality.**

Perhaps I am in error in using the word ideals. For this term generally connotes something that one talks about and thinks about but never realizes. But democracy among all peoples **regardless of** **ace, creed, color or nationality** is
nething that the Soviet people
rk **achieved in practice.** And it
son nts one of the greatest of all
have ents of the Soviet Union
repres ears of history.
achieve
In its **28** ynificent history of Soviet

This magnt in the advance-
viet achievemete national inte-
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lonial peoples has p
portance for us today.

Recently a writer in the Soviet publication, **War and the Working Class**, observed that "the system of colonial enslavement of hundreds of millions of people is an extremely dangerous obstacle in the path of social progress and a bulwark of reactionary tendencies all over the world. The removal of this barrier is an essential condition for the inclusion of vast countries, and the peoples inhabiting them, in the general channel of humanity's economic, political and cultural development."

There is no possible comparison to be made with the Soviet Union in its treatment of minorities. For they have no minorities in our sense of the word. There, all people of whatever color or culture, enjoy complete equality. It is painfully obvious that this is not true in our United States—neither for the Negro, the Spanish American, the Jewish American people, the American of Asiatic descent nor for millions of underprivileged of all colors.

As is exceedingly clear, we now live in one world. The struggle for freedom continues and we must fight wherever danger lurks.

In this new enlivening and fast changing world—the Soviet Union, I believe—to be in the very forefront of the battle to obtain real not imaginary freedoms for the many—not the few.

And in the light of recent events, recent disclosures and the question of present high policy—the greatest source of danger—at this historic period—to the emergence of a Peoples World founded upon the equalities—economic—racial, ethnic—and political—could well be upon our American continent.

At this very hour, in China, in Java, in other places our government is helping the British, French and Chiaing Kai-shek governments crush the people's struggles toward democracy, freedom and independence. In South Africa millions of Africans face unnecessary starvation. The tragic plight of Europe's anguished Jewish people has still to be solved. And yet we talk of world peace and security. Reliance upon might, armaments, military bases and atomic bombs will not help us toward that goal.

If the United States and the United Nations truly want peace and security let them fulfill the hopes of common people everywhere—let them work together to accomplish on a worldwide scale, precisely the kind of democratic association of free peoples whic characterizes the Soviet Uni today.

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THE WORKER

Youth Turns Heat of Rally Into a Fighting Program

6-16-45

By Lester Rodney

They were still talking about that stunning Manhattan Center rally as they went back to the business of the third day of the American Youth for Democracy's convention at Irving Plaza. They were talking about the bubbling spirit of the overflow crowd of 4,000 that had old timers scratching their thinning locks to recall anything quite like it . . . they were talking about the electric current that leaped through the hall when tough Joe Stack and his committee of striking seamen strode onto the platform, a current that measured the bond between America's conscious fighting youth and America's men in dungarees.

About the "speeches" that were not really speeches by fiery little Vince Pieri of the Philly AYD, vet of 22 months wartime service at sea—**"youth knows what the seaman's union has done to break down discrimination and lift the standard of living,"** by dignified Dr. Harry F. Ward who in cultured tones laced it into the President's attempt to turn young Americans into strikebreakers with guns.

They were talking too about the roaring standing ovation given the representative of democratic Yugoslavia's young fighters for freedom, pretty Lieut. Nada Kraigher, and her emotional little speech-without-notes about international solidarity . . . about the solemn, thrilling high point of the presentation by AYD's Mollie Lieber of the statuette of the 17-year-old martyred heroine Zoya—from the youth of the Soviet Union to their friends of the American Youth for Democracy.

And finally, and most of all, they were still talking about Paul Robeson. About how the great people's artist leaned into the microphone and lifted every one in the hall along with the intensity of his feeling about true democracy and his determination that there must not be an impe-

aries used to paralyze the fight for progress, and pledged AYD to vigorously reject it at all times.

Robert Cummins of Detroit, a vet of the Lincoln Battalion and World War II, spoke as one who was a Communist and proudly felt that Communists, with their outlook on socialism, bring to the youth movement an element of outstanding value, though socialism is not a goal of AYD.

In the final session today national officers will be elected, the full program of AYD's future role in American life completed, and the 400 delegates from 19 states will start home with plenty of program to tell to the rest and translate into action.

By George S. Schuyler

Views and Reviews

Paul Robeson for President in 1952!

(This column represents the personal opinion of Mr. Schuyler and in no way reflects the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors)

Sept 24 49

WHY not Paul Robeson for President in 1952? Of course the next election for a new occupant of the White House is all of three years away, but the events of the past fortnight justify tossing the headgear of the "people's singer" into the ring now. Such booms should be launched early.

George S. Schuyler

Robeson deserves this highest honor in the gift of the American people, not only because he is a great singer and actor (except in the records of the outstanding musical and dramatic critics), nor because he sang (but did not fight) in the Spanish Loyalist trenches, nor because he has been an active member of every Communist-front and subversive organization for the past fifteen years (since his record in this connection is almost equalled by others), nor because he is a self-proclaimed anti-Fascist (since Gerhart Eisler and numerous others have claimed the same distinction); but he deserves the honor because he is the most outstanding symbol of the sharp trend in this country toward the totalitarian servile state.

* * *

SHOULD HE BE nominated by the Communist party? While admittedly this would be appropriate, the only trouble is that he is not a member of that party. He has denied it several times, and who would question the veracity of the great man? Nevertheless there seems to be some conflict of opinion.

In August, 1936 (when millions of Russians were being "liquidated" in one of Stalin's purges), Robeson was quoted by Soviet Russian Today as stating: "The Soviet Union is the only country I've ever been in, where I've felt completely at ease . . . By singing its praises wherever I go, I think I can be of the most value to it. It's too easy to go to the Soviet Union, breathe free air, and live 'happily ever afterward'."

On April 21, 1947, the truthful Daily Worker quoted the people's champion as to his political affiliation: "There are only two groups in the world today—Fascists and anti-Fascists. The Communists belong to the anti-Fascism group and I label myself an anti-Fascist . . . I could just as well think of joining the Communist party as any other." But this is a mere expression of opinion.

The same compendium of veracity quoted him on Sept. 30, 1947, as telling the National Maritime Union in criticism of the United States, "This is not 'The House I Live In'." At the Paris "Peace" Conference in 1949 he stated: "It is certainly unthinkable for myself and the Negro people to go to war in the interests of those who have oppressed us for generations." At a Welcome Home Rally in June, under auspices of the subversive Council on African Affairs he chanted:: "Yes, I love this Soviet people more than any other nation," thereby excluding even Liberia, Haiti and Ethiopia!

* * *

THERE IS SOME "Fascist" testimony to the effect that my hero IS a member of the Communist party and thus qualified and eligible to be its standard bearer in 1952. Manning Johnson, an official of the Retail Clerks' International Association (AFL), which has 250,000 members, recently testified under oath in Washington, D. C., that he had been a high official of the Communist party for ten years. Before he quit this patriotic (to Russia) group he was anti-Fascist but by mere virtue of deserting his erstwhile comrades, he became Fascist.

He told the estimable House Committee on Un-American Activities: "I have met Paul Robeson a number of times in the headquarters of the national committee of the Communist party, going to and coming from conferences with Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, and J. Peters. During the time I was a member of the Communist party, Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist party. Paul Robeson, to my knowledge, has been a member of the Communist party for many years. In the Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist party (What! Do they have a jim-crow set-up like the Republicans and Democrats???) we were told, under threat of expulsion, never to reveal that Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist party, because Paul Robeson's assignment was highly confidential and secret. For that reason he was not permitted to attend meetings of the national committee of the Communist party, or any other than broad general meetings.

"Paul's assignment was to work among the intellectuals, the professionals, and artists that the party was seeking to penetrate and influence along Communist lines . . . As far as Paul Robeson's membership in the Communist party, of that I have not one iota of doubt . . . we generally understood he was engaged in certain secret work that was intercontinental in connection with his concert tours." This might explain those "free" singing tours of the Caribbean and the Canal Zone!

* * *

OF COURSE Mr. Johnson's sworn statement cannot be taken too seriously because he is an ex-Communist official and therefore a Fascist, but he was an "inside operator" for ten years. He is a Negro and a World War II veteran with a responsible trade union position, so conceivably he **could** be telling the truth.

Let us hope so because I want my man to head **some** ticket and I doubt that he can get the backing of the "reactionary" G.O.P. or of the Democrats (who have so many former Klansmen in high offices). The Progressives might nominate him and he might poll more votes than Henry Wallace did (who couldn't?), but he would need real mass support which the Progressives cannot secure.

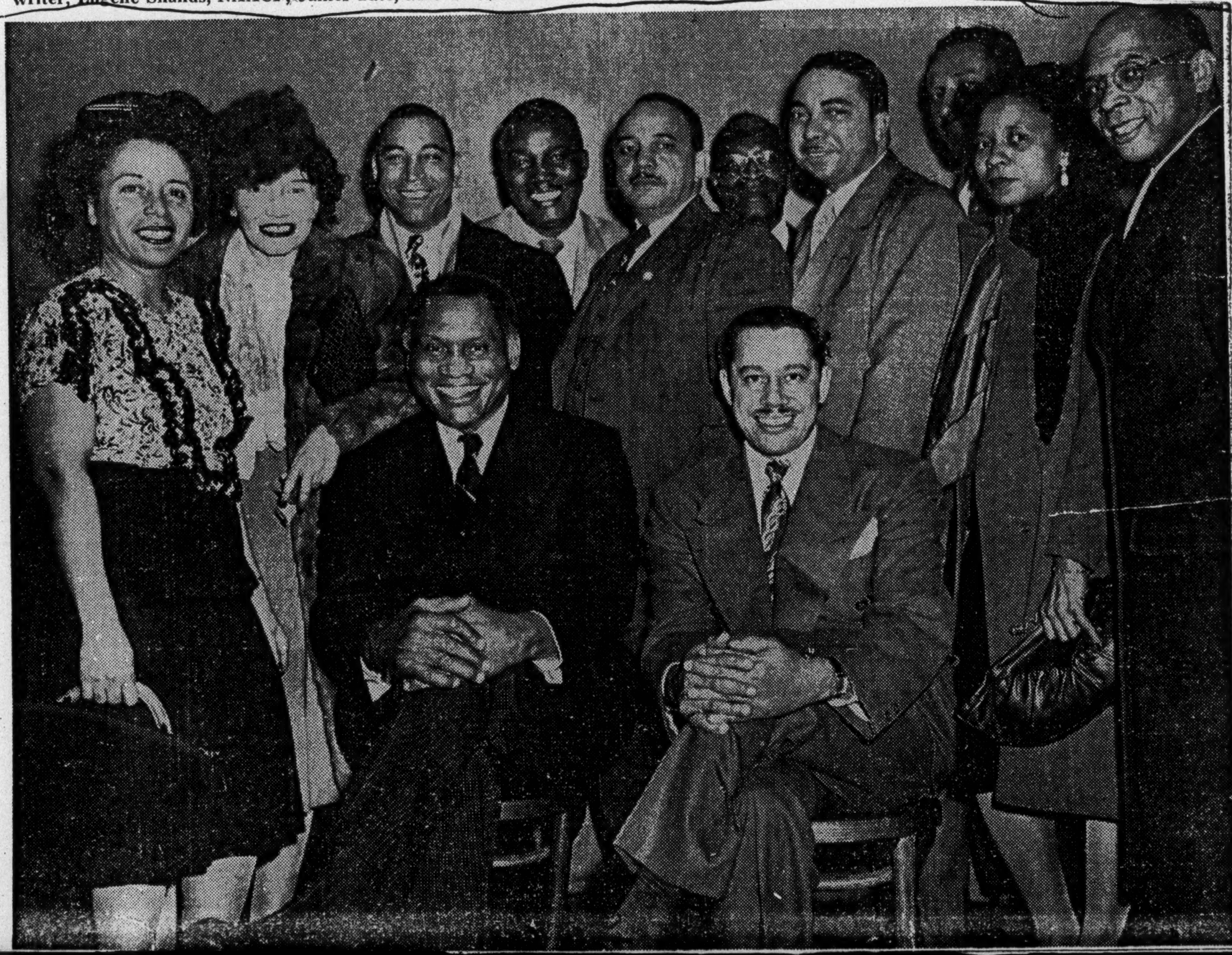
So if Dr. Robeson, to whom the NAACP gave its 1945 Spingarn Medal for distinguished service (without mentioning his service to Russia) is to get into the White House, the only party he can head is the Communist party.

I therefore beseech the Politburo of the Communist party to take time off from the treason trial in New York's Federal Court and give my hero an honorary membership in the party so we can get the 1952 campaign under way NOW.

Wouldn't it be wonderful to have a President-elect **sing** his inaugural address?

PV 2/9/46

TYPICAL of the growing and significant role Negroes are [illegible] today in the organized labor movement is the part 17,000 workers in the meat industry took in the strike of the United Packinghouse Workers' of America (CIO) against the big meat companies. Before the strike actually began packinghouse workers got together (above) to form an orchestra to furnish recreation for strikers. Below, musical notables Paul Robeson and Cab Calloway lent sympathy and support to the union at a citizens' mass meeting backing the strikers. Standing (left to right); Louise Thompson Patterson, IWO; Lois Holland, Alpha Kappa Alpha; Balm Leavell jr, Negro Relations league; Sam Parks, president of Wilson Packing local; Oscar C. Brown, chairman of South Side Citizens' committee supporting the strike and president of the NAACP; Peter Brown, strike leader; Henry W. McGee, Postal Alliance; Ishmael Flory, executive director of South Side committee; Margaret Goss, writer; Eugene Shands, NAACP; James Tate, auto union leader.



NEW YORK

Robeson Says Negro Issue Overshadows Mindszenty

The Cunard White Star liner Quen Mary sailed yesterday morning for England with 1,700 passengers, including Paul Robeson, baritone, who said, "What happens to 10,000,000 American Negroes should occupy our attention," when reporters asked his opinion of the recent trial and sentencing of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary.

Mr. Robeson, who was sailing for a concert tour in Europe, said of Cardinal Mindszenty's trial, "I was not there, but evidently he did commit overt acts against the State," and added, "Alabama is worth more attention than the business in Europe."

Miss Mary Uglianitza, twenty-two, of Bayonne, N. J., sailed to become an exchange worker in the European plant, near London, of he Duro Test Corporation, light-equipment manufacturers, of en. N. J. She sai

Invades Dixie

P.V. 7/5/47

"...Must Unite," - Paul Robeson

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.—Carrying his fight for Negro freedom into the South, Paul Robeson told a cheering audience in this tobacco-dominated town Sunday that the Negro people must recognize organized labor as their natural ally, calling upon both to unite in common struggle for democracy and progress with people of all races all over the world."

"Nobody can justify the kind of treatment handed out to minorities, and nobody can justify the way the lords of big business are trying to step on labor with the Taft-Hartley bill," Mr. Robeson said. He drew a prolonged burst of applause as he declared that "If fighting for democracy and the welfare of my people makes me a 'red', well, then, so be it!"

A crowd estimated at between 12,500 and 15,000 Negro and white people stood in the blazing Carolina afternoon sun to hear Mr. Robeson speak and sing, and to hear Dr. Max Yergan, president of the National Negro Congress, who accompanied him.

Dr. Yergan congratulated the people of Winston-Salem on the recent election of the Rev. Kenneth Williams, the first Negro alderman here since Reconstruction. He pointed out that the work of Local 22 as a strong labor organization was due much of the credit for the election. He also attacked anti-labor laws, saying he is confident the forces of labor will not submit without a struggle, "and not even the charge of Communism, which is thrown whenever decent Americans raise their voices for better things, will stop them." (See other Tobacco Workers story on page 10).

ROBESON FACES PICKETING

VFW Urges All Members to Get on Line in Newark

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES. '49

NEWARK, New Jersey, July 19—George Stevens, Essex County commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, today urged all members of the forty-six posts under his jurisdiction to meet in front of the Mosque Theatre tomorrow at 7:45 P. M., to picket the appearance of Paul Robeson, Negro singer and Communist sympathizer. Mr. Robeson is scheduled to attend a rally sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. Stevens said that the veterans would wear their organizational caps and carry signs denouncing the Robeson visit. He added that Negro members of the VFW would be in the picket line.

Mr. Robeson is expected to urge Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll "to dismiss the frame-up indictments of the Trenton six," Negroes awaiting a new trial after reversal of their conviction on a murder charge.

ROBESON ASKS COURT TO LIFT PASSPORT BAN

1950

WASHINGTON, Dec. 19 (UP)—Paul Robeson filed suit against Secretary of State Dean Acheson today in an effort to prevent cancellation of his passport, which he said he needed for a European concert tour.

Papers filed by the singer in Federal District Court described the baritone as one who "has deservedly won for himself respect and recognition throughout the world, not only as one of the great living Americans, but also as one of the world's leading personalities."

Despite this record, the suit said, Secretary Acheson and the State Department declared any foreign travel would be "contrary to the best interests of the United States," and wanted him to turn in his passport. He said he had traveled abroad since 1922.

The singer said he was a cochairman of the Progressive party, a "spokesman for the working men and women," of the nation, and that the Government's action against him was arbitrary, illegal and unconstitutional.

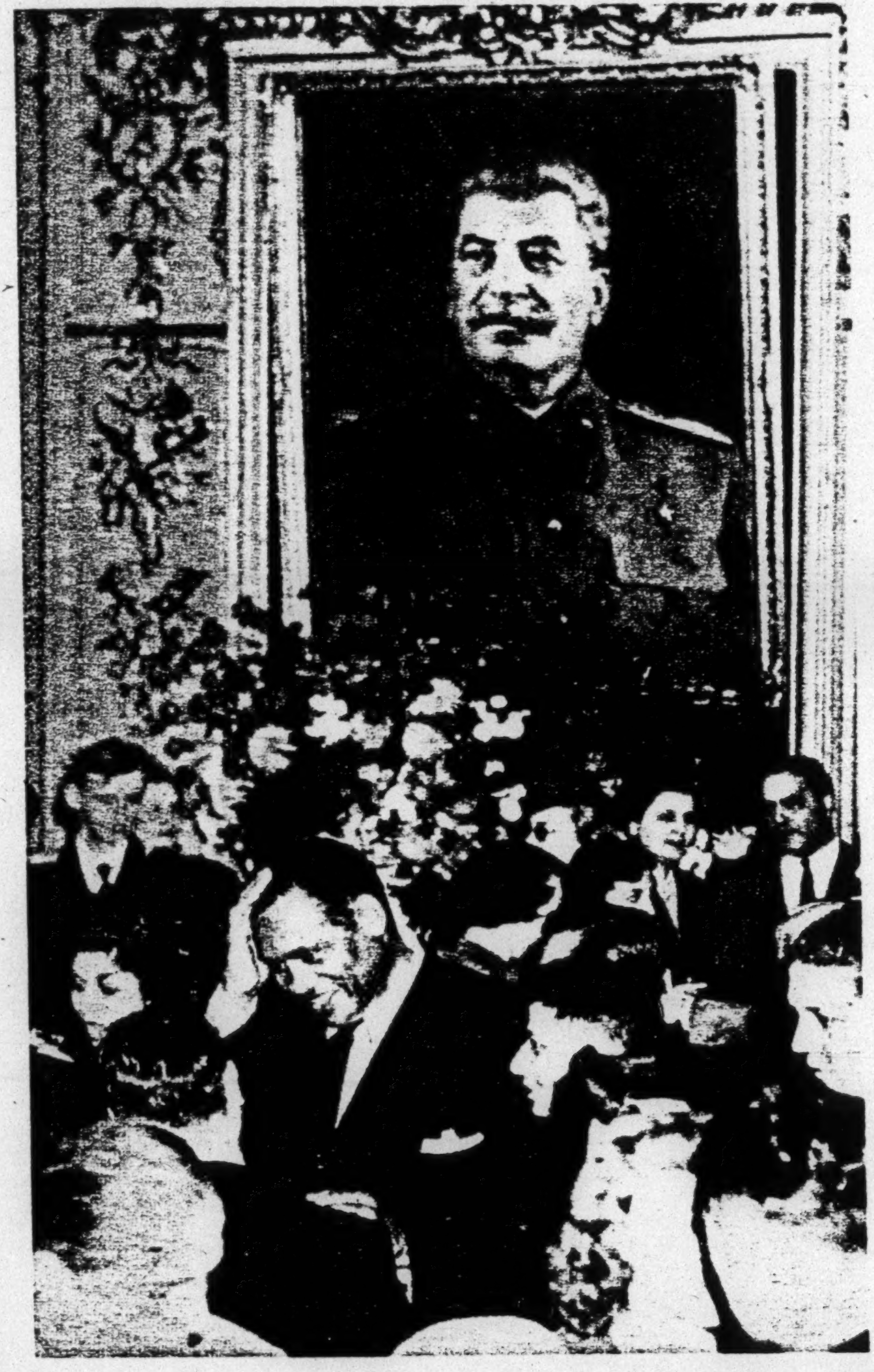
He asserted he had a "property right" guaranteed under the Constitution to engage in his profession outside the United States and asked the court to force a lifting of the State Department's ban.

He said he was planning a European tour for singing and lecturing which would take him to England, France, Italy, Scandinavia, and Czechoslovakia.

On several previous occasions, he has gone abroad to attend Communist-front rallies at which he has spoken against the United States. He also has attended several similar meetings in this country.

His lawyers in the case were listed as John J. Abt and Nathan Witt of New York and Parker & Parker, James J. Cobb and George E. C. Hayes of Washington.

Personalities



Left, Paul Robeson (center), the noted singer, towers among guests at the Soviet Embassy's reception in Washington celebrating the thirty-third anniversary of the Revolution in Russia.

Times 11-19-50

Pravda Says Sympathy for Soviet Grows—Lists American 'Friends'

Moscow, Apr. 30 (AP)—Pravda, Communist Party newspaper, said today that a "warm sympathy toward the Soviet Union is living and growing in the hearts of millions of workers abroad."

"The growth of the political activity of the working class," the article continued, "finds a reflection in the growth of Communist parties and in the increase of their influence on the masses."

Speaking of friends in the United States, the article said that in that country "many sincere friends are grouping around the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship."

Among American friends mentioned by name were:

"A Protestant priest, Melish. (The Rev. William Howard Melish, chairman of the National Council of American - Soviet Friendship, announced in New York Apr. 5 that more than 200 Protestant churchmen in 30 states had signed a statement opposing President Truman's proposal for aiding Greece and Turkey.)

"The California prosecutor, Kenney, Johannes Steel, Prof. Ralph Perry, former Ambassador to the Soviet Joseph E. Davies, Albert Einstein, Paul Robeson and many others."

The article asserted that speeches, articles and letters of readers to editors of magazines in Soviet Russia show that "leaders" like "the priest Melish" express the mood of a large number of average Americans.

Pravda added that "in the United States as in Britain and a number of other countries, the real friends of the U. S. S. R. do not have 'freedom of spech' on the pages of newspapers, magazines and books with great circulations, and sometimes these persons are even persecuted

"Foreign democratic intellectuals," Pravda said, "have become more and more convinced that only by following the principles which the U. S. S. R. is defending in the field of international relations can the leaders of science and culture be set free from the fate of the servants of imperialism."

Sen. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) was mentioned as voicing the same sentiments as former Vice President Wallace.

The Worker Magazine

SUNDAY APRIL 15, 1951 SECTION 2

'Mister Freedom, Himself'

By JOHN PITTMAN

PAUL ROBESON and three young Chicago admirers, Billie Green, Rena Ann Tate and Barbara Sennett.

At the age of 52, Paul Robeson is a man who knows what the Negro people want, who has made the attainment of their needs his supreme task, and is sure he will accomplish it.

PAUL ROBESON began the 52nd year of his life on April 9, 1951, in excellent health of body and spirit, eagerly anticipating the arrival of a grandchild. The hair around his temples is a trifle more grey, and a slight cough betrays the retreat of a recent cold. But the magnificent physique which yesterday made history in four sports still retains its great strength and marvellous powers of recuperation. Whether it is working up new songs for a concert, studying Chinese or Bantu or Hungarian, or preparing an article for the newspaper **Freedom,"** Robeson brings to his task an extraordinary vitality. He gives the impression of a man continuously growing, and —what is a different trait—extremely eager to grow. And those who have known him over the years see the beginnings of a new quality of his temper —a strange quality in a man whose very name can provoke the high and mighty into frenzied outbursts of rage and hatred. **This quality is serenity, the mark of confidence.**

Have you ever seen a great oak tree atop a cliff or mountain peak? It bears among its gnarled and twisted branches the marks of furious struggle with the winds. Yet it is a majestic thing. Its roots spread wide around its mighty trunk and sink deep into the earth. And on a clear day it seems the very soul of serenity.

The Roots Plunge Deeper

To see something of this oak in Robeson at 52 is neither too romantic nor far-fetched, I think. For who can deny that he towers amongst the world's great men—hero of more than half of mankind? Or that the richest, most powerful men of this country have unleashed the winds of adversity against him? Or that, amidst the gale's worst fury, he has stood fast and ever defiant? If there are those who marvel at this or perhaps decry such audacity, let them look closer and see how wide are Robeson's roots and how deep they go amongst the people of this land—especially the Negro people! Did the rich men know that the more furious the winds they sent against him, the deeper and stronger his roots would become?

They did not know this. They reckoned otherwise. In their overweening arrogance they thought that a Negro who had fought his way through innumerable jimcrow barriers to the highest eminence attainable in this way of life, would have acquired the habits of the jungle of capitalism, would be content to sit on his pedestal and let the devil take the hindmost. Isn't this what certain other "successful" Negroes did? And just because Robeson had traveled and sung in Britain and Africa and Russia didn't necessarily mean he would be different. So the rich and powerful vied with one another to fete and honor this superlatively great artist. But that failed. Robeson despised and rejected their hypocrisies.

Threats and Violence Couldn't Stop Him

Then they tried intimidation. Robeson was called "Communist," and they thought he might act as certain others have acted—might grow panicky and join their howling chorus of anti-Communism. This also failed.

The kings of the capitalist jungle then decided to invoke the supreme law of the jungle—the law of economic punishment. They canceled 86 of Robeson's 86 contracted concerts. That, too, failed to deter him.

They decided to stop Robeson from singing anywhere. They sent armed thugs to attack him at Memphis and Pittsburgh, and they sent the hoodlums and fascists of Westchester County—in and out of uniform—to kill him at Peekskill. Again they failed. The people rallied around him—Negro and white people.

They thought to cow the Negro people into repudiating him. And they brought down to Washington a number of Negroes to speak out against him. A Negro traveling in Europe was ordered to deny him. And so remunerative did they make the fad of repudiating Robeson that a smart character in the South was able to procure a new automobile and a sum of money for merely talking against him. And a certain respectable national secretary of a major Negro organization was eager to write a magazine article "explaining" the "strangeness" of Robeson. But this too, failed to alienate Negroes from him. As the editor of a big Negro weekly put it, **"there is something of Robeson in the brooding heart of every Negro."**

To prevent his earning a livelihood abroad, they took away his passport, thinking to starve him into submission. But this petty vindictiveness of a small-souled class will also fail. For Robeson's art is art for the people, and so peerless a people's artist will be able to express himself without patronage of the rich.

How People Feel About Him

Thus have the ill winds buffeted the oak. And with each new gust the oak's roots have plunged deeper into the soil of the Negro people and the white working people of the United States. There was a time when Robeson, traveling from one city to another to sing in the big concert halls for the well-to-do and the lucky few who could manage to beg or go in hock for a ticket, would be greeted by people with a smile or a nod of recognition. Today, he is surrounded and held in every railroad station. He stands on a street corner and the corner immediately becomes the center of a throng. He goes to a church and the services almost halt.

And the greetings are different. It's no longer "There goes Robeson," or "Will you give me your autograph, Mister Robeson!" Today it's "Paul, I'm with you," "Keep fighting 'em, Paul," "I'm in your corner, Paul."

The greeters are mostly Negroes. They are cab-drivers, redcap porters, train porters and waiters, housewives on their way to the markets, preachers, politicians, lawyers, stenographers. And mainly workers—machinists, railroad workers, teamsters, longshoremen, steel driving men, miners. They are keenly interested in Robeson's newspaper, **Freedom.** They want to know the details of the shameful revoking of his passport by the State Department. "What's the man trying to do to us, Paul?"

Sometimes someone will explain: "I'm in this or that kind of a situation and can't get out there in front with you, Paul. But don't think I'm not with you." And Robeson does understand, remembering his own bitter struggle for security, realizing the great odds against every Negro who tries to maintain a decent existence in the jimcrow jungle. He knows they are "in his corner" even if they don't advertise it.

Sees Struggle As Unbeatable

This new daily evidence of the people's love for him and trust in him explains the serenity that is beginning to appear in Robeson's character. For Robeson knows that the Negro people's struggle for freedom is invincible. In their eventual full and unqualified liberation he has unbounded confidence. And because their hopes and aims are his hopes and aims, because their struggle is his struggle, this confidence passes over into self-confidence.

At the age of 52, Paul Robeson is a man who knows what the Negro people want, who has made the attainment of their needs his supreme task, and is sure he will accomplish it.

What is this task? To speak out and

(Continued on Magazine Page 6)

'MISTER FREEDOM, HIMSELF'

(Continued from Magazine Page 1)

fight for the full, unconditional economic, political and social citizenship of every Negro man, woman and child. How will it be accomplished? Robeson sees it as the product of a victorious struggle by a powerful coalition of Negroes and whites, mainly working men and women. He sees the South as a major area of struggle, and speaks in defense of the interests of both the Negroes and poor whites of that region. He believes the Negro trade unionists hold the key to the organization of the Negro people in such a coalition, and he has come to rely on the white trade unionists as the section among U. S. whites most willing and able to join the Negro people in their struggle for complete liberation.

'Cant' Win Freedom Without Peace'

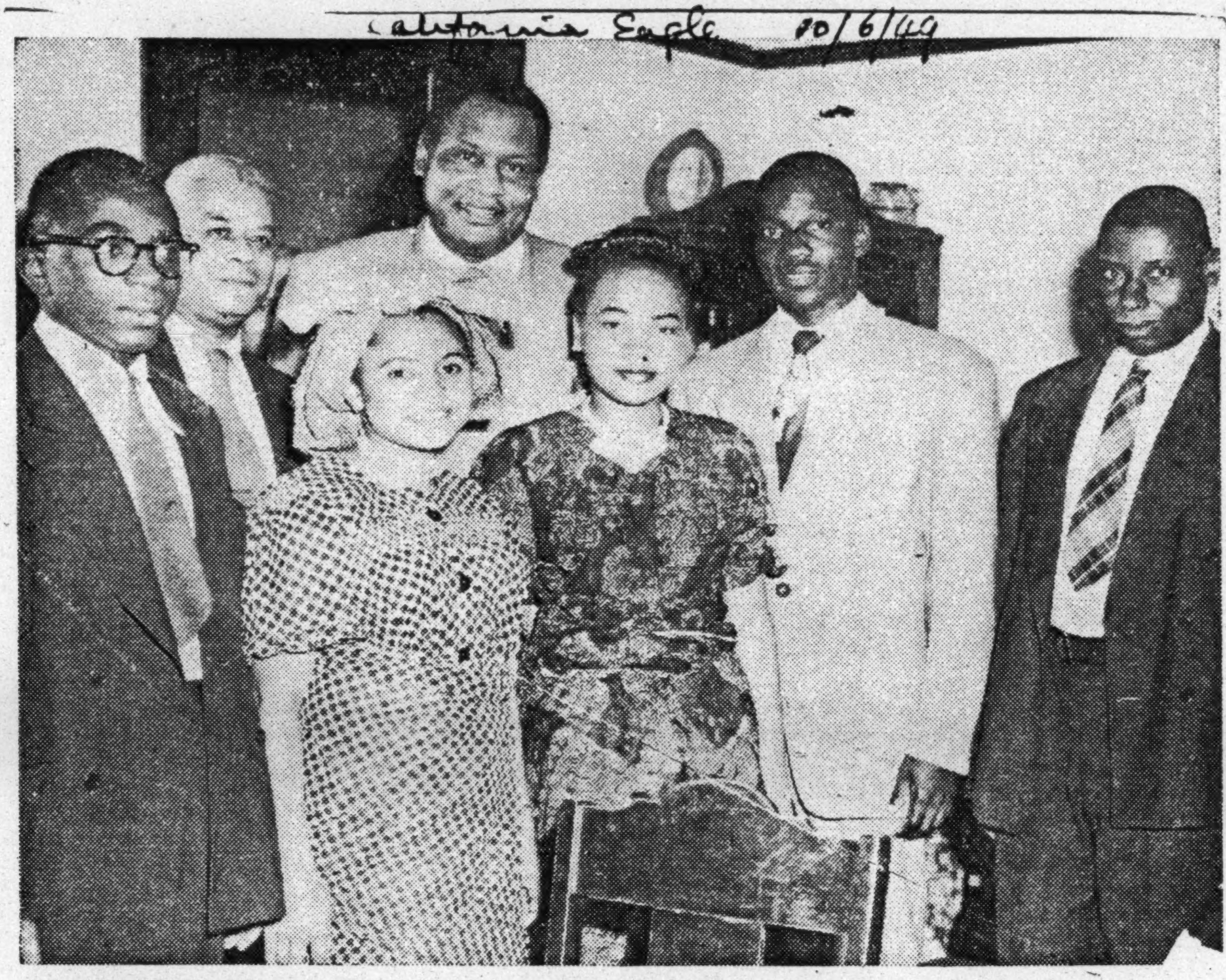
He is keenly aware of the power of the international labor movement, and believes the Chinese, Soviet, African, West Indian and working classes of other European and Asian and Latin American countries are today allies of the Negro people because they have the same interests. This belief causes Robeson to place the issue of peace in the forefront of all his present activities.

Because, as he says, **"we can't win freedom without peace. The present war drive has brought out of the sewer all of our white supremacist enemies and placed them in positions of power. By imposing peace on the war-makers, we will strike a mortal blow at the racists."** And even now, amidst the current war-hysteria, Robeson thinks this coalition of Negro and white people in the United States can impose peace. Such is the essence of his confidence.

Many peoples have honored Robeson. The Soviet peoples have named a mountain peak for him. Numerous songs, cantatas and ballads have been dedicated to him. The great poets of Turkey, China and Latin America have sung his praises in rhyme. The African peoples have appropriated him as their own spokesman. And Pietro Nenni, the Italian Socialist leader, in awarding Robeson and Picasso the prizes for foremost services in the cause of peace, honored him as **"man and artist. For us, the two are inseparable."**

But the honor Robeson appreciates most, I think, is the description given him by a Negro woman who sent in a subscription to Freedom. **"I think of Paul Robeson,"** she said, **"as Old Man Freedom himself."**

California Eagle 10/6/49



IN INTEREST OF AFRICA—Sharing mutually the hope of Africans to lead their natic
freedom, their interests were kindled when the great singer, Paul Robeson, who is cha
of African Affairs, met African students studying in Los Angeles colleges, at a beaut
ception held last Saturday afternoon at the home of the Eagle editor. Fotoviewed ar
Phillips with his house guest, Chukwuemeka Okeke; Adora Ulasi, who is the house
journalism protege of Eagle editor Charlotta A. Bass; Uzoamaka Moneke, hous
Louise Beavers; Lawrence Brown, accompanist for over 20 years for Paul Robeson
Ebo.

—Irving

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Lawrence Brown: Musician Who Honors Music

First Robeson-Brown Concert Huge Success

By MARIE SETON

In the summer of 1922, when he was still a student at Columbia Law School, Paul Robeson first went to England to appear in a production of **Voodoo** with Mrs. Patrick Campbell. It was during his first few days in London that he met Lawrence Brown, who was to play such a large role in his life.

The early rehearsals of **Voodoo** took place in London, where Robeson went to stay in the extra room which John Payne, the American Negro singer who had come to England, had in his flat at 6 Regent's Park Road.

As it later turned out, had Paul Robeson gone to stay anywhere else in London, his whole future life might very well have been quite different. Living in the other extra room at Payne's was a third young Negro from America—a musician.

"One night, just for fun, Paul sang a few songs. He had the most magnificent voice," said Lawrence Brown, 29 years later. "I knew at once that it was possible for him to become a great singer. But I had no idea then that we would ever work together."

Lawrence Brown had been living, playing and studying in London for two years before Paul Robeson came to spend a few days at John Payne's. He was five years older than Robeson, and a man whose life was dedicated to music as a result of the sacrifice of his mother who had worked to inspire him to get an education and become a musician. She had died too soon, but her inspiration remained with him. He went to Boston to study music and his work had become a perpetual memorial to her vision.

On the surface, Larry Brown had a fawn-like lightness and a whimsical gaiety. The subtlest and most sensitive of souls, he was a man who made a piquant jest to turn aside the pointed dagger of pain.

"I was born in the South, but I never saw white Americans clearly until one night in Paris," said Lawrence Brown. "I was staying in a hotel with Roland Hayes. Some Americans arrived and demanded that the French manager eject us from the hotel in the middle of the night because we were black men. They did not think that in the middle of the night we would have no place to go. They were not in their own country. . . ."

Though Lawrence Brown was to contribute hundreds of remarkable transcriptions of the traditional songs of sorrow of the Negro people, he was a musician to whom all the music in the world was as his own—an expression of humanity to love and honor with exquisite interpretation. Very early, he was captivated by the music of Ernst Bloch as expressive of the soul of the Jewish people who, like himself, had suffered bondage.

The Deepest Voice

He had been the accompanist of Roland Hayes, the first great singer of the Negro people in the 20th century. He had come to Europe with Hayes and stayed on to study—and live as a free man.

Now, at John Payne's in the summer of 1922, he heard the young law student, Paul Robeson, sing for the first time. Brown was busy in London arranging transcriptions of many hitherto unknown Negro spirituals which had never been written down. Far from home, he knew that here was the voice of the Negro people; the deepest voice, for it sang true with all the half-tones, the indefinable rhythm, the colors, as it were that ranged from a velvety black bass up the tonal scale to light, clear, translucent overtones.

LAWRENCE BROWN joins with Paul Robeson in "Every Time I Feel the Spirit," to the great delight of their audience.

Meanwhile in London, Lawrence Brown had been ceaselesssly working on his arrangements of Negro spirituals and a volume of his transcriptions was published in England. He remembered Paul Robeson's magnificent natural voice singing spirituals at John Payne's that evening in 1922, and Brown decided to send him a volume because Robeson, too, loved the music of their people.

"It seemed to me as if I had heard nature itself singing in Paul. But even when I sent him the volume, I had no idea we would ever work together," said Lawrence Brown.

In March of 1925, Brown suddenly decided he must return to America because his father was dying in Philadelphia. He had no plans as to what he would do back in his native land; but he wanted to see his father. He went straight to Philadelphia—and buried his father.

Then he came to New York and went directly to Harlem. He put down his luggage and, having nothing to do, decided to take a walk. He went down to the street.

Popular Man

"There, standing on the corner of 135th and 7th Avenue, alone in front of the bank, was Paul Robeson," Brown recalled. "By then, Paul was the most popular man in Harlem with everyone wanting to shake his hand—first because of his sports record, and now because of his recent success as an actor at the Provincetown Playhouse in Eugene O'Neill's plays **All God's Chillun Got Wings** and **The Emperor Jones.**

"But he was standing alone on the corner. I went over and said 'hello.' He asked me what I was doing that night. I wasn't doing a thing. Paul said he had promised to go down to Greenwich Village and spend the evening with Jimmy Light the man who had directed him in O'Neill's plays. He said we might play some songs. He liked the volume of arrangements I had sent him."

Marie Seton is a British theatre and movie critic who knew Paul Robeson and Lawrence Brown during the 12 years they spent in England. She was associated with the Embassy Theatre in London which presented Paul Robeson in All God's Chillun Got Wings *in 1933 and* Stevedore *in 1935. Her biography of Sergei Eisenstein, world renowned movie producer, will be published shortly in London.*

Brown noticed that Robeson had not changed with fame. He was the same serious, quiet and pondering young man who had come to John Payne's and gone off to the British provinces with Mrs. Patrick Campbell's company. Robeson had remembered his father's words: "Be yourself."

Robeson suggested to Jimmy Light that he would like to sing for him two of Lawrence Brown's arrangements of little known spirituals to show the contrast of spirit to be found in the music of their people.

"He sang," Brown remembered, "**Swing Low Sweet Chariot** first; then **Every Time I Feel the Spirit**, where I joined in as the second voice. It was completely spontaneous. My joining in excited Jimmy Light. He said, 'Why don't you fellows give a concert?' That was how it happened!" Brown smiled his whimsical smile full of tempered wisdom.

James Light had suggested something revolutionary in American musical history. There had never been such a thing as a concert wholly devoted to Negro spirituals and work songs, and the only interpretations of the spirituals which had ever been presented to the public were in choral form by the choir of Fisk, the Negro university.

Quick Preparations

"We had only three weeks to arrange our program and rehearse the songs before the first concert Jimmy Light, Harold McGee and Eleanor Fitzgerald arranged for us at the Greenwich Village Theatre," Lawrence Brown continued. "We chose what we felt were the most beautiful of the spirituals."

Word of these unique concerts spread like wildfire. Everyone connected with the Provincetown Players strove to make them a success .Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, invited many of his friends. The day before the concert, Heywood Broun wrote in his column in the New York **World**:

"I want to recommend this concert to all those who like to hear spirituals. . . . Into the voice of Robeson there comes every atom of passionate feeling which inspired the unknown composers of these melodies. If Lawrence Brown's arrangement of **Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho** does not turn out to be one of the most exciting experiences in your life,

(Cont. on p. 4 Supplement)

PAUL ROBESON with English players of the Unity Theatre in the British production of "Plant in the Sun."

Tribute from Negro Actors

The richness of Negro culture has received no finer expression than in the career of Paul Robeson.

It is no great achievement to use one's talent for the glorification of the past and the status quo. But when a great artist in an age of oppression lends his strength and his creativity to the noblest of all causes, the Liberation of Mankind—this is rare courage. In so doing Mr. Robeson has achieved unequalled stature not only as the artist and the leader, but as the human being.

That is why we, the undersigned Negro actors, are proud to pay honor to this great man on his birthday.

Julian Mayfield
Sidney Poitier
Earl Jones
William Marshall
Leon Bibb
Ellsworth Wright

Robeson Has Deep Roots In the Labor Movement

By REVELS CAYTON

When FREEDOM asked me to do a piece on Paul Robeson's relations to the labor movement in the United States, I thought it would be a snap. I had been with him on the docks of San Francisco as he participated in more than one strike. I had seen him plunge into the magnificent battles of auto workers in Detroit and Flint, ore miners on the Mesabi Range, tobacco workers led by the deceased but unforgettable Moranda Smith in Winston-Salem, coal miners in West Virginia and processing workers in Memphis.

Sure, it would be a snap. All I'd have to do would be to put it all down like it happened and that would be it—the story of Paul Robeson and the labor movement.

But then I got to thinking. Would it? Maybe that's not enough, not what's needed today.

And so I went to see Paul and we talked way into the night. I said, "Paul, how do you get this way? Why are you always talking about the problems of workers and especially the struggles of Negro working men and women?"

The answer began to come slowly and earnestly. Paul Robeson talked about a childhood and youth which most of us have never learned about or forget when we see his name in lights or in newspaper headlines. As a barefoot kid he spent hours hoeing in the corn field; at the age of 12 he was a kitchen boy in one of the largest hotels in Rhode Island, up at 5 a.m. and working through until night. At 16 he was in a brick yard doing a man's work; they worked seven hours a day because that was all the men could take. There were always about two men short, trying to keep up with the machines, so speedup is nothing new or strange to Paul Robeson.

He worked in the shipyards as a riveter's helper. He worked on the docks and as a hod carrier. Work—hard, back-breaking work—was a big part of the life of Paul Robeson the child and youth.

The experiences of the boy were not lost on Robeson the man as he became a world-famous artist in the Nineteen Twenties. As a singer he chose the folks songs of his people as the base upon which to build an artistic life.

In the late Twenties and early Thirties in England, Paul Robeson was on the picket lines time after time; in the coal mines, on the waterfront, in the textile areas — of Wales, Scotland, England, Ireland. He met workers from all over the world on the soil of Republican Spain and, with them, was part of an heroic struggle which had much to do with softening fascism.

I asked Paul what he meant by the term "Negro liberation" which he uses so often. He answered, without a moment's hesitation: "I would compare the struggle of my people today with their struggle in the days following Emancipation. We are still not free and our fight for equality has to reach the heights it reached in those days. All movements which lead to that end are part of the Negro liberation struggle, as I see it, and the Negro workers have a special part to play.

"The 15 million Negro people are in the main workers and poor farmers. These workers, organized and unorganized, expect Negro trade unionists, especially the leaders, to be very close to their problems. There is the most profound demand in Negro life for the closest association between the churches and the trade union leaders of the masses of the Negro people.

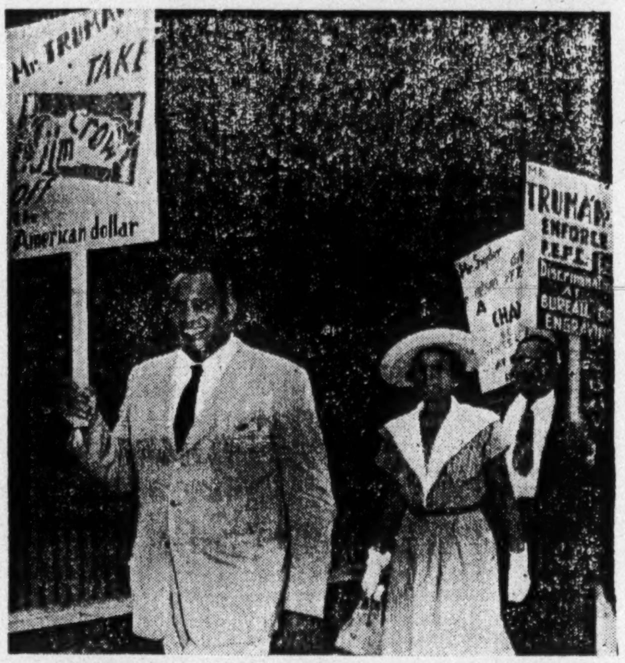
"The Negro trade unionist has the deepest responsibility to the entire Negro people in their struggle for liberation. This was the essence of the Cincinnati convention of the National Negro Labor Council. The Negro unionists recognized the demands made upon them by the masses whom they lead and millions of others who will look to them at some future time for guidance."

Robeson believes that the demands upon allies must match the heroic struggle of the Negro people, themselves. It was not easy in the days of the underground railroad, in the 1850's and '60's, but the Negro people found a John Brown and an Elijah Lovejoy, a William Lloyd Garrison and a Wendell Phillips. They found millions of white brothers and sisters in the U.S. and over the world who stood by and struggled until victory.

"Today," says Paul Robeson, "we must have such a high level of unity between Negro Americans and their white allies. And this is needed especially between Negro and white trade unionists, for here rests the very foundation of the struggle for full liberation."

As we talked, the basis of Paul Robeson's philosophy of liberation became clear. He talked about the meaning of Peekskill, about the ties between the Negro people and darker peoples in other lands. He threw out a challenge to Negro and white labor leaders such as I have seldom heard.

He said more than there is space to recount in this issue, and so I asked him to include his comments in his next column for FREEDOM. I hope he does, because we trade unionists and labor leaders need to hear what he's got to say.



IN WHITE HOUSE PICKET LINE of United Public Workers protesting Jim Crow policies at the Bureau of Engraving, Paul Robeson walks with the late Mrs. Theresa Robinson and the noted Des Moines attorney, Charles P. Howard.

Salute from Youth

'You Are... What We Must Follow'

Selma, Alabama
March 15, 1952

Dear Mr. Robeson:

In 1951 a senior of Talladega College, for his senior project, attempted an interpretation of the present world crisis through a study of the writings of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. The **Forethought** of that great project opened with the following paragraph:

"Paul Robeson is my hero; my admiration for him is equalled by the esteem with which I regard William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. That is the topic sentence to my project. Do not construe it into a sentimental expression paying sentimental reference to two great men of my time. It is not meant to be. It is an allusion to what the 24 years of my life have taught me to be relative truth. For as I endeavor to gather in proper perspective the true nature of the crisis of my day along with the men who are putting forth bold effort to deal effectively with that crisis, I see no two American Negroes nearer the center of vision than stand Paul Robeson and Dr. DuBois."

The project ended with this **Afterthought:**

James W. Kelsaw

"My mother taught me the Christian concept. My education has somewhat shaken my belief in divine miracles. That it is the divine mission for American Negroes to save the good things of western civilization and at the same time guarantee the emancipation of the world may be a question. But the challenge is clear; the opportunity is real. That is a relative truth—relative to the context of the present world situation—and not to discover and understand that truth may prove a fatal crime to mankind."

The above paragraphs are mentioned as my birthday greetings to you to let you know that you do not stand alone. They are the conclusions of one born and nurtured in the black belt of Alabama. There are many around me who will conclude likewise when they know their relationship to the present world struggle, and they will know.

Thus I say to you, lead on. A generation is in the making that cannot be led by "Cadillac leadership." For "Uncle Tomfoolery" we have nothing but contempt. You are symbolic of what we must follow. And though we lack your stature, and are weaker in terms of insight and experience, we measure up in determination.

**Your for Peace
and Freedom,
James W. Kelsaw**

ROBESON singing to dry dock workers during their lunch hour in Oakland, Calif., in 1942.

Alice Childress Play To Open in New York

The Theater Chapter of the Committee for the Negro in the Arts is presenting a new dramatic review, **Gold Through the Trees**, by Alice Childress, co-author of the highly successful **Just a Little Simple.**

Gold Through the Trees concerns the ties between the African peoples and American Negroes. It touches, in dance, songs and sketches, on the classic beauty of Africa, the story of Harriet Tubman's part in the Underground Railroad, and the present-day freedom movement.

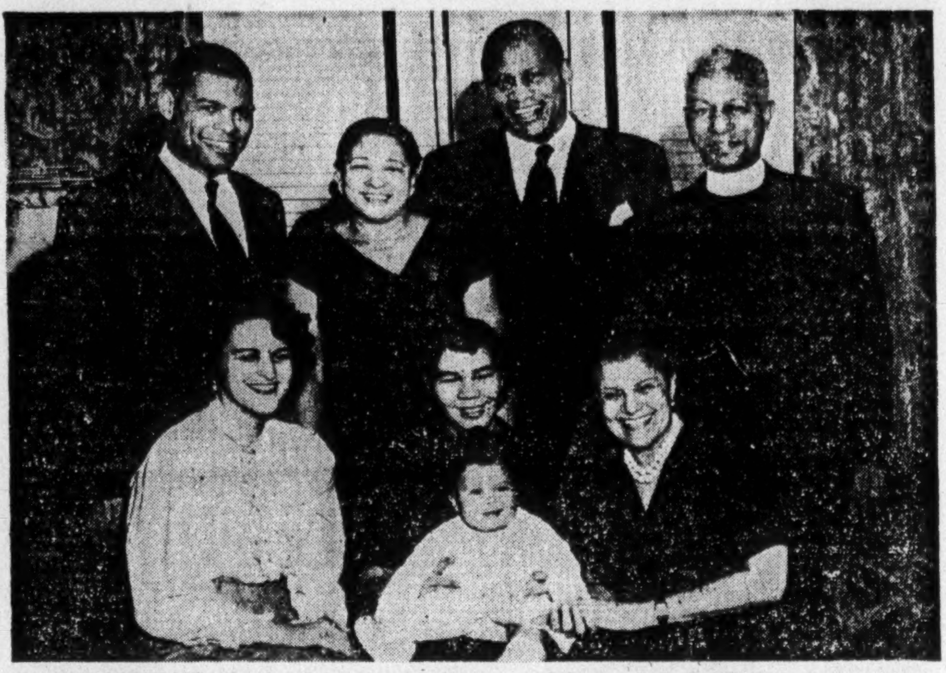
The review will be shown at the Club Baron, 132nd Street and Lenox Avenue, New York, from April 7-May 19, Monday to Thursday nights, at 8:40 P.M. Prices are 90c, $1.20, and $1.80, tax included.

To purchase tickets call Charles Griffin, at UN 4-4002, on Mondays to Saturdays, from 1 to 5 P.M. Special rates for theater parties are available.

An Intimate Portrait

My Brother, Paul

By REV. BENJAMIN C. ROBESON



FAMILY PORTRAIT. At the christening of the newest Robeson, little David Paul. Left to right, seated: Mrs. Paul Robeson, Jr.; Miss Lilly Lewis, godmother, holding David Paul; Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson. Standing: Paul Robeson, Jr.; Mrs. B. C. Robeson; Paul Robeson; Rev. B. C. Robeson.

The family had just finished dinner, the day was hot and sultry. We began to lounge comfortably in our common den, when suddenly Bill suggested that we strike up a few tunes. We started out with gusto, Bill, Paul and I. "Down by the Old Mill Stream" was the ballad of the day. After touching it off, we gradually went through our repertoire which touched everything from "Turkey in the Straw" to "Silent Night."

We were making one of those minors known only to home-loving groups. Paul was bearing down on it with boyish glee; in fact, all of us were. Out of all the discord, Bill yelled "Wait a minute, hit that note again, Paul." Paul put it out of the lot, and Bill said, "Paul, you can sing."

"Stop kidding me, boy."

"My musical education has been sadly neglected," said Bill. "But Paul, good music sounds good, just like good food tastes good. You can sing, but to be sure we have no accident, when we return tonight I want you to sing 'Annie Laurie.' If you satisfy me, the Robeson manse will issue its first musical diploma."

We broke for a baseball game in the lots, which was the perfect end to every fair day. Upon returning home, we settled for the night (strange to say, most of them were always spent at the homestead). Bill called for his selection. His memory was tenacious—he forgot nothing. Paul had to satisfy him to have any peace. Bill listened as he warbled, and concluded, "Paul, you can sing."

Of course Paul thought it a stupid joke, and I voted with him. Singing was the last talent of the Robeson family, according to our judgment. Father had kept it all, we long ago decided.

As to Paul's singing ability, a number of circumstances gradually forced Paul to the conviction that there might be a grain of truth in Bill's position. He gave himself with more attention to helping the choir at church. Entertainments were always numerous, and the law of the parsonage was that every child must do something. The rest of us had recourse to nothing but a recitation or essay, and Paul, to be different, was forced to sing.

From this to the Glee Club in school he went, until finally he was at least partially satisfied that he could sing. Still, the idea of branching out into concert work was not even an embryonic thought. Whatever he does today in the line of singing started that July afternoon, with Bill, Paul and myself. Without that happening, I doubt if he would ever have been near any singing group.

Bill sleeps today in his grave harboring the unrealized ambitions of his heart in the medical profession; but, the more I think of it, he wrought better than he knew. Paul is medicine to me—the music of his soul has cured me of many maladies. Bill was practising medicine with an uncanny vision when he made his diagnosis and prescribed that course of treatment.

Mother gave us much — a queen in the realm of an education which carried all of its power into the spiritual region. She wrote as many sermons as father, and as I gaze upon them today, I often wonder how she did it; how it was she could so uncannily frame those gems of thought and feeling.

She gave to us an inflow of Quaker blood with all of its spiritual propensities. Its outworking seems to have been more pronounced in Marion, Paul and myself. I attribute this to the fact that, when we drew near, she was suffering greatly from the impairment of her eyesight and, as always, suffering tends to touch the depths and bring to the surface the finest that we have.

To understand Paul, one must know this. He moves by his inner revelations. Experience has taught him to do this. He never fails, is never disappointed or perplexed when he follows his flash. He is at perfect ease moving this way. In a moment he senses everything—he asks every question that comes to the normal mind, and answer or no answer, he obeys his flash.

In early youth he decided to take the ministry. Father's death, the war with its shattering of dreams plunged him into the depths of something he is just now beginning to fathom.

Who would dare assert that he is not in the ministry? His singing and acting just happen to be the means of his livelihood. He is bearing the cross of a despised, oppressed and neglected people; he is voicing the heartaches of the years that he has seen—and the memories of his father rehearsing the flight through blood and tears via the Underground Railway to the rostrum of freedom where he could proclaim what he knew was "good news."

Have you heard Paul sing "Witness"? He is there the personification of his father with his own personality added. He is singing then for his Lord and Master; for while he may not be orthodox when it comes to church attendance, he believes and knows to whom he has committed his all.

Here lies the heart of his singing and acting too. He visions himself breaking down the barriers that have imprisoned his race for centuries. He knows that hidden away in the teeming millions of African extraction, there are others who if favored by fortune would be out there in the swim making a healthy contribution to the progress of humanity.

His vision only begins there—he sees how blind, unreasonable prejudice in all of its forms is; how it blocks, destroys and stultifies; how it has its grip on the world and at every crossroad, whether it is national or international matters, struggles to choke and stifle the finest and best within us all.

The ditch-digger who glorifies his job can thrill Paul much quicker than a learned scientist, obeying rigidly the law of facts and forever refusing to take off his shoes in their presence. The personality striving to explore the outer reaches of his horizon, and then expand it soulfully, can grip Paul's attention any time, whether he be Bert Williams in his inimitable field or Chaliapin who walks the heights with the immortals.

MACON, GEORGIA church congregation listens to Robeson concert in 1948.

Lawrence Brown Honors Music

(Cont. from p. 2 Supplement)

write and tell me about it."

The personal efforts and the publicity which the first concert received led to a fabulous scene outside the theatre.

"We didn't see it ourselves," said Lawrence Brown, "but we were told that people offered as high as $50 for two tickets in order to get in."

But behind the stage, and out of sight, Paul Robeson and Lawrence Brown were unaware of anything but what confronted them: whether or not an American audience would accept their singing of songs born from the suffering of their slave ancestors.

"Even then I knew that Paul had very deep feelings about his people. He would not sing a song he did not feel," Lawrence Brown recalled. "We didn't know what was going to happen, and we were frightfully nervous. Later, I was able to control my nervousness, but Paul has always been nervous before any concert. It is his sensitivity as an artist which gives him his greatness."

At the end of the concert, the audience was overwhelmed. The people simply sat and clamored for encores, as audiences would do for the next 27 years..

"People came up to us and said they had never enjoyed a concert before as they had enjoyed this one. They were very complimentary," said Lawrence Brown.

Here's My Story

By PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from Page 1)

ers of my people) and many followed my father and Uncle Ben and Uncle John, and Cousin Carraway and Cousin Chance, to Princeton, N. J. — seat of one of the oldest of American universities, its student body predominently Southern aristocracy.

So the South was transplanted to the North, to the center of the State of New Jersey, 50 miles or so from New York City — and with it the plantation relations.

My early youth was spent hugged to the hearts and bosoms of my hard-working relatives. Mother died when I was six, but just across the street were my cousins the Carraways, with many children—Sam, Martha, Cecelia. And I remember the cornmeal, greens, yams, peanuts and other goodies sent up in bags from down in North Carolina.

Here in these early years came my deep sense of belonging to my people, to the bedrock of my people—farmers, domestic servants, hack drivers, teachers, preachers. Here I was proud of my aunts, uncles and cousins. I loved them, treasured them. They were strong and kind, descendants of our African forebears, wonderful representatives of the black and brown people of the world.

• • •

AND FATHER—what dignity, what restraint, but how concerned for his children; especially for me, the youngest, the baby. How simply he gave of his life to me and others, to the whole community. How brave he was, how uncomplaining.

I remember later in Westfield he told me to do something. I didn't do it, and he said, "Come here." I ran away. He ran after me. I darted across the road. He followed, stumbled and fell.

I was horrified. I hurried back, helped Pop to his feet. He had knocked out one of his most needed teeth. I shall never forget my feeling. It has remained ever present. As I write, I experience horror, shame, ingratitude, selfishness all over again.

For I loved my Pop like no one in all the world. I adored him, looked up to him, would have given my life for him in a flash—and here I had hurt him, had disobeyed him.

Never in all his life (this was in 1908 and I was ten; he died in 1919) did he ever have to admonish me again. This incident became a source of tremendous discipline which has lasted until this day. "What would Pop think?" I often stop and ask the stars, the winds. I often stretch out my arm as I used to, to put it around Pop's shoulder and ask, "How'm I doin', Pop?"

My Pop's influence is still present in the struggles that face me today. I know he would say, "Stand firm, son; stand by your beliefs, your principles."

You bet I will, Pop—as long as there is a breath in my body.

Robeson Passport Case

State Dept. Says African Freedom 'Against Best Interests of U.S.'

By LLOYD L. BROWN

The truth comes out in a whisper . . . but let it roar around the world. THE U. S. STATE DEPARTMENT CONSIDERS THAT ADVOCATING INDEPENDENCE FOR THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF AFRICA IS AGAINST THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

This shocking policy was not announced, of course, on a Voice of America program beamed to the world. Not in a formal speech by Secretary Acheson or John Foster Dulles. Not in an official prses release.

But it is official policy, revealed last month in the fine print of a government document. That document is a brief submitted by government attorneys in the case of Paul Robeson's passport.

A year and a half ago, on August 7, 1950, when the State Department revoked the passport of the world-famed artist, the only explanation given was that "Paul Robeson's travel abroad would be contrary to the best interests of the United States."

The officials did not dare to say why; but now the dirt comes out in the wash.

On March 13, 1952, the case was argued in the Court of Appeals in Washington. Contesting the arbitrary passport cancellation, Robeson's attorneys pointed out that their client must have the right to travel, both as an artist and as a leader in the world movement for peace and colonial liberation.

And that's when the government's lawyers let the truth slip out.

The passport cancellation was justified, they said in a footnote of their brief, **"in view of applicant's frank admission that he has been extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa . . . the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable."**

FROM COUNTRIES all over the world, they are asking Paul Robeson to come back and sing. Raise YOUR voice and demand that he be allowed to travel.

There it is: the naked, brutal policy of U. S. imperialism.

The political meddlers of the State Department, who openly through the Marshall Plan and secretly through Project X spies intervene in all countries around the world, would be "embarrassed" by an American Negro leader abroad advocating liberation for Africa!

The Negro people and all other democratic-minded Americans have always stood for African independence. The common people of our country have never considered and do not now consider it "embarrassing" to speak out for the independence of nations.

The conclusion is clear: it is the State Department's opposition to colonial freedom that is against the best interests and will of the American people. And it is the freedom policy of Robeson rather than the imperialist program of Truman that is supported by the people of other lands.

Only recently a petition sponsored by the Edinburgh Progressive Film Society with 109 signatures was sent to the U.S. Embassy in London. Addressed to President Truman, it read:

"We, the undersigned, appeal to you to restore to Paul Robeson the passsport at present withheld from him. Paul Robeson has won our admiration and respect by his steadfast efforts to improve both the condition of his people and international relations.

"On the other hand the U. S. A.'s policy of racial prejudice and persecution is viewed with the deepest horror by all democratic elements in this country and elsewhere."

Here at home more voices are speaking out on this issue.

The American Civil Liberties Union has denounced the "autocratic practice" of the State Department in the Robeson and other cases, and has called for an act of Congress to "make issuance of a passport to an American citizen mandatory."

In a recent issue of the **Yale Law Review**, the editors declared that "every American has a constitutional right to a passport, and that the protection of that right has become an urgent matter of national policy as well of civil liberty."

Yes, civil liberty for Americans as well as independence for colonial peoples is involved in the case of Robeson's passport. It must and shall be restored.

I say again, and urgently: LIFT EVERY VOICE FOR PAUL ROBESON!

Let OUR voices be raised that Robeson's great voice may once again roll and resound throughout the world, singing the Song of Man, leading the chorus of peoples in triumphant hymn for brotherhood, for democracy, for peace.

HARLEM CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS and
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142nd Street and Lenox Avenue
FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1952, 8 P.M.
WITH A GALAXY OF STARS
Meet the Stars Afterwards at SMALLS' PARADISE
7th Avenue and 135th Street New York, N. Y.
Admission $1.25 in Adv. $1.50 at Door Reserved Seats $2
FOR RESERVATIONS:
Marion Watkins, 145 West 116th St., Apt. 1W—UN 4-6625—6 p.m.
B. D. Kirk, 405 West 44th St.,—PL 7-2783—6 p.m.
Harlem Y. M. C. A.—Business Office—AU 6-0700
West 44th St. Book Fair
Frederick Douglass Book Store, Inc., 141 West 125th St.—MO 3-2660
Civil Rights Congress, 53 West 125th St.

Mass Protest Rally
— to —
Save the Greek Patriots!
End the Terror in Greece!
HEAR:
PAUL ROBESON Rev. Wm. H. Melish Leon Straus
Claudia Jones And Others
SEE:
Hellenic Dancers
— at —
HOTEL CAPITOL — Carnival Room
51st Street and 8th Avenue New York City
MONDAY, APRIL 7th — 7:30 p.m.
Contribution: 35c
SPONSORED BY:
Council of Greek Americans 359 W. 26th St., N. Y. C.

N Y Times
Apr 7

1948.

ROBESON ACCUSES U.
OF EXPLOITING AFRICA

Differences of opinion over the effect the European Recovery Program will have on African colonies are among the reasons for a split in the Council on African Affairs, Paul Robeson, chairman of the council, said last night.

Replying to a charge by Dr. Max Yergan, executive director, that a Communist-led minority was trying to use the organization to attack United States foreign policy, Mr. Robeson said Dr. Yergan had resorted to "public Red-baiting in an effort to cover up his own retreat from genuine struggle on behalf of African freedom and against imperialist oppression."

Reporting on the findings of a seven-man executive committee at the council offices, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, Mr. Robeson charged that the United States was supporting "an intensified drive to exploit the peoples of Africa" and held that Dr. Yergan "is now unwilling to challenge the imperialist policy of the United States State Department."

Mr. Robeson and W. A. Hunton, former educational director of the council, both denied there was a movement within the organization to throw support to Henry A. Wallace in the Presidential race, as charged by Dr. Yergan.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,

Robeson Heard For 19 Minutes At Trial of Reds

Lawyer Calls Him Off Stand When Most of Testimony Is Barred as Irrelevant

By Walter Arm

Paul Robeson Testifies at Trial of 11 Communists

Herald Tribune—Acme

The singer speaking to reporters yesterday after he had appeared as a defense witness at the United States Court House

Paul Robeson appeared yesterday as a defense witness at the nineteen-month-old Communist trial and testified for nineteen minutes before Judge Harold R. Medina.

Learning that Mr. Robeson had not been called as a character witness for the eleven party leaders on trial, Judge Medina barred most of his testimony and declared it was evident that Mr. Robeson had no knowledge "of the facts that are relevant here in this case."

Defense lawyers, expressing shock, removed Mr. Robeson from the stand and commented that in view of the judge's ruling: "It will be impossible to bring before the court the testimony it was hoped to bring before the court through this witness."

To which Judge Medina replied: "I don't think you should have called him."

Mr. Robeson left United States District Court and immediately called a press conference in another part of the building. The first question reporters asked him was: "Are you a member of the Communist party?"

"That question is not relevant," he replied.

For the next fifteen minutes he criticized the judge, the courts, Governor Thomas E. Dewey and the press and charged that all of them were engaged in "a gigantic conspiracy." He praised the Communist party as the defender of the Negroes.

Mr. Robeson appeared on the stand at 11:20 a. m. as the thirty-third witness, following the completion of the deposition of William Z. Foster, national chairman of the party, whose trial was severed from that of the other defendants because of a heart ailment.

Studied Law Under Medina

He testified that he now lives in Enfield, Conn., and that he was born in Princeton, N. J. He said that his father was born in slavery but the answer was stricken from the record. He gave his occupation as "actor-singer" and revealed that he had studied law under Judge Medina at Columbia University—and the judge nodded. He testified he had known the defendant "for many years." Mr. Robeson studied law at Columbia after his graduation from Rutgers University, where he was an All-America end.

"Have you ever shared the platform with any of the defendants at public gatherings?" defense lawyer George Crockett asked. The question was objected to by United States Attorney John F. X. McGohey and sustained by the judge.

"I think you shared the platform with Mrs. Roosevelt, have you not?" was the next question. This, too, was objected to and sustained, and the judge commented: "I am beginning to get the impression that these questions, which you must know come within my ruling of exclusion, are being asked for the purpose of getting a claim as to facts before the jury. . . . I have indicated my displeasure at such things. . . . You must know perfectly well that a question as to whether this witness was on the platform with the wife of former President Roosevelt has absolutely nothing to do with this case."

Librarian Testifies

Mr. Crockett then said he could do nothing but withdraw the witness, and asked one last question: "Mr. Robeson, what if any interest do you have in the outcome of this trial?"

"I have a very deep interest" . . . he began, but was interrupted by an objection.

Mr. Robeson was followed to the stand by Ralph Beals, director of the New York Public Library, who testified for thirty minutes and was then succeded by Henry Winston, organizational secretary of the party, and the sixth defendant to testify in his own behalf.

Mr. Beals testified that Marxist books were distributed by the library and identified four books which have been introduced as evidence at the trial. The books, which the government contends were used in party schools to teach violent overthrow of the government, are "The Communist Manifesto," "Foundations of Leninism," "State and Revolution" and "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

"Does the library have books dealing with firearms and their use?" asked Mr. McGohey in cross-examination.

"Yes," said the librarian.

"On polygamy?"

"Yes."

"And books dealing with murder?"

"There are some 4,500,000 volumes in our libraries, including any number of detective stories." said Mr. Beals. "If there is a serious book on murder we would make every effort to obtain it."

Freed in Ontario Slaying

TORONTO, Sept. 20 (CP).—Albert Quesnel, thirty-nine, convicted of murder last June in the slaying of Mrs. Harry Cleland, seventy-one, of Espanola, Ont., and sentenced to be hanged Sept. 29, was freed today by an appeal court. Chief Justice R. S. Robertson said evidence was improperly admitted at the trial and the trial judge erred in his charge to the jury.

IInd World P. Congress - Warsaw, Nov 1950

Paul ROBESON

WE CHALLENGE HISTORY

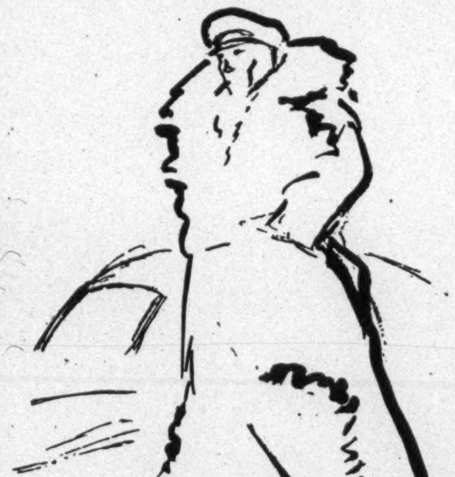
"No meeting held this mid-century turning point of world history holds more significant promise for the bright future toward which humanity strives than this international conference of all the world's nations for peace. Here are gathered the representatives of the world's people whose increasingly active intervention is an essential requirement if we are to have a peaceful and democratic solution to the burning issues of our times...

Depending on how we succeed in the fight for peace, we shall find the answers to the other questions of the day. Shall we have fascist troop rule or democratic equality and friendship among peoples and nations? The triumphant enshrinement of the master-race theories our soldiers died to destroy, or liberty and freedom for the American peoples and their allies throughout the world?

Yes, these are the issues. They must and will be resolved in our time. Here again we in America and from America are conscious of a basic responsibility.

Our leaders want us to believe that they seek peace in the world. But the people's memory is not so short. How well and how bitterly do we recall that soon after Roosevelt died American arms were being shipped to the Dutch, not for the protection of the four freedoms, not to advance the gains of liberty, but for the suppression of the brave Indonesian patriots in their fight for independence. That was in 1946 and today four years later we have the announcement of another program of armed shipments to destroy a movement for colonial independence.

In the struggle for peace and a decent life, I am sure that we shall win. One simple reason is that our friends are so much more numerous than our enemies. There are millions and millions all over this world who are determined never to give up the fight for free-



The chauffeur of one of the cars used by delegates.

dom, decency, equality, abundance and peace. And surely this conference will give the deepest hope and courage as the spokesmen of the millions of people throughout the globe, the mass of working humanity in every land — in Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, Australia, pledge themselves anew that the Truman plan for the world shall not prevail, that peace shall conquer war, that men shall live as brothers, not as beasts. Unified, I am sure that we can beat back the attacks against the living standards and the very lives of the people, that we can stop the drive towards fascism, that we can halt the chariot of war in its tracks. And we will help to bring to pass in the world the dreams our fathers dreamed of lands that are free, of people growing in friendship, in love, in cooperation and peace. This is history's challenge to us. I know, as do you, that we shall not fail."

Nowy Swiat, one of the most historic of Warsaw's thoroughfares, restored in all its beauty.

spinal hiccups free."

Tribune Apr 7, 48

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on Says e'll Continue Work With Reds

Speaks as Head of Council for African Affairs in Reply to Yergan Charges

Paul Robeson said yesterday that he has worked with Communists and will continue to do so because Communists are against many of the injustices which he himself has long opposed.

Mr. Robeson spoke as chairman of the Council for African Affairs, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, which was included by the Department of Justice in a recent list of subversive organizations. He called a press conference to announce the council's new policy and to reply to statements made by Dr. Max Yergan, executive director, at a press conference on Monday. Dr. Yergan charged that the council had been "seized illegally" by a minority group of Communists and fellow travelers, including Mr. Robeson.

Says Party in Legal

"I don't care what they call me," said Mr. Robeson. "I don't subscribe to the conclusion that an American is unpatriotic simply because he works with Communists. The Communist party is a legal party in the country. It isn't easy these days for any American to stand up and fight against great odds, but some one has to do it. Some one has to point out that things are not beautiful here in America, in Africa and other parts of the world. If that makes me a Communist, then I'm proud to be one."

Mr. Robeson made these points clear:

1. He and Dr. Yergan have issued a joint call for another meeting of the council to decide once and for all what the council's position should be in regard to "American imperialism."

2. He, Mr. Robeson, has a personal interest in the third-party Presidential campaign of Henry A. Wallace, but he has made no effort to tie the council to this campaign, contrary to statements by Dr. Yergan.

3. The real issue which has led to a split in the council membership is the program of the council, which was organized to foster the independence and advancement of Africans. "You can't fight the struggles of Africa by being nonpartisan, or by joining the Red-baiters," he said.

Explains Anti-E. R. P. Stand

The council, to be true to its organic pledge, must oppose all policies, domestic or international, which may threaten the success of the council's program, said Mr. Robeson. Hence, he added, the council is morally bound to take a stand against the European Recovery Program.

He said the countries which will receive aid under the E. R. P. have nothing to give the United States except the raw materials to be found in their African colonies. "Collecting these raw materials will mean the further exploitation and abuse of Africans," said Mr. Robeson. "The only ones who will benefit in the long run are millionaires and capitalists like those who are backing (General of the Army Douglas MacArthur and (Secretary of State George C.) Marshall."

In this connection, the council's new statement of policy says in part: "It is the United States which is decisive in determining Africa's immediate future. Without American loans and credits, without the political backing of the Truman administration at Lake Success and London, Paris, Brussels and the Hague, and without the military assistance of the United States already granted or promised, the European colonial powers could not now maintain the imperialistic control they exercise in Africa and other colonial areas.

"In hedping Britain, France Belgium and the Netherlands to hold on to their empires, the United States government hopes to keep these far-flung colonial areas, as well as their European rulers, within the American sphere of influence and the 'American Way of Life.'"

Robeson Disputes Yergan's Charges

PM
Apr 7 48

Paul Robeson, chairman of the Council on African Affairs, issued a statement last night disputing the charges of Dr. Max Yergan, director, that a Communist-led minority was trying to use the organization to support the presidential candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

The statement, issued in the name of the executive council, said that Robeson and a majority of the members had voted Mar. 25 "to condemn the imperialist policy of the United States which is now supporting an intensified drive to exploit, and hence further oppress, the peoples of Africa."

Yergan, the statement said, has reversed a former stand with that policy and was trying "to hide his retreat by recourse to the threadbare device of yelling Communist."

"Dr. Yergan's claim that an effort is being made to have the Council on African Affairs indorse the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace," it added, "is completely contrary to the facts.

"No such proposal whatever, either directly or indirectly, has been made at a Council meeting or by any officer of the Council."

The statement challenged Yergan's listing of some members as leaders of an anti-third party bloc. It said the list was "entirley unwarranted and has already been denounced by certain of the members named."

Yergan had identified among them Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Municipal Court Judge Hubert Delaney, Dr. Alain Locke, John Hammond, Mrs. Mary M. Bethune and Dr. Channing Tobias.

The Robeson statement did not say who, if any, among these were the "certain" members who denounced the list.

Countering Yergan's charges, the statement contained a list of complaints against the director, among them:

¶ Under his direction, the Council had become a "one-man enterprise" and he had resisted recent changes to spread authority among a committee of trustees and an 11-member executive board.

¶ He tried to use invalid proxies at the Mar. 25 meeting and walked out of the session when it became clear that the members would vote to censure him.

¶ His dismissal of Dr. W. A. Hunton, educational director, the day after the meeting was "narrow, factional persecution."

Dennis, Robeson to Speak at CP Veterans' Encampment

Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, and Paul Robeson, noted Negro singer and actor, will speak at the VE-Day anniversary rally of the First National Encampment of the Communist veterans of World War II, it was announced yesterday.

The rally will be held in Turner's Arena, Washington, next Thursday, May 8, at 8 p.m.

It was previously announced that William Z. Foster, Communist Party chairman, will make his first speech since his return from Europe at the meeting.

Delegates representing 15,000 Communist ex-GIs will gather for the two-day encampment.

500 TO ATTEND

Early responses to the conference call indicate that more than 500 vets will attend.

Seattle's four delegates are setting out by automobile for the long trip cross country. Led by Andrew Remes, secretary of the Communist Party's northwest district, who served as a staff sergeant in the Chemical Warfare Service in Alaska, the group includes Clayton Van Lydegraf, AAF officer who flew the dangerous route over the Hump from India to China and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross; Milford Sutherland, pharmacist's mate, U. S. Navy, and Ed Alexander, sergeant and assistant editor of the **CBI Roundup**, the GI paper in the China-Burma-India theater.

From Indiana a delegation of four, consisting of Zach Kreth, sergeant in the 16th Armored; Henry Aron, corporal in the Pacific's 68th AAA Brigade; Ben Cohen, corporal in the European theater, and James West, corporal in the Southwest Pacific. All are now state Communist leaders.

The conference will draw up a program for veterans' needs. Following the sessions delegates will visit their Congressmen, the Veterans Administration and the State and Justice Departments.

The veterans' affairs program to be discussed includes: a federal bonus, housing, equal rights for Negro veterans, job-training and apprenticeship, education, hospital and medical care, terminal leave bonds and pensions for the disabled.

FORGE NEGRO-LABOUR UNITY

BY

Paul ROBESON

for Peace and Jobs

THE following contribution by the great American artist Paul ROBESON, member of the Executive Committee of the World Peace Congress, and renowned throughout the globe as an international leader of the Negro people and of the world Peace camp, contains the text of an address which he delivered at the National Labour Conference for Negro Rights, held in Chicago in June 1950. (See No. 7/15 of this Review for an account of the said Conference).

It will be remembered that the Government of the United States has withdrawn Paul Robeson's passport from him to prevent his going abroad and pursuing his good work for world peace. This in itself exposes the true character of the American Government's present policy.

(*Editor's note*).

NO meeting held in America at this mid-century turning point in world history holds more significant promise for the bright future toward which humanity strives than the National Labour Conference for Negro Rights. For here are gathered together the basic forces — the Negro sons and daughters of labour and their white brothers and sisters — whose increasingly active intervention in national and world affairs is an essential requirement if we are to have a peaceful and democratic solution of the burning issues of our times.

Again we must recall the state of the world in which we live, and especially the America in which we live. Our history as Americans, black and white, has been a long battle, so often unsuccessful, for the most basic rights of citizenship, for the most simple standards of living, the avoidance of starvation — for survival.

I have been up and down the land time and again, thanks in the main to trade unionists who helped to arouse American communities to give answer to Peekskill, to protect the right of freedom of speech and assembly. And I have seen and daily see the unemployment, the poverty, the plight of our children, our youth, the back-breaking labour of our women — and too long, too long have my people wept and mourned. We're tired of this denial of a decent existence. We demand some approximation of the American democracy we have helped to build.

Who Built This Land ?

FOR who built this great land of ours ? Who have been the guarantors of our historic democratic tradition of freedom and equality ? Whose labour and whose life has produced the great

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cities, the industrial machine, the basic culture and the creature comforts of which «Voice of America» spokesmen so proudly boast ?

It is well to remember that the America which we know has risen out of the toil of the many millions who have come here seeking freedom from all parts of the world :

The Irish and Scotch indentured servants who cleared the forests, built the colonial homesteads and were part of the productive backbone of our early days.

The millions of German immigrants of the mid-nineteenth century; the millions more from Eastern Europe whose sweat and sacrifice in the steel mills, the coal mines and the factories made possible the industrial revolution of the Eighties and Nineties; the brave Jewish people from all parts of Europe and the world who have so largely enriched our lives on this new continent; the workers from Mexico and from the East — Japan and the Philippines —whose labour has helped make the West and Southwest a rich and fruitful land.

And, through it all, from the earliest days — before Columbus — the Negro people, upon whose unpaid toil as slaves the basic wealth of this nation was built !

These are the forces that have made America great and preserved our democratic heritage.

They have arisen at each moment of crisis to play the decisive role in our national affairs.

The Strength of the Negro People

IN the Civil War, hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers who took arms in the Union cause won, not only their own freedom — the freedom of the Negro people — but, by smashing the institution of slave labour, provided the basis for the development of trade unions of free working men in America.

And so, even today, as the National Labour Conference for Negro Rights charts the course ahead for the whole Negro people and their sincere allies, it sounds a warning to American bigotry and reaction. For if fifteen million Negroes, led by their staunchest sons and daughters of labour, and joined by the white working class, say that there shall be no more Jim Crow in America, then there shall be no more Jim Crow!

If fifteen million Negroes say, and mean it, no more anti-Semitism, then there shall be no more anti-Semitism!

If fifteen million Negroes, inspired by their true leaders in the labour movement, demand an end to the persecution of the foreign-born, then the persecution of the foreign-born will end!

If fifteen million Negroes in one voice demand an end to the jailing of the leaders of American progressive thought and culture and the leaders of the American working class, then their voice will be strong enough to empty the prisons of the victims of America's cold war.

If fifteen million Negroes are for peace, then there will be peace!

And behind these fifteen million are 180 million of our African brothers and sisters, 60 million of our kindred in the West Indies and Latin America, for whom, as for us, war and the Point Four programme would mean a new imperialist slavery.

The Issues of our Time

THESE problems — and especially the basic problem of peace—are clear to liberty-loving men around the world.

Shall we have atom-bomb and hydrogen bomb and rocket-ship and bacteriological war, or shall we have peace in the world; the hellish destruction of the men, women and children, of whole civilian populations, or the peaceful construction of the good life everywhere?

This for all men is the over-riding issue of the day. From it all other question flow. Its solution, one way or the other, will decide the fate of all other questions which concern the human family.

For the warmakers are also the fascist-minded; and the warmakers are also the profit-hungry trusts who drive labour, impose Taft-Hartley laws and seek to crush the unions.

Depending on how we succeed in the fight for peace, then, we shall find the answers to the other two major questions of the day.

Shall we have fascist brute rule or democratic equality and friendship among peoples and nations; the triumphant enshrinement of the «master race» theories our soldiers died to destroy, or liberty and freedom for the American people and their colonial allies throughout the world?

And finally, shall we have increased wealth for the already bloated monopolies in the midst of rising hunger, poverty and disease for the world's poor; or shall the masses of toiling men and women enjoy the wealth and comforts which their sweat and labour produce?

The Marshall Plan also operates in African territories for the purpose of «developing their agricultural and mineral wealth», according to official documents. These workers in the British colony of East Africa are the victims of «Atlantic» superexploitation in the cultivation of sisal, which has become a strategic raw material.

American Imperialism vs. the Colonial World

YES. these are the issues.

They will be resolved in our time. Because in the five years since V-J Day the American trusts and the government which they control have taken their stand more and more openly on the side of a cold war which they are desperately trying to heat up; on the side of the fascist and kingly trash which they seek to restore to power all over Europe and Asia; on the side of the princes of economic privilege whose every cent of unprecedented profits is wrung out of the toil-broken bodies of the masses of men.

Mr. Truman and Mr, Acheson want us to believe that they seek peace in the world. But the people's memory is not so short.

How well and how bitterly do we recall that soon after Roosevelt died American arms were being shipped to the Dutch — not for the protection of the Four Freedoms, not to advance the claims of liberty — but for the suppression of the brave Indonesian patriots in their fight for independence.

That was in 1946, and today — four years later —we have the announcement of another programme of arms shipments to destroy a movement for colonial independence — this time arms for the French imperialists to use against the brave Viet-Namese patriots in what the French progressive masses call the «dirty war» in Indo-China.

These two acts of the Truman Administration are significant landmarks of our time!

They cry out to the world that our nation, born in a bloody battle for freedom against imperialist tyranny, has itself become the first enemy of freedom and the chief tyrant of the mid-century world. They warn more than half the world's population who people the vast continents of Asia and Africa that, until the course of our foreign policy is changed, they can no longer look to the U.S. government for help in their strenuous struggles for a new and independent life.

And, to be sure, they have already averted their gaze from us.

In every subject land, in every dependent area, the hundreds of millions who strive for freedom have set their eyes upon a new star that rises in the East—they have chosen as the model for their conduct the brave people and stalwart leaders of the new People's Republic of China.

And they say to our atom-toting politicians, «Send your guns and tanks and planes to our oppressors, if you will! We will take them away from them and put them to our own use! We will be free in spite of you, if not with your help!»

Africa in World Affairs

WHAT special meaning does this challenge of the colonial world have for American Negro workers and their allies?

We must not forget that each year 4.000 tons of uranium ore are extracted from the Belgian Congo —the main source of United States supply. And that Africa also provides more than half the world's gold and chrome, 80 per cent of its cobalt, 90 per cent of its palm kernels. one-fifth of its manganese and tin, one-third of its sisal fibre and 60 per cent of its cocoa—not to mention untold riches yet unexplored.

And with this wealth, Africa produces also an immeasurable portion of the world's human misery and degradation.

But the African peoples are moving rapidly to change their miserable conditions. And 180 million natives on that great continent are an important part of the colonial tidal wave that is washing upon the shores of history and breaking through the ramparts of imperialist rule everywhere.

The Congo skilled worker extracting copper and tin from the rich mines of the land of his fathers may one day be faced with the same materials in the shape of guns provided to his Belgian rulers by the Truman Administration under the Marshall Plan — but he is determined that the days of his virtual slave labour are numbered, and that the place for the Belgians to rule is in Belgium and not in the Congo.

And 25 million Nigerians—farmers, cattle raisers, miners, growers of half the world's cocoa — are determined that the land of our fathers (for the vast majority of American Negro slaves were brought here from Africa's West Coast) shall belong to their fathers' sons and not to the freebooters and British imperialists supported by American dollars.

And twelve South African workers now lie dead, shot in a peaceful demonstration by Malan's fascist-like police, as silent testimony to the fact that, for all their pass laws, for all their native compounds, for all their Hitler-inspired registration of natives and non-whites, the little clique that rules South Africa are baying at the moon. For it is later than they think in the procession of history, and that rich land must one day soon return to the natives on whose backs the proud skyscrapers of the Johannesburg rich were built.

How are we to explain this new vigour of the African independence movements? What is it that shakes a continent from Morocco to the Cape and causes the old rulers to tremble?

The core of the African nationalist movements, the heart of the resistance to continued oppression, the guiding intelligence of the independence aspirations of the Africans is invariably the organizations of the workers of the continent. Trade unions have arisen all over Africa and, as everywhere in modern times, they are the backbone of the people's struggle.

And what is true of Africa is even more strikingly true in the West Indies, in Cuba, Brazil and the rest of Latin America where 60 million Negroes are building strong trade unions and demanding a new day.

So it was a proud day in the history of the labouring men and women of the world when these African workers—railroad men, miners, mechanics, sharecroppers, craftsmen, factory workers—clasped grips with white, brown, yellow and other black workers hands around the world and formed the World Federation of Trade Unions!

Abdoulaye Diallo, General Secretary of the Congress of Trade Unions of the Sudan, and a Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., and Gabriel d'Arboussier, who was denied a visa to attend the Chicago conference, stand as signals to the world that the African worker recognizes, not only that his future lies in strong and militant trade unionism, but also in his fraternal solidarity with workers of all climes and colours whose friends are his friends and whose enemies are his also.

The Truman Plan for Africa

HOWEVER much the official density of the top leadership of American labour may have prevented it from recognizing the real significance of the emergence of African labour, the American trusts and their hirelings in government have not been asleep. They have been steadily carrying forward their own plan for Africa, of which Truman's Point Four programme is an essential though by no means the only part.

First, they say, we will spend the tax money of the American people to prop up the shaky empire builders of Europe who own and control most of Africa. And so the Marshall Plan sends billions to France, Italy, Belgium and Portugal.

Second, they say, as a guarantee that the money is not wasted, we will send them arms under the Atlantic Pact so that they may put down any rising of the African peoples, or any demonstrations of sympathy for colonial freedom on the part of their own working classes.

Third, say the American banker-imperialists, with these guarantees, we will launch Point Four, which opens the door for investment of capital by American big business in African raw materials and cheap labour.

Fourth, as an added guarantee that the investment of American monopoly—already garnered as surplus profits from the labour of speeded-up American workers—does not run the «risk» of any changes in government or «excessive» demands for living wages by African workers, we will build our own bases in Accra, Dakar and all over the African continent.

Ard fifth, should all these precautions fail: should the African people eventually kick us and the British and the French and the Belgians and the Italians and Portuguese rulers out of their continent, then, says the Point Four programme, we will compensate the American big business investors for their losses—again out of the public treasury, the people's tax money.

Yes, this is the Truman plan for Africa, and the Africans don't like it and are saying so louder and louder every day.

But is it only at the continents of Asia and Africa that the tentacles of the American billionaires are aimed. Indeed not!

Ask the people of Greece whose partisans continue an uneven struggle for democracy and independence as a consequence of the original Truman Doctrine!

Ask the Italian or French worker who, as a «beneficiary» of the Atlantic Arms Pact and the Marshall Plan, sees the ships bring American tanks and guns to his land while his children go hungry and ill-clad in the face of sky-rocketing prices !

Ask the workers in Scandinavia and Britain who are weary of governments incapable of meeting their needs because they are the slavish captives of the American money-men who seek to dominate the world !

Ask the millions in Western Germany who see American influence placing unrepentant fascists back into positions of power, before the stench of the Dachaus and Buchenwalds—the Hitler crematoriums and mass murder camps—have fully left the land.

Ask the proud citizens of the New Democracies of Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union who suffered most in World War II and whose every yearning for peace and time to reconstruct their ravaged land is met by the arrogant obstruction of American diplomats!

They know and they will tell you without hesitation—these people who are two-thirds of the world's population—that the seat of danger of aggressive war and fascist oppression has shifted from the banks of the Rhine to the banks of the Potomac, from the Reichschancellery of Hitler to the Pentagon Building, the State Department and the White House of the United States.

These peoples of the world look to us, the progressive forces in American life, black and white together, to stop our government's toboggan ride toward war and destruction.

Do they look in vain? The Chicago conference answers, no !

The Tasks of Labour

OUR tasks, then, are clear. The Negro trade unionists must increasingly exert their influence in every aspect of the life of the Negro community. No church, no fraternal, civic or social organization in our communities must be permitted to continue without the benefit of the knowledge and experience which have been gained through struggles in the great American labour movement.

On the shoulders of the Negro trade unionists there is the tremendous responsibility to rally the power of the whole trade union movement, white and black, to the battle for the liberation of our people, the future of our women and children. Anyone who fails in this does the Negro people a great disservice.

Police attack workers affiliated to the National Maritime Union—mainly Negroes and Indians—who were holding a union meeting at St. Nicholas Arena, New York, in protest against the dictatorial methods of Joseph Curran, reactionary president of the NMU. Chased out of his office by rank-and-file union members, Curran came back—under police protection.

And to the white trade unionists—a special challenge. You must fight in the ranks of labour for the full equality of your Negro brothers. for their right to work at any job; to receive equal pay for equal work; for an end to Jim Crow unions; for real fair employment practices within the unions as well as in all other phases of the national life; for the elimination of the rot of white supremacy notions which the employers use to poison the minds of the white workers in order to pit them against their staunchest allies, the Negro people—in short, for the unbreakable unity of the working people, black and white, without which there can be no free trade unions, no real prosperity, no constitutional rights, no peace for anybody, whatever the colour of his skin. To accept Negro leadership of men and women and youth; to accept the fact that the Negro workers have become a part of the vanguard of the whole American working class. To fail the Negro people is to fail the whole American people.

So—as you move forward, you do so in the best traditions of American democracy and in league with the hundreds of millions throughout the world whose problems are much the same as yours.

These are peoples of all faiths, all lands, all colors, and all political beliefs—united by the common thirst for freedom, security and peace.

Our American press and commentators and politicians would discourage these basic human aspirations because Communists adhere to them as well as others. Now I have seen the liberty-loving, peace-seeking partisans in many parts of the world. And though many of them are not, it is also true that many are Communists. They represent a new way of life in the world, a new way that has won the allegiance of almost half the world's population. In the last war they were the first to die in nation after nation. They were the heart of the underground anti-fascist movements and city after city in Europe displays monuments to their heroism. They need no apologies. They have been a solid core of the struggle for freedom.

Mr. Truman calls upon us to save the so-called Western democracies from the «menace» of Communism.

But ask the Negro ministers in Birmingham whose homes were bombed by the Ku Klux Klan what is the greatest menace in their lives ! Ask the Trenton Six and the Martinsville Seven ! Ask Willie McGee, languishing in a Mississippi prison and doomed to die within the next month unless our angry voices save him. Ask Haywood Patterson, somewhere in America, a fugitive from Alabama barbarism for a crime neither he, nor anyone of the Scottsboro boys, ever committed. Ask the growing numbers of Negro unemployed in Chicago and Detroit. Ask the fearsome lines of relief clients in Harlem. Ask the weeping mothers whose son is the latest victim of police brutality. Ask Macco Snipes and Isaiah Nixon, killed by mobs in Georgia because they tried to exercice the constitutional right to vote. Ask any Negro worker receiving unequal pay for equal work, denied promotion despite his skill and because of his skin, still the last hired and the first fired. Ask fifteen million American Negroes, if you please, «What is the greatest menace in your life» ? and they will answer in a thunderous voice, «Jim Crow Justice ! Mob Rule ! Segregation ! Job Discrimination !»—in short white supremacy and all its vile works.

Our Friends Are More Numerous Than Our Enemies

Yes, we know who our friends are, and we know our enemies, too. Howard Fast, author of the epic novel *Freedom Road* who went to jail for fighting against the restoration of fascism in Spain, is not our enemy. He is a true friend of the Negro people. And George Marshall, Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, who went to jail and whose fight for the life of Willie McGee of Mississipi is one of the great democratic sagas of our time— he is not our enemy; he is a true friend of the Negro people. And John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, Hollywood screen writers, who went to jail for maintaining their faith in the sacred American doctrine of privacy of political belief—they too are friends of the people.

Our enemies are the lynchers, the profiteers, the men who give F.E.P.C. the run-around in the Senate, the atom bomb maniacs and the war-makers.

One simple reason why I know that we shall win is that our friends are so much more numerous than our enemies. They will have to build many, many more jails—not only here but all over the world to hold the millions who are determined never to give up the fight for freedom, decency, equality, abundance and peace.

I have returned from London where the Executive Committee of the World Partisans for Peace met to further their crusade against atomic destruction. And there, spokesmen of millions of men and women from all parts of the globe—Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, Australia—pledged themselves anew that the Truman plan for the world shall not prevail—that peace shall conquer war—that men shall live as brothers, not as beasts.

These men and women of peace speak not merely for themselves, but for the nameless millions whose pictures do not adorn the newspapers, who hold no press conference, who are the mass of working humanity in every land.

Did I say nameless? Not any more! For one hundred million (1) have already signed their names in all lands to a simple and powerful pledge, drawn up at Stockholm.

The Soviet Union and China are signing this pledge. People in all nations of the world are signing it. Will you take this pledge now ? As the black worker takes his place upon the stage of history —not for a bit part, but to play his full role with dignity in the very centre of the action—a new day dawns in human affairs. The determination of the Negro workers, supported by the whole Negro people, and joined with the mass of progressive white working men and women, can save the labour movement, C.I.O. and A.F. of L., from the betrayals of the Murrays and the Greens, the Careys, Rieves and Dubinskys—and from the betrayals, too, of the Townsends, the Weavers and Randolphs. This alliance can beat back the attacks against the living standards and the very lives of the Negro people. It can stop the drive toward fascism. It can halt the chariot of war in its tracks.

And it can help to bring to pass in America and in the world the dream our fathers dreamed— of a land that's free, of a people growing in friendship, in love, in cooperation and peace.

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(1) By mid September, more than 400 million people throughout the world had signed the Stockholm Appeal.

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Africa—Continent in Bondage

Paul Robeson Pleads for Subject Colonial Peoples on Eve of Mass Meeting

To the New York Herald Tribune:

In whatever land I have traveled, in Asia, in Europe, in Africa, wherever I have walked and talked with people, more than all else I have been impressed with the peoples' love for liberty, the hardships they will endure, the sacrifice they will make to achieve it and keep it.

It is this will for freedom among the people which led President Truman to proclaim in his Navy Day address on Oct. 12 last year: "We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere."

• • •

The right of self-determination and equality for all people, without regard to race, creed or national origin, is written into the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. There is, however, too often a large discrepancy between the pledge and the implementing of it. Here, in our own United States, large sections of our population are still without the right to elect their own governing legislature, and Puerto Rico and other of our own colonies are without the right "to choose their own form of government."

And while certain initial steps have been taken by some of the major powers in the direction of meeting the demands of some of the colonial peoples, notably in India, there has not been the slightest indication of any intention on the part of the European powers to declare themselves on the question of freedom for the 150,000,000 persons of the Continent of Africa.

So little that is true has been written about the African people and so little real knowledge of their life and struggles has been allowed to penetrate the press, the movies, the schools that for the great majority of Americans Africa is a vast, unknown and exotic land. Africans are not people to the American. In his dreams and plans for the one free world Africa is curiously and for all purposes absent. Yet nowhere in the world is there a people more oppressed, more deeply exploited, more thoroughly enslaved. Nowhere in the world is there a people more in need of the aid of free men everywhere in their struggle for the most meager of human rights, the least of human liberties.

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Africa is a whole continent of people living in abject misery. Poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy are rampant among them. Their land has been taken away from them; they are forced to labor under the most brutal conditions; the lack of schools, sanitation and medical care is unspeakable.

In Southern Rhodesia and in Kenya the native people, 95 per cent of the total population, are restricted to 30 per cent of the poorest land. Wages for the Negro laboring in the Nigerian tin mines and the Rhodesian copper mines are as low as 15 and 20 cents a day. In the Gold Coast there is one hospital bed or cot for every 2,950 persons, in Nigeria one medical practitioner for every 81,000 persons and one dentist for every 2,750,000. While research has found means for eliminating several of the tropic diseases which have ravaged human life in Africa, the benefits of the research have thus far been made available only in limited areas. In certain locations the infant mortality alone reaches as high as 600-700 in each 1,000.

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The State of Mississippi, which makes no apologies for its notorious Jim Crow laws and practice, in the year 1940 had an expenditure of some $7 for the education for each Negro child, against an expenditure of approximately $52 for each white child. But in Nyasaland the government expenditure on education was 38 cents for each African, against $73.60 for each white student. In Northern Rhodesia the ratio was 91 cents for the Africans and $113.73 for the whites.

The onus for this beastly destruction of human dignity, this irresponsible degradation of a whole continent of people lies with the sovereign powers, whose ruthless colonial rule and exploitation have been spread over 93 per cent of the African mainland. Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy have partaken of the spoils of the land and its population, but it is France and England which hold two-thirds of its wealth between them. Nor is our own country, with its growing economic and military penetrations into the continent, without responsibility. Africa is rich, and millions and millions of dollars in gold, rubber, oil, diamonds are taken from its soil and its people, but the African has none of it. He is virtually and literally scarcely more than a slave to his European and American masters.

• • •

And this story of callous, inhuman government of the entire continent of a colonial Africa is intensified and most vicious in the autonomous dominion of the Union of South Africa, of which Professor James B. Leyburn, of Yale University, writes, "The discrimination against the blacks . . . is more far-reaching, more cynical than in any other self-governing country in the modern world."

The Union of South Africa (which is reaching out for Southwest Africa, Bechuanaland. Basutoland, and Swaziland) has publicly avowed the principle of white supremacy. General Smuts, Prime Minister of the dominion, declared in Parliament only last March, that all South African parties are agreed on the "fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa." The African Negro is legally barred from the polls. He has no legal way of challenging this obscene declaration, nor contesting the will of the government which can state boldly in its year-book, "It is generally admitted that the prosperity of South African trade and industry depends to a very great extent on an adequate supply of relatively cheap, unskilled non-European (non-white) labor."

• • •

European industry in South Africa has taken good care to provide itself with that adequate supply of "cheap, unskilled" labor. By law, no African Negro is permitted to work at a skilled trade, nor can he bargain collectively or strike for higher wages. By law his residence is restricted to the segregated places designated by his employer or by the government.

The conditions under which he works and lives are devised to stifle and destroy the least spark of humanity he possesses. In the municipal "locations," as many as four families live in a single one-room hut with the earth for their floor. There is no sewerage for these people; there is one source of running water for whole blocks of huts and one toilet for scores of families. Disease and hunger are their daily lot, even in normal times. And today, as the result of both their landlessness and the worst drought experienced by South Africa in the last twenty-five years, the 8,000,000 Africans there face starvation.

• • •

It is because of this desperate state of affairs that the Council on African Affairs, of which I am the chairman, has called a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden for June 6. The funds raised through the meeting will be contributed to South African relief. This relief, however, it must be recognized, can prove only temporary. When a people are hungry, we must feed them. We cannot forget, however, the medieval Fascist-like state in which they live.

We have learned, bitterly, that where there is slavery, Fascist or Fascist-like, there is potential and eventual war. To mould the peace and keep it, there must be a free world, a world freed from any semblance of slavery—Jim Crow, colonial, or any other kind. That free world, that freedom can be won through the United Nations, through Big Three unity, through keeping the pledge which the major European powers and our own United States have given to all peoples everywhere: Self-determination and freedom for all peoples in one free world. PAUL ROBESON.

New York, June 3, 1946.

Speech Of Appreciation **By Paul Robeson**

Pilot 3-27-53

WORLD PEACE

As chairman of the Council on African Affairs, I shall work to see that the African nations are not used as bases for war preparations, and sources of raw materials for the war machines of the great powers:

I AM greatly honoured to have been chosen as one of the recipients of the Stalin Peace Prize.

I accept this award, not merely as an individual, but as a part of the growing peace movement in the United States, a peace movement that has been honoured by the leadership of the great scholar, Dr W. E. B. DuBois, and other stalwarts.

This peace movement, involving tens of thousands — indeed, millions — from all walks of life and of different points of view, must grow in size and influence if we are to save our nation and the world from the greatest catastrophe of modern times — World War III.

THE BIG LIE

The greatest obstacle to the development of large-scale activities for peace in our country is the big lie that has been cleverly cultivated and incessantly propagated since the end of World War II — the lie that the Soviet Union wants war and threatens the security of the United States.

I know that nothing could be farther from the truth.

I have seen the Soviet people and their leaders busily reconstructing a war-torn land, fulfilling their five-year plans, reaching ever-greater heights of material and cultural accomplishments.

They need peace.

ALL NEED PEACE

I have seen Warsaw rebuilt on the ashes of conquest and pillage wrought by Hitler's bandits; I have been to Prague and the other capitals of the People's Democracies and seen a whole area of East Europe transformed from a "Balkan tinderbox" to a fraternity of friendly peoples and nations.

They need peace.

In China 475,000,000 people have thrown off the yoke of centuries and are for the first time in modern history building large scale industry, modern agriculture and political and cultural institutions under their own control.

They need peace — not war — for the completion of their tasks.

WEARY OF KILLING

In Western Europe, too, and throughout all of Asia, the peoples are weary of killing and determined to impose their will for peace.

No one dares say that the people of the United States hunger for peace any less than the peoples of the rest of the world.

The endless deaths of the youth of our nation in Korea; the transformation of a generation of our sons into flame-throwing killers who have scorched everything and everybody before them in that unhappy land, including old men, women and children; the high taxes, frozen wages, and rising prices; the attacks on labour and the increasing assault upon our traditional civil liberties — these are burdens the American people will not indefinitely bear to enrich a handful of industrialists who have subverted the national interests in their selfish behalf.

In addition to all these reasons, the hard-pressed Negro people of the United States need and want peace.

It is not possible to conceive that the present drives for FEPC legislation, for full voting rights in the South and equality in political representation throughout the country, for an end of segregation and discrimination in accommodations and institutions, can succeed if a minority of big business tycoons who dream of an "American Century" abroad should be permitted to drive this nation into war.

The Negro people need a world setting of peace and a national background of democratic progress in which to pursue their historic goals of equality and liberation.

I am especially proud, therefore, as a son of the great Negro people, to accept this award for whatever contributions I have made to the fight for peace which is inseparable from the fight for Negro freedom.

NO MORE WARS

Finally, Africa wants peace.

In Africa, the peoples' leaders — Gabriel D'Arboussier and Nnamdi Azikiwe, for example — have voiced the Africans' resolve not to fight in any more wars to save their imperialist masters.

Africa wants peace as a means of achieving independence from colonial rule.

As chairman of the Council on African Affairs I shall work to see that the African nations and peoples are not used as bases for war preparations, as sources of raw materials for the war machines of the great imperialist powers, as pawns in the "cold war game of power politics," but rather that every support should go to the brave African peoples in their legitimate struggles for democracy, self-government and peace.

PUBLIC OPINION

The debates in the recent session of the General Assembly of the UN indicate the need for a great mobilization of public opinion in our nation to force the representatives of the US State Department to take their place at the side of the African peoples who are demanding the status of sovereignty and self-determination which the American colonists won for themselves in 1776.

The Stalin Peace Prize will inspire me to work more diligently than ever before for the kind of world I know is possible and which is the dream of all mankind: a world of free trade and commerce, uninhibited cultural interchange, full independence and sovereignty of nations, economic and social advance, a happy world of peoples working in mutual respect for security, democracy and peace.

THE DAILY COMPASS

ORTS FROM ISRAEL

Truman Frowns On Peekskill Riot

Washington, Sept. 8 (AP)—President Truman today gave 100 per cent backing to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's denunciation of the outbreaks at last Sunday's Paul Robeson concert at Peekskill.

Asked for comment at his news conference, he said he thought Mrs. Roosevelt covered the situation perfectly and thoroughly in her newspaper column.

In her column, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote:

"I think I must reiterate that it seems to me quite disgraceful to allow this kind of lawlessness."

She cited the number of injured and said stones were thrown at people who had not even attended the concert.

"This is not the type of thing that we believe in in the United States. If peaceful picketing leads to this, all the pickets do is to give the Communists good material for propaganda.

"I dislike everything that Paul Robeson is now saying. I am opposed to him politically and I think he is doing great harm to his own people.

"I still believe, however, that if he wants to give a concert, or speak his mind in public, no one should prevent him from doing so. No one who disagrees is obliged to stay or even to go to hear him."

Only today, the late President's widow termed the outbreak "perfectly outrageous." Talking with reporters in Atlanta, Mrs. Roosevelt said:

"I don't know why the police were not able to control better the demonstration—perhaps they were pathetic."

See "Wake Up, America—Peekskill Did," by Wm. Peyton Marin, Page 5.

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ROBESON ACCLAIMS EISLER'S ESCAPE

Sun 6/16/49

Paul Robeson, upon his return today after a triumphal visit to Russia, said he considered that the escape of Gerhart Eisler, bail-jumping Communist, was "the greatest victory for the forces of peace in the world."

The Negro singer and left-wing leader said that he was certain to be a witness in the trial of the eleven Communist party leaders accused of conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force. Arriving at LaGuardia Airport by plane from Prague, Robeson attacked the trial as "domestic Fascism," and said that he considered it to be a test of American civil liberties.

"There are strange things going on in Foley Square," he said. "You bet your life I'll be there."

Robeson was met at the airport by his son, Paul Jr., 21; City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor party, and C. B. Baldwin, who was Henry A. Wallace's campaign manager during the presidential campaign. Robeson's wife was not present, because of a speaking engagement at Cleveland, it was said.

Robeson Flies To Testify Here At Trial of Reds

Tells Soviet Union He Loves It 'More Than Any Other'; Fears for Negroes in U. S.

By Joseph Newman

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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MOSCOW, June 15.—Paul Robeson, American baritone, left for New York today by plane to testify for the defense at the trial of eleven Communist party leaders. He said he had to rush back because he considered their defense important to the democratic movement in the United States.

If American "warmongers and reactionaries" are not stopped today, the singer asserted, they might turn tomorrow on the 12,000,000 Negroes of the South and millions of workers.

Before boarding the plane, Mr. Robeson, who arrived here June 5 for the observance of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Pushkin, the poet, paid a final tribute to the Soviet Union. He said it is the country "which I love more than any other."

Turns There For "Comfort"

In an interview published by "Bolshevik," organ of the central committee of the Communist party, Mr. Robeson spoke of the Soviet Union as a country to which he turns for comfort and salvation from racial and other troubles he encounters in capitalist states.

He said the world must not be deceived by references to Marian Anderson, Joe Louis, Dr. Ralph Bunche and himself as proof of opportunities for and fair treatment of Negroes in the United States. Only a small group of well known Negroes is tolerated in the United States, he said, but the Negroes of the South are oppressed and no Negroes, including famous ones, are secure from lynching.

Only in the Soviet Union, which he first visited in 1934, Mr. Robeson said, did he feel like a man. Here, he said, "I found joy and happiness" and "I strove to instill a love of the Soviet Union in my son."

In December, 1936, when his son, Paul jr., was nine, Mr. Robeson recalled, he put him in a Moscow school, where he remained for three years. The younger Robeson continued his studies later at Soviet schools in London and New York, and also attended Cornell University. Now an electrical engineer, he will return here for post-graduate work.

Mr. Robeson visited Stalingrad, where he saw tractors coming off the assembly line. He paid it this tribute: "If today we Americans move freely on earth, we owe this to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad."

He said Moscow a[illegible]talingrad convinced him th[illegible]fference between the Soviet people and "Wall Street reactionaries" is that the former think only about the happiness of the millions of simple people in the world.

Was "Moved to Tears"

He said the reception he received in Moscow moved him to tears," and that he was returning to the United States with new ideas and new feelings.

"I was and will be a most devoted and sincere friend of the Soviet Union," he said, adding that he would visit the country again in the fall.

"Komsomolskaya Pravda," organ of the Young Communist League, is publishing a series of three articles under Mr. Robeson's name. The singer reported that during a performance of the play, "The Little Negro Boy and the Monkey," Soviet children gathered around him and urged him to remain in Russia forever. Mr. Robeson said he thought about this, but decided "to return to my people to be with them to struggle for their liberty."

The book which impresses him most, Mr. Robeson said, is not a novel or a play. It is the Soviet Constitution of 1936, known widely as the Stalin Constitution. He said Prime Minister Stalin is doing much for the working people of the earth.

Everything he saw in the Soviet Union, Mr. Robeson said, prompted him in the right way, and he added, "I have prepared myself for a long and difficult struggle for the happiness of simple people."

Mr. Robeson told of his troubles in the United States. He said even his name is not his own, but that of Scotch plantation holders in the South who owned Negro slaves, including his father. He said he obtained an education and made a living only at great pains. At Rutgers, he said, he worked his way by playing football, and there, he said, he saw bourgeois sport inspired by profit-seeking promoters, rather than the interests of the participants.

He said America is facing another economic crisis, with 80 per cent of theatrical actors unemployed.

He expressed regret that he had made Hollywood films, and said he would buy them all up if he could.

Mr. Robeson said he had visited the South, where his father lived and worked as a slave a hundred years ago, but found everything the same for the Negro—nothing changed. [Mr. Robeson's father, who became a Presbyterian minister, was a runaway slave from Robeson County, N. C.]

"Such is the policy of a country where Wall Street rules," Mr. Robeson said.

Finland Pays on War I Debt

WASHINGTON, June 15 (UP).—Finland has made another payment on its World War I debt, the Treasury announced today. The semi-annual payment of $161,422 includes interest and payments under postponement agreements arranged in 1941 and 1943. F[illegible]land now owes the United [illegible] $7[illegible]28,598.93.

7/15/49

THE NEW YORK TIMES

'BLACK STALIN' AIM IS LAID TO ROBESON

Ex-Red Official Says Singer, a Communist, Suffered 'Delusions of Grandeur'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 14—Paul Robeson, Negro singer and actor, was identified as a member of the Communist party "for many years" today by a former member of the national committee of that party.

The identification was made before the House Committee on Un-American Activities by another Negro, Manning Johnson, who testified that he had belonged to the party for ten years—from 1930 to 1940—and spent three years in its ruling echelon.

The party membership of Mr. Robeson, Mr. Johnson testified, was such a secret that anyone who exposed it was subject to expulsion. He said he had seen the singer go into huddles with top Communist leaders. Mr. Robeson was assigned, he said, to work among the art groups in behalf of communism, to appeal to the "intellectuals" in the role of a performer who had won a great name for himself.

Denounces Communism

Mr. Johnson, a dark brown man of much education and now in a key position in an American Federation of Labor union, denounced Communism bitterly today. Among its projects, he testified, was the establishment of a Negro Communist republic, starting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and reaching into the Deep South, which would declare its autonomy and put on a rebellion.

This, he stated, was only a part of the Communist plot to incite race hatred, civil strife, and a general Communist move to keep American factions in such turmoil as to woo candidates into the Soviet pattern.

At issue was a demand for response by American Negroes to a declaration made by Mr. Robeson that Negroes would not take up arms if the United States became engulfed in war with Russia.

One witness, Clarence B. Clark, a disabled Negro veteran, said that when it was announced in Pittsburgh, his home town, that he would testify, he was besieged with telephonic declarations that Negroes were ready to "fight a circle saw" for their country.

As to himself, Mr. Clark testified, there was a member of his family tree in every war, including and since the Revolution. As a member of a draft board, he testified, he had "lowered" his age and waived waiting for his number to come up.

Mr. Johnson, the former national committeeman for the Communist party, testified that Mr. Robeson was not allowed to attend party conventions or other functions where his membership would become known to the rank and file of the party.

However, he testified, Mr. Robeson, after playing the title role in "Emperor Jones" years ago, "developed a complex and delusions of grandeur" and set out to become "a black Stalin" among the Negroes of America.

Mr. Johnson reported that, from the Communist party side, "they just wanted to use him, as a great artist, to impress other artists and intellectuals generally."

"It is regrettable indeed," he said, "that such an able man has sold himself to Moscow."

Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, a social service agency seeking to improve the socio-economic conditions under which Negroes live in American cities, testified that "the prescription" for blocking Communist strategy in the United States was "less worry about Robeson and more concern for democracy."

Defines Negro's "Hope"

"Authentic Negro leadership in this country," he said, "finds itself confronted by two enemies on opposite sides. One enemy is the Communist who seeks to destroy the democratic ideal and practice which constitute the Negro's sole hope of eventual victory in his fight for equal citizenship. The other enemy is that American racist who perverts and corrupts the democratic concept into a debased philosophy of life.

"In opposing one, Negro leadership must be careful not to give aid and comfort to the other. Those white leaders of stature in this country will be very badly advised if they seek to increase the difficulties of reputable Negro leadership as it stands precariously on defense against these two enemies."

Mr. Johnson told the committee that the Communist party sought to establish among Negroes and the rest of the world "the illusion of an influence they actually never hope to attain."

He estimated that there were not more than 2,000 actual Negro Communists out of 15,000,000 in the United States.

Attacks Reactionaries

"And as for the anti-Communist reactionaries," he said, "they, too, are engaged in trying to fool the public by shouting 'Communist' at every Negro who offers a protest against the injustices perpetrated upon his people, or by exaggerating the extent of actual Communist influence among the Negro public."

He proposed that the Un-American Activities Committee investigate the Ku Klux Klan and "similar black shirt and white shirt groups wherever they may be found."

"Such efforts," he said, "can well serve to reassure Negro leadership that while it is fighting against one enemy of this country, Communism, our Government is helping to fight off the other, racism."

Launch S. African Petition Campaign

A campaign to secure, between now and Sept. 15, 100,000 signatures to a petition dealing with the present crisis in South Africa was launched July 24 in New York at an emergency conference sponsored by the Council on African affairs, in association with several community leaders, and attended by more than sixty Negro and white representatives of churches, trade unions, peace movements and other organizations in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

Identifying Malanism with Hitlerism as "a matter of world concern," the petition calls upon President Truman "to halt United States assistance in any form to the Government of the Union of South Africa and to denounce publicly that Government's racist program as an international menace."

* * *

THE CONFERENCE participants pledged full support of this petition campaign and appointed a continuations committee to direct the mobilization of public opinion through the press, churches and other agencies on the side of the African people in their struggle against white supremacy tyranny in South Africa.

Members of a panel, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Edward D. McGowan, and conference delegates joined in discussing the significance of the South African people's Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws in relationship to the fight against fascism and war and the fight for Negro rights in the United States, and also dealt with the specific techniques for developing mass support in the United States for the South African people's struggle for democratic rights.

Also adopted by the conference were proposals for bombarding the South African Ambassador to the United States, G. P. Jooste, and the South African Consul General in New York, Dr. A. H. Mertsch, with telegrams and resolutions demanding the immediate release of the several hundred South Africans jailed for their participation in the Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws and under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Dr. A. W. Hunton, secretary of the Council on African Affairs, pointed out that this act was, in fact, aimed at suppressing all South African organizations which oppose the Goevrnment's policy. As evidence of this, he cited the statement of the magistrate who, in sentencing several of the African and Indian leaders to jail on July 16 under the Suppression of Communism Act, said: "It is common knowledge that one of the aims of communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without any discrimination of race color or creed . . . This would endanger the survival of Europeans, and therefore legislation must be pursued with the object of suppressing communism."

— BIGGEST and the BEST

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The Washington Afro-American, July 23, 1949

GIVE THE PEOPLE LIGHT AND THEY WILL FIND THE WAY

'ORIAL WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN CO

The Rambling Reporter

By Al Sweeney

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Guest columnist, Leslie S. Perry, an astute political analyst and veteran civil rights lobbyist, has consented to fill in for the vacationing conductor of this column.)

By LESLIE S. PERRY
NAACP Legal Representative

Last week Rep. John S. Wood of Georgia, chairman of the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee, invited a number of prominent persons, including Jackle Robinson of the Brooklyn Dodgers, to appear before his Committee, "to give the lie" to Paul Robeson.

Today the statement, allegedly made by Mr. Robeson and hysterically spread over front pages, is pretty much a dead issue. Public comment from responsible leaders all over the country made it crystal clear (had there been any doubt about it) that no individual can speak for the 15 million colored citizens of America.

The real question is: What prompts the Wood Committee to resurrect the Robeson statement? On the basis of the record, the Committee on Un-American Activities ought to be the last unit in Congress to solicit from colored persons supporting testimony for its operations. Representative Wood, with the possible exeception of Rankin, ought to be the last Congressman to summon them in the role he proposes.

A Waste of Taxpayers' Money

Since its origin in 1938, the misnamed Committee on Un-American Activities has squandered hundreds of thousands of taxpayers' dollars on witch hunts, name calling and character assassinations. It has violated nearly every civil liberty which the Constitution is designed to secure to American citizens.

According to the Un-American Committee, racial bigotry or Klan murders are perfectly "American."

The other year when the Committee was investigating Un-American activities in the Hollywood film colony, strainghtforward Eric Johnson, czar of the motion picture industry, told the Committee how the city of Memphis had barred the showing of a film because it presented a colored boy playing with white children.

The only comment this information elicited came from a then member of the Committee, Richard B. Vail of Chicago, who was defeated for re-election last November. Mr. Vail asked Mr. Johnston whether the colored boy had been "under a wood pile."

Ownership of Radio Station Raises Eyebrows

Currently the Committee has been inquiring into the ownership of Washington radio station WQQW. Now, radio broadcasting is not only a potent opinion maker, but it is also a substantial money maker. It has been estimated that for every dollar invested in radio stations, broadcasters make a neat little profit of $2.23.

Needless to say, colored persons have largely been excluded from the broadcasting field. One of the few radio stations in the country in which they are stockholders is WQQW. Ergo, to the Un-American Activities Committee this smacks of "disloyalty" and it has forthwith summoned colored stockholders in station WQQW to appear before it.

Yes, the Un-American Committee has had a long record of anti-colored activity.

1. It has consistently ignored the Un-American activities of the Ku Klux Klan. In fact, the Committee for years enjoyed the hearty endorsement of James J. Colescott, the late imperial wizard of the Klan, and I am sure is dearly loved by Dr. Green, the current KKK head man.

2. Back in 1942 the Committee charged that Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune was a Communist and sought to have her dismissed from her position with the National Youth Administration.

3. After the bloody race riot in Detroit in the summer of 1943, known to have been fomented by the Klan and similar organizations, the Committee ignored the activities of these nightshirt outfits, but announced that it intended to investigate Japanese activities among color
persons in Detroit.

Is it small wonder then that members of the group have a
suspicion of a group like the Un-American Committee whic
nounces totalitarian theories of government that it
practices in its own operations?

Attitudes of Members Questione

There is, however, still another fact to be con
American Committee—the attitudes and blatant
Representative John S. Wood of Georgia, its chair
typifiies the mentality of past chairmen, and the C
generally, whether such members come from the
Democrats or Republicans. For that reason, it may be
at the record of John Wood, stalwart defender of "A

Thoughout Representative Wood's tenure in
uniformly opposed all legislation designed to advance t
and well-being of the average American. A seasoned
he has always voted against the abolition of the poll t
proposals in Congress.

During the 79th and 80th Congresses, he voted t
Security Act and the fair labor standards. He opp
lower the cost of living. The most recent demonstr
regard for the welfare of America, and especially
black and white citizens, came on June 29, when he
810,000-unit public housing program which squeezed by
bare five votes.

What Representative Wood and other members of the Un
Activities Committee apparently are unable to understand
democracy is not merely the defense of the strong.

What Democracy Really Means

Democracy means the unloosening of the potentialities of the
through the extension of job opportunities, decent housing, educati
health standards and civil rights. These are America's insurance agains
totalitarianism, either to the right or the left.

Hodding Carter, the southern "liberal," recently charged that the Klan today is "sloshing over like an overfull cesspool from its Georgia stronghold" into adjacent Southern States. It seems to this observer that if Representative Wood is really interested in cleaning up Un-American activities he would begin by investigating recent occurrences down in Georgia.

And if he really wants colored opinion on the status of democracy in certain sections of this country he would summon some of the citizens of his own State like Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, whom Georgia justice still permits to languish in jail, or Mrs. Caleb Hill who was widowed recently by a lynch mob.

PEOPLE

Acme

ALBERT EINSTEIN & GUESTS*
Toward the left.

The Heavy Heart

Marriage was a pretty trying business.

High-keyed, red-haired, green-eyed Cinemactress **Greer Garson**, pushing 40, told a judge that Actor Richard Ney, 28, had called her a "has-been." She got a quick divorce and left the courtroom sobbing as the flashbulbs popped.

Ripe-mouthed **Hedy Lamarr** found herself playing the understanding older woman. Back to his wife she sent 26-year-old Actor Mark Stevens (now appearing in *I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now*), and freely told the press just how it went. "He is very young," explained Matron Lamarr, 32, "and I told him I thought he and Mrs. Stevens should try to make a go of their marriage. . . . I talked to Mrs. Stevens . . . she sounds like a lovely person. . . ."

Burly-looking Actor **Brian Donlevy's** ex-wife, Marjorie, went to court to get his divorce from her set aside, and also to get a better property settlement this time, and $50,000 for her lawyer. One of her complaints was that Donlevy (now appearing in *The Trouble with Women*) had informed her "he had no energy for anything but his career."

Commentator **Upton Close**, whose fourth wife, Julia, lately sued him for divorce, complaining that he carried on with his secretary, sued back and made his own complaint. Julia was always interfering in his business affairs, said he, and, further, she had hit him a couple of times.

Sugar Heir **John D. Spreckels III's** wife, Lou Dell, was through with love. One month after the Spreckelses were jugged for whaling away at each other in the street (TIME, Sept. 1), Spreckels was picked up again, this time for going at Lou Dell hammer-&-tongs with a fireplace set. As soon as she got out of the hospital, disillusioned Lou Dell filed a suit for separation.

The Bended Knee

Awarded to stately **Viscount Jowitt**, 62, Britain's periwigged Lord Chancellor: an honorary LL.D., by New York University's School of Law.

Associated Press

PIUS XII & FRIENDS
In all directions.

Honored in Boston: Broadway Actress **Ruth Gordon.** On the Ritz-Carlton dessert list appeared a *Coupe Ruth Gordon.*

Offered a friendly hand in Rome: **Pius XII.** But the air was so thick with ecclesiastical greetings when a camera clicked that the occasion came out bearing a remarkable resemblance to an unrehearsed square dance (*see cut*).

Camera-shy **Albert Einstein** was surrounded (from left to far left) by guests: grinning Editor **Henry Agard Wallace**, whose "courage and devotion" got Einstein's bravo; grinning Columnist **Frank Kingdon**, who got Wallace's endorsement for Senator from New Jersey; and grinning Singer **Paul Robeson**, who seconded Kingdon's nomination.

Staggered by the Artists League of America: Yankee Hitter **Joe DiMaggio**, who found himself on the league's list of "the ten most interesting faces in America." Long-jawed Joe's face, bubbled the artists, was "reminiscent of Modigliani's paintings." Among the other most interesting: **Eleanor Roosevelt, Danny Kaye, Sinclair Lewis** and **Kate Smith.** What made Singer Smith's face so interesting: its "simplicity, understanding and kindness."

The Furrowed Brow

"The shorter the skirt the better," was the feeling of shortage-minded **Sir Stafford Cripps**, Britain's Minister of Economic Affairs. But he added quickly that, of course, "there must be some limits."

"Cambridge houses," reported Hollywood Scenarist **Donald Ogden Stewart** after a visit to Boston's blue stocking suburb, "are different in many subtle ways, such as in the fact that the leaves of the editions of the classics in Cambridge homes have often been cut."

---

* Henry Wallace, Frank Kingdon, Paul Robeson.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS PRINTED MATTER 1951-54 10/9

SALUTE ROBESON

at

YOUTH FORUM MEETING

on

Wednesday 26th May

at 5.30 p.m.

at

4, Kort Street, Jhb.

PAUL ROBESON

- ★ IS CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS.
- ★ HAS BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY VICTIMISED FOR CHAMPIONING PEACE AND FREEDOM.
- ★ HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF HIS PASSPORT.

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N. Thandray "ROBESON AND AFRICA."
Dr. Guy Routh "ROBESON — THE ARTIST."

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Paul Robeson

"One of the greatest artists America has ever produced. More than any other artist in our history, he has endeavored to express in song the aspirations of the common man."

—HENRY A. WALLACE

- *"He is one of our truly great artists, gifted by the gods as musician and actor."*

  —WALTER DAMROSCH

- *"The singer who has done more than any other person toward making this the sort of world we want to live in."*

  —CANADA LEE

- *"There is, it is to be believed, no living voice which will quite compare with that of Robeson. In full throat it is mighty to the point of exaltation, and in pianissimo a deep whisper that is all-pervading."*

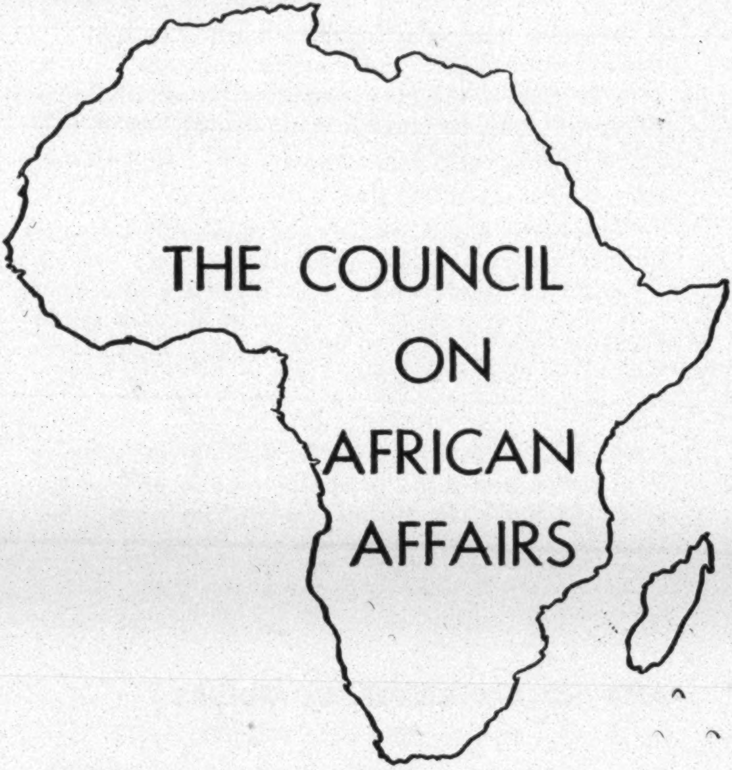
  —DETROIT FREE PRESS

- *"He is the first among the vocalists of his race, and comparable to the greatest singers of any race."*

  —HERMAN DEVRIES
  Chicago Herald-American

World-famous citizen of the world, scholar, and artist, Paul Robeson stems from and belongs to the common people. The son of a minister in the town of Princeton, N. J., he worked his way through Rutgers College and Columbia Law School, winning highest honors as athlete and student along the way. Since 1926 he has made numerous concert tours in Europe, Russia, and the United States, and acted in a score of plays and motion pictures. His recent role in *Othello* was an epochal event in the American theatre. Among the many honors bestowed upon Robeson are honorary degrees from two white and two Negro universities, Abraham Lincoln Medal (1943), Donaldson Award (1944), Gold Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1944), and Spingarn Medal of the N.A.A.C.P. (1945).

JOIN THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS



YOU can help:

Wake up America to what is happening today in Africa, a whole vast continent held in colonial subjection, the one continent where undisguised imperialist domination continues to hold sway.

Smash the iron curtain of secrecy and double-talk with which the rulers of Africa have surrounded their schemes to intensify their exploitation and increase the misery of the people of Africa.

Stop the new and gigantic Western European-American plunder of Africa.

Prevent American loans and guns from being used to crush the freedom-struggles of the Africans, as they are being used against the Indo-Chinese, Malayans and Indonesians.

There can be no real democracy for *any* American as long as Africa remains enslaved.

UNITE IN SUPPORT OF AFRICAN FREEDOM AND WORLD PEACE!

EUROPE'S RULERS EYE AFRICA

"Western Europe especially is looking toward . . . Africa's agricultural and mineral resources . . . to provide (it) with a new source of food and new sources of raw materials."—*U.S. Armed Forces Talk 260, AFRICA TODAY.*

"By one means or another, by hook or crook, the development of primary production of all sorts in the colonial territories . . . in far more abundant quantities than exist today . . . is a life and death matter for the economy of this country."—*British Cabinet Minister John Strachey.*

"I am a great believer in the value of the African as a contributor to the prosperity and security of the British Empire."—*Sir Miles Thomas, Chairman, British Overseas Airways Corporation.*

AND SO DO AMERICA'S RULERS

"On the one side are the indispensable economic requirements of the British peoples, and on the other the tenaciously held theories of the Americans who make no secret of their determination to 'bust wide open' the markets of the Empire."—*EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA (Oct. 16, 1947), London.*

"A multi-million-dollar British-American plan for development of Africa was unveiled today by Marshall Plan officials . . . Skilled American manpower, as well as dollars, would be used to help unlock huge deposits of natural resources in the African colonies . . ."—*Associated Press dispatch, Washington, D. C., Feb. 11, 1949.*

"Africa now is bustling with the biggest boom in its history . . . Feeding the boom, right now, is the military planning of Europe and the United States. Africa is to become a huge base for armed operations into Europe if trouble comes with Russia. Also, countries anxious to get at supplies of strategic war materials are willing to pay high prices to develop sources in Africa."—*U.S. NEWS—WORLD REPORT, Feb. 27, 1948.*

BUT THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA SAY—

"I am convinced that at the back of the Groundnut (East African peanut-growing) Scheme and the Colonial Development Corporation is a detailed plan for the creation of large-scale European settlements, and the ruthless exploitation of African resources and labor. In this plunder it is envisaged that American capital and technicians must be invited to join."—*A. Margai, Sierra Leone.*

"Economic freedom means the right of Nigeria to plan its economy in such a rational manner as to ensure employment and wholesome living for all; to industrialize the country by state action or by private enterprise; to exclude such monolithic economic groups as the United Africa Company . . . It is only a politically free Nigeria that can make an economically free Nigeria."—*NEW TIMES OF NIGERIA, Sept. 4, 1948.*

AND WHAT DO YOU SAY?

As an American YOU have a responsibility for what happens in Africa today and tomorrow, *because*

—you spend nationally over a billion dollars a year for candy made in large part from cocoa produced by West Africans whose annual income is only $50;

—you buy Lux, Lifebuoy, and other products of Lever Brothers, whose United Africa Company spans the whole of Africa like an octopus;

—sixty per cent of all U.S. gold imports and ninety per cent of gem diamond imports come from South Africa, dug by black workers living under fascist tyranny;

—American corporations are opening up or extending their operations in every section of the continent;

—YOU are paying for vast quantities of Africa's metal ores, including Belgian Congo uranium, to be amassed in American stockpiles of atomic bombs and war materials;

—YOU are paying the cost of maintaining foreign political and military domination over the 150 million native people of Africa.

THE COUNCIL'S PROGRAM

The Council on African Affairs supports the African people's fight to achieve:

- democracy, political power, and independence;
- land rights that have been stolen from them;
- freedom from labor exploitation and monopoly profiteering;
- a balanced economic development under their own control;
- social and cultural advancement.

It is the function of the Council:

- to disseminate authoritative information concerning Africa and its people;
- to promote American assistance to the struggles of the African masses;
- to foster closer ties between Negro, labor and other democratic forces in America, and the African people's progressive movements;
- to seek the strengthening of the United Nations and full utilization of its powers toward the advancement of African and other subject peoples;
- to combat imperialism in all its forms and manifestations in order to establish world peace.

The most effective answer that the Council on African Affairs and its friends can make to the new imperialist offensive, to the war hysteria and witch-hunting of our day, is work and more work, effort and more effort to rid the world of oppression, exploitation and slavery.

The most effective answer is ORGANIZATION.

The Council on African Affairs therefore seeks the widest membership among all sections of the American people.

We appeal to you to become a member of the Council and to get others to join. Our Membership Drive slogan is — *Every Member Get a Member.*

WHAT LEADERS IN AFRICA SAY ABOUT THE COUNCIL'S WORK

"The African members of the Natives Representative Council wish to express their appreciation of the service which the Council on African Affairs is rendering to the cause of African freedom by its firm stand on the question of the incorporation of South West Africa and the policy of the Union toward its non-European nations. Your Council has our full support."—*Z. K. Matthews, Chairman, Caucus of Natives Representative Council, South Africa.*

"Your monthly publication 'New Africa' has been most informative and your pamphlets on the South African question have assisted us greatly in our campaign to win world opinion for our cause. We sincerely appreciate your help."—*J. N. Singh, Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Durban, South Africa.*

"The knowledge that we have friends at the other end of the Atlantic is comforting and inspiring in our struggle for freedom from want and heartless exploitation."—*A. A. Adio-Moses, Secretary-General, Trades Union Congress of Nigeria.*

"We endorse the views of the Council on African Affairs and hope that the rulers of the Colonial peoples will see the wisdom of its recommendations." —*The West African PILOT, Lagos, Nigeria.*

"Your recent denunciation of South Africa's incapacity to rule South West Africa, etc., has appeared in a section of the West African press. Accept our congratulations on your noble stand for the Cause of African Freedom."—*W. O. Essuman, Editor, THE GOLD COAST TODAY.*

"I have watched your movement grow from strength to strength. It is good for the race that you in the United States have taken up our cause to let the world see our sores."—*Dr. J. B. Danquah, Elected Member, Gold Coast Legislative Council.*

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

The COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, Inc.

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted]

PAUL ROBESON — *Chairman*
W. E. DU BOIS — *Vice Chairman*
W. A. HUNTON — *Secretary*
[redacted] — *Treasurer*
[redacted] — *Director of Organization*

The Council on African Affairs, founded in 1937, is an independent, private, non-profit organization supported by its members and contributors and the sale of its publications.

The Council sponsors conferences and public meetings on African and colonial problems, and encourages the promotion of such educational programs by Council members in communities throughout the country.

Inquiries regarding the organization's publications and activities, library facilities and other services — and regarding the Council's $1 group membership plan — are welcome.

Fill out and mail the coupon below
with your dues *today*.

Council on African Affairs, Inc.
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of the Council on African Affairs and forward my membership card.

Enclosed is my check (or money order) for:

$2 : regular membership annual dues, including subscription to *New Africa*
$10 : contributing membership annual dues
$25 : sustaining membership annual dues
$100: life membership

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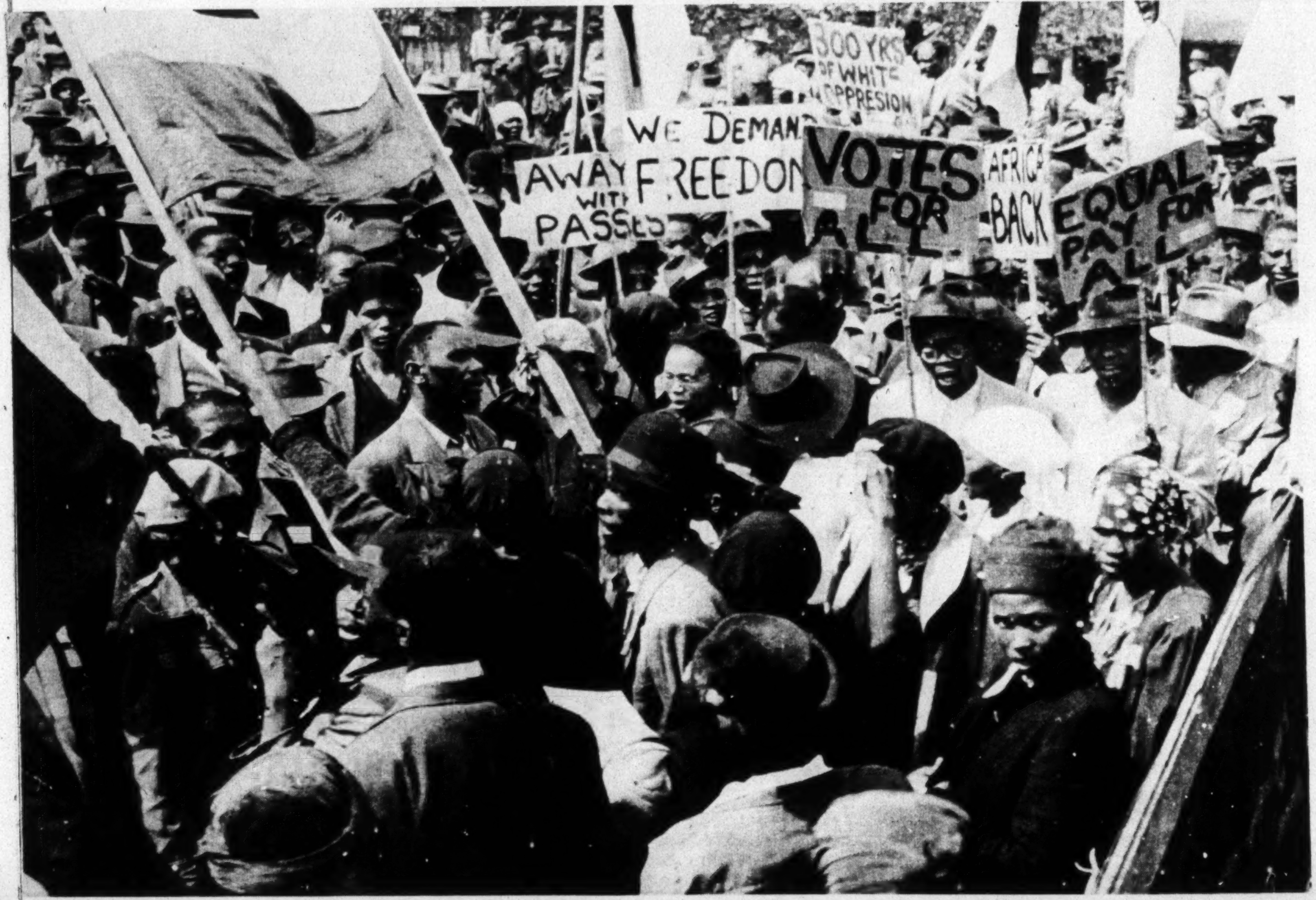
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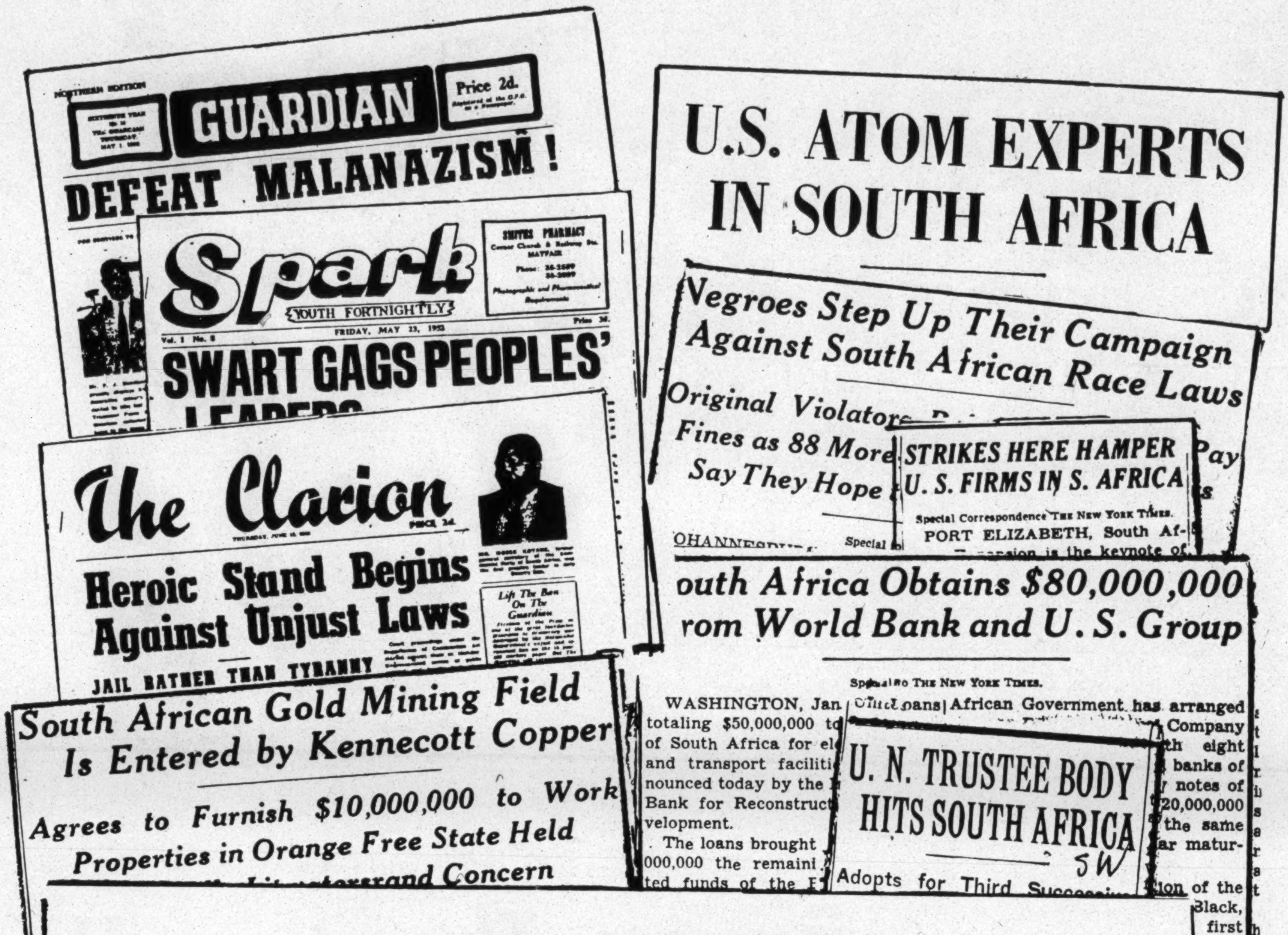
AWAY WITH PASSES
VOTES FOR ALL
AFRICA BACK
EQUAL PAY FOR ALL

Racism Threatens Us in South Africa as Here . . .

"We Want Freedom in Our Time — Jail Rather Than Tyranny!" That is the rallying cry of South Africa's ten million oppressed. Their Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, which began on June 26, is their militant and courageous answer to the fascist racist tyranny of the Malan government.

How does their fight for democracy affect US in America?

What can WE do about it?



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FRIDAY, MAY 23, 1952

SWART GAGS PEOPLES' LEADERS

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Heroic Stand Begins Against Unjust Laws

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South African Gold Mining Field Is Entered by Kennecott Copper

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U.S. ATOM EXPERTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Negroes Step Up Their Campaign Against South African Race Laws

Original Violators

Fines as 88 More

Say They Hope

STRIKES HERE HAMPER U. S. FIRMS IN S. AFRICA

Special Correspondence THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PORT ELIZABETH, South Af-

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Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Jan

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U. N. TRUSTEE BODY HITS SOUTH AFRICA

SW

Adopts for Third

IT'S OUR FIGHT, TOO! WE MUST HELP!

It's not as far as you think from Cicero, Illinois, to Odendaalsrust, South Africa, where police recently machine-gunned African men and women.

U. S. Jim Crow and South Africa's Apartheid have the same common denominator of super-profits for the Morgan, Rockefeller, and other giant American interests which share in the expropriation of Africa's great resources.

Only with the crushing of the African people's liberation movements in South Africa and throughout the continent, only with the maintenance of alien overlordship, is it possible to fulfill the plans of making Africa supply the uranium and other war material needs of the United States and its Western European allies and of converting that continent into a vast pivotal base of operations in World War III.

Thus it is that the ten million African and other darker peoples of South Africa, by their Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, are contributing directly to OUR struggle for democratic rights and peace.

Let us Americans express our gratitude and solidarity by petitioning our government to support the African people, and NOT their oppressors, in South Africa.

Let us also contribute whatever we can — even if only a dime — in response to the urgent appeal from South Africa for help to the hundreds of victims of Malanazi persecution.

PETITION

To the President of the United States
The White House, Washington, D. C.

Sir:

No lasting peace and no security for any of us can be achieved as long as people anywhere are victimized and oppressed because of their race or color.

In the Union of South Africa, where racist oppression exists in its most vicious and blatant form, hundreds of African and other dark-skinned men and women are currently being arrested and jailed for striving to achieve and exercise elementary democratic and human rights.

This shocking and inhuman treatment cannot be regarded as merely a question of domestic jurisdiction. If Hitlerism deserved to be a matter of world concern, so does Malanism.

We call upon you, Mr. President, to halt United States assistance in any form to the Government of the Union of South Africa, and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace.

NAME	ADDRESS	CONTRIBUTION

All petitions and contributions are to be returned before or by Sept. 15, 1952 to the Council on African Affairs, 53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Contributions will be forwarded immediately to the ***Fund for the Victims of Nationalist Persecution,*** *Johannesburg, South Africa, jointly sponsored by the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, Springbok Legion, Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and Transvaal Peace Council.*

SALUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA

Sunday, November 30, 1952 3 P.M.

At Rockland Palace

Sponsored by the United Citizens' Committee for Solidarity With

South African Resistance

The entire Harlem Community - churches, civic, fraternal, professional, labor and other organizations -- and all friends of African Freedom and American Democracy are invited to join in a SALUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA on Sunday, November 30, 1952.

Africa today is breaking the chains of colonial and white supremacy domination. In all sections of the continent alien overlordship is being challenged. The African peoples' struggle for freedom is directly linked with the struggle of black Americans for full democratic rights. Those who profit from the exploitation and oppression of darker peoples strive to keep them all in subjection everywhere.

The most vicious and blatant form of racist oppression is today being practiced in the Union of South Africa under the Malan government. In a desperate movement to save themselves from complete fascist enslavement, the non-white peoples of South Africa, led by the African National Congress representing nearly nine million Africans, have jointly undertaken a Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.

Since the start of the Campaign on June 26, 1952, approximately six thousand African and other non-white men and women have deliberately violated the various laws which degrade and enslave them -- and have been sent to jail. Despite the wholesale arrest of the peoples' leaders and increasing government persecution, the Campaign is continuing and spreading.

In the current United Nations General Assembly the racist program of the Malan Government is under attack as a threat to world peace. From all over Africa, from Asia and the Middle East, and from democratic-spirited organizations in Europe have come expressions of support for the South African peoples' heroic struggle.

AMERICA, TOO--AND ESPECIALLY BLACK AMERICA--MUST RAISE ITS VOICE.

It is for this purpose that individual citizens and representatives of several organizations have agreed to jointly sponsor a great mass rally on November 30 to be called a SALUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA. The object of the rally will be to place on record the fact that we fully endorse and support the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in South Africa and all other struggles of the peoples of Africa for democratic rights and self-government.

The sponsors of the SALUTE TO SOUTH AFRICA propose that the proceeds of the rally be used to give direct assistance to the South African peoples' struggle and to further the work of rallying the American people in support of the Africans' fight for freedom.

We invite your participation in the work of the Committee and your support for the November 30 rally.

* * *

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

AN APPEAL from SOUTH AFRICA — AND HOW WE CAN ANSWER IT

From Johannesburg, South Africa, comes an appeal to "all men and women of good will who wish to assist those in the front line defending liberty in South Africa" to contribute to the Fund for Victims of Nationalist Persecution.

This Fund has been established under the joint auspices of five South African organizations leading the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and the general struggle against fascist tyranny. They are the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Springbok Legion, the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and the Transvaal Peace Council.

In order to answer this appeal and, at the same time, provide a medium for the expression of American support for the heroic Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in South Africa, the Council on African Affairs has launched a campaign, enthusiastically endorsed by an Emergency Conference held in New York July 24, which will try —

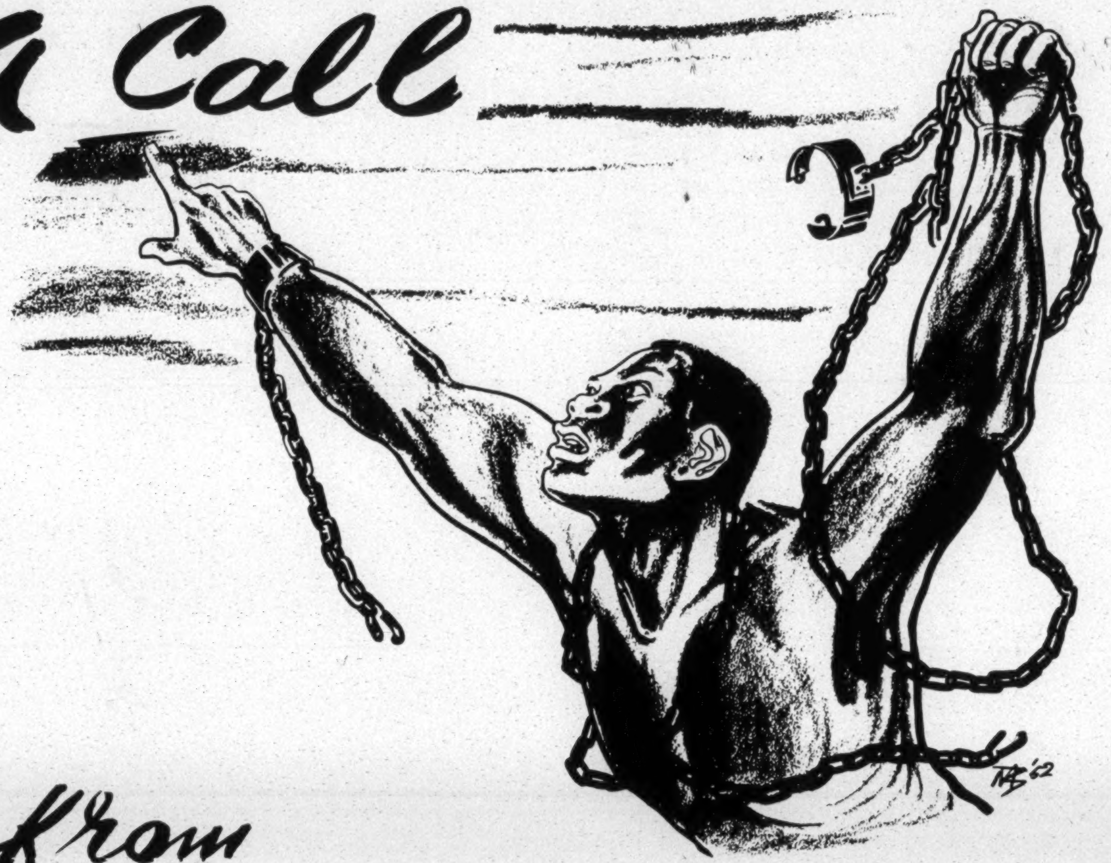
— to secure 100,000 signatures to a petition to President Truman, calling upon him "to halt U.S. assistance in any form to the government of the Union of South Africa and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace";

— to collect a minimum of $5000 in nickels, dimes, quarters and dollars from the signers to be sent as quickly as possible to the Joint Defense Fund in Johannesburg.

Here is an opportunity to demonstrate in a concrete and meaningful way our friendship for and solidarity with the 10 million oppressed darker peoples in the Union of South Africa who are helping to fight OUR battle against Jim-Crow, fascism and war.

WE MUST NOT LET THEM DOWN!

A Call from the heroic peoples of AFRICA to Negro and white Americans



"We appeal to the men and women of our own country, and indeed of all others, for that moral and practical support which will enable us to enter the liberty and dignity which is the birthright of all men everywhere."

-- The African National Congress, South Africa.

Call to Action ...

Africa is on today's agenda!

The time has come when all freedom-loving Americans must know the truth about the heroic and desperate struggles of the peoples of Africa. From the Mediterranean to the Cape they are determined that their great continent with its ancient culture shall once again have its rightful place in the sun.

The time has come when we in America must speak out and give support to our brothers who struggle for freedom in Africa.

Do not the sufferings of the peoples of Kenya and South Africa cry out for expressions of our sympathy? Shall we not honor the brave men and women who demand and fight for their rights against great odds?

Yes, but more than this: Africa is our concern because our own security, our own democratic rights, and the prospect of our preventing the use of American means and men in shedding the blood of Africans, depend on what happens in Africa today and tomorrow.

American workers, facing increasing unemployment, must know that only by strengthening their ties with the enslaved workers of Africa can they hope to protect their living standards against the attacks of powerful interests who use their vast profits from the exploitation of Africa to beat down the labor movement at home.

Our Churches, many of which have given long missionary service in Africa, are faced today with the responsibility of initiating programs of Christian action on behalf of the people of Africa corresponding with the Christian teaching given them.

Black Americans, struggling to wipe out the humiliation and degradation of second-class citizenship, know that racist doctrines of white supremacy are grounded in the lies which continue to be taught and disseminated concerning the "backwardness" of the African people. The Africans' advance to freedom means a death-blow to the myth of African inferiority and a tremendous impetus to the advance of black Americans toward the achievement of their full rights.

. . . for a FREE AFRICA

The Council on African Affairs, believing that now is the time to act, calls upon all churches, trade unions, organizations of women and youth, fraternal, civic, and social organizations, and all other groups which may be interested in Africa's future to send delegates or observers to

A WORKING CONFERENCE

IN SUPPORT OF

AFRICAN LIBERATION

SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 1954

at FRIENDSHIP BAPTIST CHURCH

-144 West 131st St., New York, N.Y.

Program

At the Morning Session, 10:30 A.M. - 1 P.M., after registering, the delegates will hear a keynote address by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, speeches by other authorities on Africa, and a report from the Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, Dr. W.A. Hunton.

The Afternoon Session, 2 P.M. - 6 P.M., will be devoted to discussion from the floor by delegates as to how they and the institutions and organizations they represent can help implement a constructive program of wider information and more effective support for the African peoples' welfare and freedom. The Conference will be concluded with a statement by the Council's Chairman, Paul Robeson.

- * -

Let us come together, organize, and plan a program of action in support of African liberation - and our own security and freedom.

A full time, year round Job!

The Council on African Affairs, founded in 1937, is an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to serving the interests of the peoples of Africa.

The Council has the full-time and year-round job, unique among organizations in the United States, of providing Americans with the TRUTH about Africa. This it does through its monthly Spotlight on Africa Newsletter and other publications such as the recently issued documentary pamphlet, "Resistance against Fascist Enslavement in South Africa."

A major function of the Council is to act as the channel of concrete assistance from Americans to Africans. Recently, for example, the Council collected and sent more than $2,500 to aid the South African people's struggle against the Malan government's tyranny.

Numerous expressions of appreciation of the Council's work have been received from African leaders and organizations in Kenya, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Uganda and other countries. One such expression from the foremost organization of Africans in the Union of South Africa reads:

> "The African National Congress highly appreciates the good work and tireless efforts made by your Council in educating our American Negro brothers and the public of America as a whole. We also express our gratitude for the assistance you have given us in our Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. The continuation of this valuable work has become more important. . . . . ."

REGISTRATION

Name..

Address...

Organization..

Delegate ( )   Observer ( )

(Please use additional sheet for other registrations)

Enclosed please find $......for registration (fee: $1 per registrant).

Enclosed please find $......to support the work of the Council.

Return this application to:

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, N.Y.

Mrs. Rosalie L. Pinckney, Treasurer, Council on African Affairs
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York

Herewith is my remittance for the following (as checked):

$2.00.. for one year's membership (includes subscription to NEWSLETTER).
$1.00.. for one year's subscription to Spotlight on Africa NEWSLETTER.
$...... for .... copies of your new 64-page pamphlet on Resistance in S. Africa (35¢)
$...... as my contribution to your work for African liberation.
$...... toward the defense of the Council against thought-control (McCarran Act) prosecution and suppression.

Name...

Address..

City...............................Zone.....State..........

Membership
blanks

Help Organize in Support of African Liberation

with AFRICA MUST BE FREE Buttons

(in orange, green, and black -- the colors of the freedom flag of the African National Congress in South Africa)

Price: 25¢ each --
10 to 25 buttons @ 20¢ each
Over 25 buttons @ 15¢ each

On orders of 25 buttons or less full payment must accompany orders. Other orders must be accompanied by payment of at least one-half of the amount due, with the balance payable within 30 days after receipt of buttons.

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I wish to order .... Africa Must Be Free Buttons

Name ....Telephone...................

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If buttons are to be distributed through an organization, please add:

Name of Organization..

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Amount paid herewith: $...............

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(Send orders to Mr. Edward L. Nelson, Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street,
New York 27, N. Y. -- Telephone: MO 6-8700)

Yes, I volunteer.....

To aid the Council on African Affairs in expanding its program in support of African liberation, I volunteer to contribute my services in the way or ways I have checked below:

..... as a member of the Organizing Committee
..... as a member of the Finance Committee
..... as a member of the Speakers' Bureau
..... as a typist
..... helping with mailings
..... selling the Council's Newsletter and pamphlets
..... selling Africa Must Be Free Buttons
..... promoting the Council's program in the community where I live.

My free time for such voounteer work is (please specify day or days and hours)
....

Name..

Address..............................

....

Telephone..............................

(Please fill this out and hand it in today at the Registration Table.)

Mrs. Rosalie L. Pinckney, Treasurer, Council on African Affairs
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Name...

Address..

City..............................Zone.....State..........

Proposed Organizational Steps for Carrying Out of Program to be Adopted by April 24th Conference

One: Formation of Kenya Aid Committee consisting of at least one representative of each organization participating in the Conference.

Two: Purpose of Committee:

1. Direct assistance to the freedom struggles in Kenya.
   - A. Funds — We propose that this committee set itself a goal of $5,000 over a three month period beginning May 15th to August 15th.
   - B. Medical Supplies — In order to help combat diseases arising from malnutrition, we propose that quantities of dried milk and vitamin pills be secured by the committee. Also, every form of first aid supplies.

   Source of Distribution: Contact is being made with the Kenya Aid Committee of London, England. Due to existing conditions in Kenya, we are unable at this time to propose a more direct means of distribution. However, we have complete confidence that all monies and materials sent to the London committee will be properly distributed. (Note: Due to the high cost of shipping, closting and usual food supplies have been ruled out.)

2. Action to secure widest possible endorsements of proposals to U.N.
   - A. Immediate distribution of proposals to the press and individual leaders and organizations, urging endorsements. Copies also to be sent abroad — Caribbean, Africa, Asia, Europe — to develop international support.
   - B. In August the committee will begin an intensive campaign to get Church organizations, Fraternal orders, Trade Unions and others to endorse the Council's position on African freedom.
   - C. The campaign will be culminated by a delegation presenting the proposals to the State Department and to the U. N. prior to the beginning of the General Assembly meeting in the fall.

Three: Mechanics of realizing Kenya Aid objectives:

1. Formation of Friends of Africa Committees on a borough basis in the N. Y. area.

2. Delegates from out of town will be asked to go back and set up similar committees.

3. Printing of attractive gleaners or collapsable containers to aid in soliciting funds.

4. Organizing a public meeting to launch drive. Date and nature of meeting to be decided by K. A. C. at its first meeting.

5. Series of parties and other fund raising affairs.

6. Organizing a series of street meetings.

7. Organizing a monthly forum series, meetings to be rotated in various boroughs of the city.

8. Setting up of a Public Relations and Information Department. (Jerry Rauch and John Hudson Jones, proposed co-directors)

ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Adopted at the Second World Peace Congress, Warsaw, Nov. 16-22, 1950
and
Resolutions adopted at the First Session of the World Peace Council,
Berlin, February 21-26, 1951
Submitted by the Delegation of the World Peace Council
(the Reverend Willard Uphaus and Paul Robeson, members of the delegation
resident in the United States) to the Honorable Jacob Malik, Chairman,
Security Council, United Nations, June 26, 1951

Address to the United Nations

When the peoples of the world created the United Nations they reposed in it great hopes. The greatest of these was the hope of peace.

But, today, war already disturbs the peaceful life of some peoples and threatens tomorrow to disturb the peace of all mankind. If the United Nations has not fulfilled the great hope reposed in it by the peoples of the world, both those whose governments are represented in it and those not yet represented, if the United Nations has not assured mankind security and peace, this is because it has been influenced by forces which have disregarded the only path to universal peace, the search for general agreement.

If the United Nations is to realize the hopes that humanity still reposes in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the day of its foundation, and, as a first step in this direction, it must secure as soon as possible the calling of a meeting of the five Great Powers -- the U.S.A., France, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the Chinese People's Republic -- for the examination and peaceful settlement of existing differences.

The Second World Peace Congress, comprising delegates of 80 countries and expressing the true voice of a humanity longing for peace, demands that immediate consideration be given by the United Nations, and by the parliaments to which the governments of the various countries are responsible to the following proposals designed to restore and maintain peace, and to restore and maintain confidence among all countries, regardless of their social systems.

1. Disquieted by the fact that the war now raging in Korea is not only bringing incalculable misery upon the people of Korea but also threatens to develop into another world war, we insist upon the immediate cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal from Korea of foreign armies and the peaceful settlement of the internal conflict between the two parts of Korea, with the participation of representatives of the Korean people. We insist that the problem be dealt with by the Security Council in its full composition, including representatives of the Chinese People's Republic. We call for the termination of the intervention by American armed forces on the Chinese island of Taiwan (Formosa) and the cessation of hostilities against the Republic of Viet-Nam, as being military actions which contain the danger of world war.

2. We categorically condemn every move or measure taken in violation of the international agreements forbidding the remilitarization of Germany and Japan. These attempts and measures constitute a grave menace to peace. We insistently demand the signing of a peace treaty with a united and demilitarized Germany, the signing of a peace treaty with Japan and the withdrawal from both these countries of the forces of occupation.

3. We consider the use of force to keep peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection a menace to the cause of peace, and we proclaim the right of these peoples to freedom and independence. Similarly, we pronounce against every form of racial discrimination because it promotes hatred among nations and constitutes a danger to peace.

4. We consider it necessary to denounce the attempts made by the aggressors to confuse the very concept of what constitutes aggression and, in this way, to provide a pretext for foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. No political, strategic or economic considerations, no motives deriving from the internal situation or any internal conflict in one or another state can justify armed intervention by any other state. Aggression is a criminal act on the part of that state which first employs armed force against another state under any pretext whatever.

5. We hold that propaganda for a new war constitutes a grave menace to the peaceful cooperation of peoples and one of the gravest crimes against humanity.

We address to the parliaments of all countries a request to enact a law for the protection of peace, which shall make all propaganda for another war, whatever form it may take, a punishable offence.

6. All decent people, whatever their political colour, regard ruthless mass destruction of the civil population as a crime against humanity. We demand that an authoritative international commission shall be appointed to examine the crimes committed in Korea and, in particular, the question of the responsibility of General MacArthur.

7. Voicing the vital demands of the peoples who bear upon their shoulders the burdens of war budgets, and wishing to guarantee humanity stable and lasting peace, we submit for the consideration of the United Nations, the parliaments and the peoples the following proposals:

Absolute prohibition of all types of atomic weapons and of bacteriological, chemical, toxic, radioactive and all other means of mass destruction;

Denunciation of the government that first employs such means as a war criminal.

The Second World Peace Congress, conscious of its responsibility before the peoples, also addresses a solemn call to the Great Powers and proposes that they carry out, in the course of the years 1951-52, a reduction, progressive, simultaneous and in the same proportion, of all armed forces, land, sea and air, to the extent of from one-third to one-half.

Such a measure would put a decisive end to the armaments drive and reduce the danger of agression. It would help to lighten the war budgets which are a heavy burden on all strata of the people. It would help also to restore international confidence and the necessary cooperation between all nations, irrespective of their social systems.

The Congress declares that control to enforce the prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as control of conventional armaments and their reduction, is technically possible.

An international control body, having at its disposal qualified inspectors, should be set up under the Security Council. It should be charged with the duty of exercising control both over reduction of conventional armaments and over observance of the ban on atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other means of mass destruction.

To be effective, this control should relate not only to the military forces, existing armaments and production of armaments declared by each country, but, at the demand of the International Control Commission, should include inspection of military forces, armaments and production of armaments believed to exist over and above those declared.

These proposals for reduction of armed forces represent the first stage toward general and total disarmament, which remains the ultimate goal of the partisans of peace.

The Second World Peace Congress, convinced that peace cannot be guaranteed by seeking a balance of power involving an armaments race, affirms that the measures proposed by it would not give any advantage in military power to any nation whatsoever, but that they would certainly have the effect of preventing war, ensuring security and promoting the well-being of the peoples of the world.

8. We emphasize that the passage of certain countries to a war economy is increasingly disturbing economic relations and international exchange of raw materials and manufactured goods, is having a pernicious effect on the standard of living of many peoples, is hindering economic progress and business relations between all countries, and leads ultimately to conflicts endangering the peace of the world. As defenders of the vital interests of the populations, and desirous of improving the international situation, we propose that normal trade relations be restored between the various countries on a basis of

reciprocity, thus satisfying the requirements of the peoples, eliminating economic discrimination in any form, and ensuring the development of the national economies and the economic development of states, both large and small.

9. We hold that obstruction of cultural relations between peoples breeds discord and misunderstanding, creates an atmosphere of distrust and favours war propaganda, and that the promotion of cultural relations between peoples creates conditions for mutual understanding and confidence in the common struggle for peace. We therefore urge all governments to contribute towards improving cultural relations among the peoples in order to enable them to become better acquainted with each other's cultural patrimony. We ask them to facilitate the arrangement of international conferences of intellectuals, exchange of visits, publications and wide diffusion of works of literature and acquaintance with the works of art of other countries.

10. In calling upon the United Nations to justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples of the world, we desire to bring to its knowledge that as a result of our efforts a World Council of Peace has been set up. The World Council of Peace will be a body composed of representatives of the peoples of all countries of the world, those affiliated to the United Nations and those not yet represented therein, including those that are still dependent and colonial countries.

The World Council of Peace appeals to the United Nations to fulfil effectively the duty it has assumed of strengthening and developing peaceful cooperation between all countries. It will assume the lofty task of securing a firm and lasting peace, corresponding to the vital interests of all nations. The World Council of Peace will give to mankind the certitude that, despite all existing difficulties, which, however, must not be minimized, it will accomplish its mission.

Resolution on the United Nations

The World Peace Council has taken note that the United Nations has failed to reply to the Address of the Second World Congress, as though proposals for the maintenance of peace advocated by the representatives of hundreds of millions of human beings did not concern it.

Since the adoption of that Address, the U.N. has still further disappointed the hopes the peoples had placed in it and has raised this disappointment to a climax by the resolution condemning China as an "aggressor."

It has sanctioned, and covered by its authority, the systematic destruction in Korea, by the American armed forces, of almost a million human beings, including old people, women and children, crushed or burnt in the debris of their towns and villages.

The World Peace Council resolves to dispatch to the U.N. a delegation comprising Signor Nenni (Italy), Mme. Isabelle Blume (Belgium), Mrs. S. O. Davies (Great Britain), Mrs. Jessie Street (Australia), M. d'Astier de la Vigerie (France), Mr. Tikhonov (U.S.S.R.), Mr. Wu Yao-tsung (Chinese People's Republic), Mr. Hromadka (Czechoslovakia), M. Gabriel d'Arboussier (Black Africa), Senor Pablo Neruda (Chile), General Heriberto Jara (Mexico), Mr. Paul Robeson and Rev. Willard Uphaus (U.S.A.), Dr. Atal (India).

This delegation shall be charged to demand of the U.N.:

1. That it consider the various points of the Address of the World Peace Congress and the various resolutions adopted at this session of the World Council and express an opinion on each.

2. That it return to the role assigned it by the Charter, namely, that it should serve as an area of agreement between the governments and not as the instrument of any dominant group.

This decision of the World Council will have the support of hundreds of millions of men and women who have a right to maintain a vigilant watch to ensure that high international organs do not betray their mission of safeguarding peace.

Resolution on a Peaceful Solution of the Korean Conflict

Resolution on a Peaceful Solution of the

To secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the World Peace Council demands the immediate calling of a conference of all countries concerned.

We call on all lovers of peace in all countries to urge their respective governments to support the immediate calling of such a conference.

The World Peace Council strongly maintains the opinion that all foreign armed forces must be withdrawn from Korea to enable the Korean people to settle their internal affairs for themselves.

Resolution on a Peaceful Solution of the Japanese Question

In pursuance of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress, the World Peace Council strongly condemns the remilitarization of Japan now being effected by the occupying power against the wishes of the Japanese people.

The World Peace Council considers it essential that a referendum on the remilitarization of Japan and the conclusion of a peace treaty with a peaceful and demilitarized Japan be held in Japan and in the countries most concerned in Asia, America and Oceania.

The World Peace Council condemns all attempts to conclude the separate peace with Japan. It considers that a peace treaty must be the subject of negotiations in the first instance by the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and agreed by all the countries concerned. All occupation forces must be withdrawn from Japan immediately after conclusion of the peace treaty.

The Japanese people must be guaranteed a democratic and peaceful life.

All military organizations and institutions, acknowledged or concealed, must be forbidden, and the whole of industry must be directed towards a peace economy.

The World Peace Council invites all friends of peace in Asia and the Pacific area, including those in Japan, to hold on the earliest suitable date a regional conference for the defence of peace, in order to achieve a peaceful solution to the Japanese question and thereby dispel a serious source of danger of war in the Far East.

Resolution on the Decision of the United Nations Wrongfully Naming the Chinese People's Republic an "Aggressor" in Korea

The World Peace Council recalls the definition of aggression adopted by the Second World Peace Congress: "That State commits the crime of aggression which first employs armed force under any pretext whatever against another State," and it declares unjust and illegal the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations naming the Chinese People's Republic an "aggressor" in Korea. This decision constitutes a serious obstacle to the peaceful solution of the Korean question; it threatens extension of the war in the Far East and, consequently, threatens the outbreak of a new world war.

The World Peace Council demands that the United Nations rescind this resolution.

Resolution on the Struggle for Peace in the Colonies and Dependencies

The Charter of the United Nations, which was based on the right of free self-determination of peoples, raised high hopes in colonial and dependent countries. But, in this sphere, as in many others, the attitude of the United Nations, by serving as a screen for the methods of force and compulsion used to maintain peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection, has undermined the hopes placed in it.

This situation increases the danger of a new world war.

The World Peace Council denounces the false propaganda which tends to represent a new world war as a path that might lead to the free self-determination of the colonial and dependent peoples, and declares that the common action of all peoples side by side for peace constitutes a decisive factor in the realization by the colonial and dependent peoples of the right of free self-determination.

The proposals towards a peaceful settlement of the war in Korea and the major Asian problems -- Taiwan, Viet-Nam, Malaya -- and toward a peaceful settlement of the German Problem and the Japanese problem, as well as the efforts of conciliation by certain Asian, Arab, and other peace-loving countries, contribute at one and the same time toward the maintenance of peace and toward the free self-determination of peoples.

The growing opposition of the colonial and dependent peoples to aggression, oppression and the stifling of their liberties; to the inclusion of their countries in aggressive pacts; to the raising of native military contingents for use against other peoples; to the stationing of foreign troops on their territories; to the acquisition of military bases and raw materials in their countries; to the lowering of their cultural values; to measures of race discrimination -- all contribute vitally to the maintenance of peace.

The World Council proclaims the solidarity of all peoples without exception in the struggle against the war that threatens all mankind.

Resolution on a Peaceful Settlement of the German Problem

Militarist and Nazi forces are being revived in Germany, in betrayal of the resolve of the peoples in whose name were concluded the treaties which categorically insist on Germany's disarmament. This rearmament, military and industrial, of Germany constitutes the gravest of the dagners threatening a new world war.

The World Peace Council notes with satisfaction the growth of the forces of peace in Germany and welcomes the gratifying success of the Peace Congress of Essen. It commends the friends of peace in Germany for undertaking, as a task in which peace-loving people of all tendencies are participating, a referendum in which the German people shall express their will on the question of the remilitarization of their country and on the conclusion of a peace treaty that shall put an end to the present dangerous state of uncertainty.

The World Peace Council calls upon the peoples most directly menaced to unite in a vigorous movement of protest of millions of men and women to secure from their governments the conclusion, in the course of the current year, of a treaty of peace with a peaceful and united Germany, whose demilitarization, ensured by an international agreement, will constitute the best guarantee of peace in Europe.

# # #

WE ASK YOUR HELP in furthering the circulation of this pamphlet, and welcome orders from your friends or from organizations with which you are associated (10 copies, 30 cents each).

Orders for this pamphlet should be sent to:

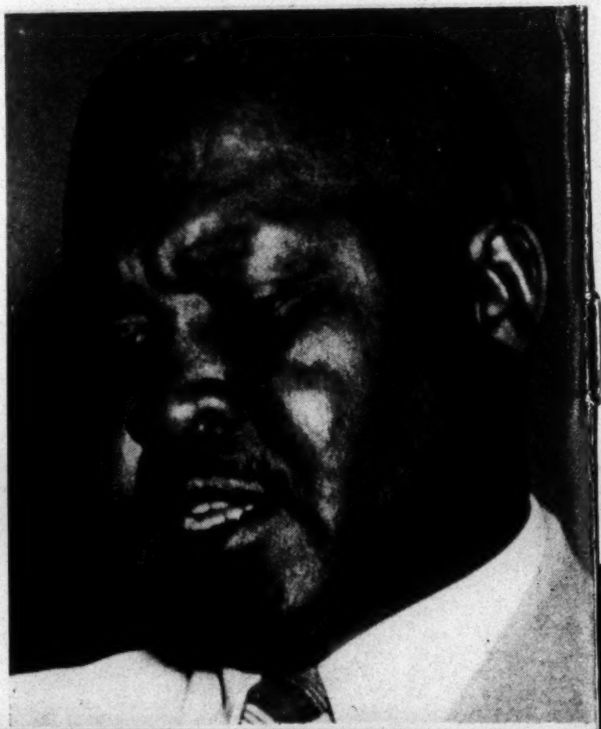
The Council on African Affairs
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

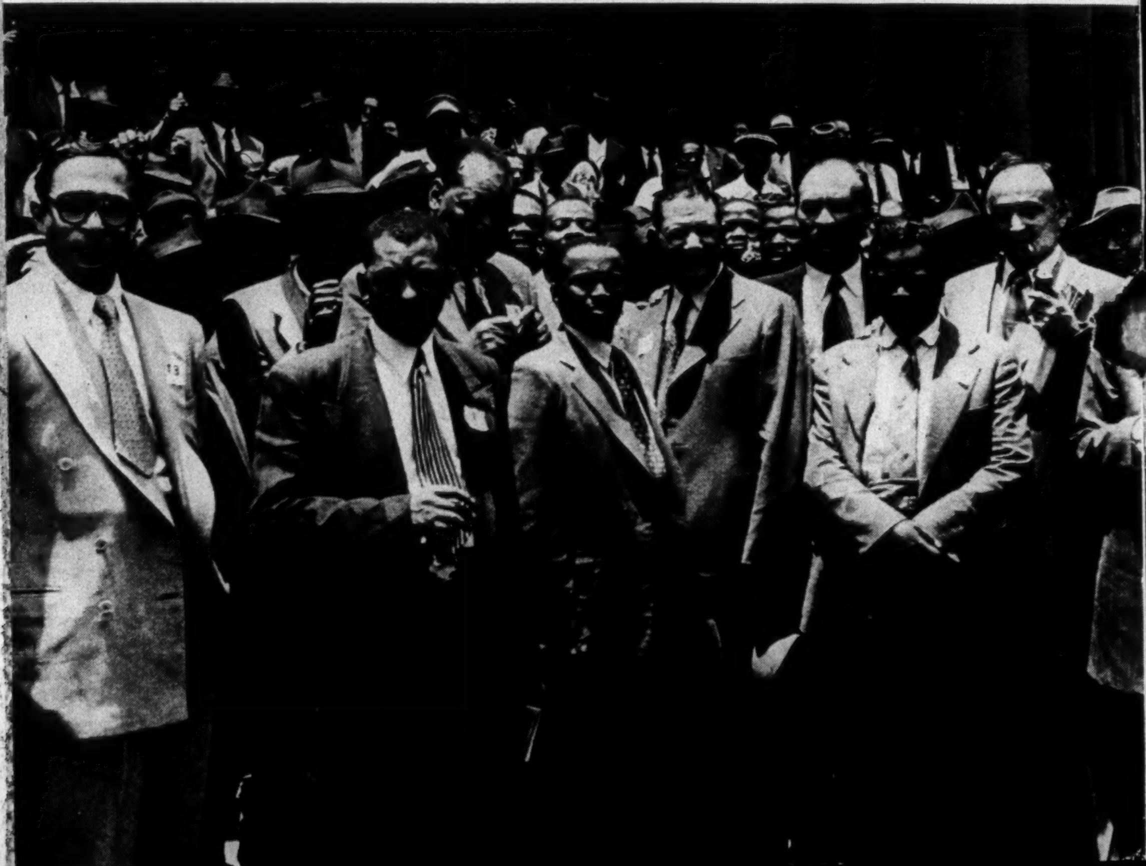
RESISTANCE

Against FASCIST ENSLAVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

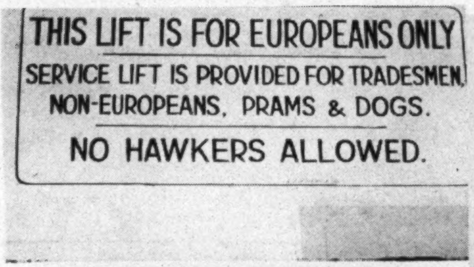
35¢

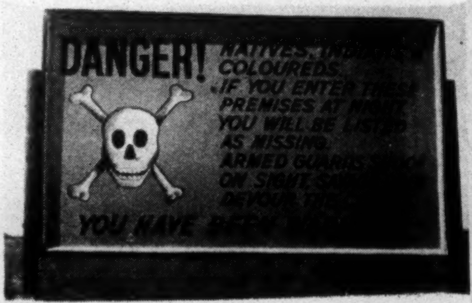
THEY LEAD THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA. *Right:* Albert John Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress. *Below:* Some of the African and Indian leaders who were arrested, tried and sentenced in 1952 for directing the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws. They are *(left to right, without hats)*: Y. A. Cachalia, Walter M. Sisulu, J. B. Marks *(behind Sisulu)*, D. W. Bopape, Dr. J. S. Moroka, James G. Phillips, M. Thandray and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo.

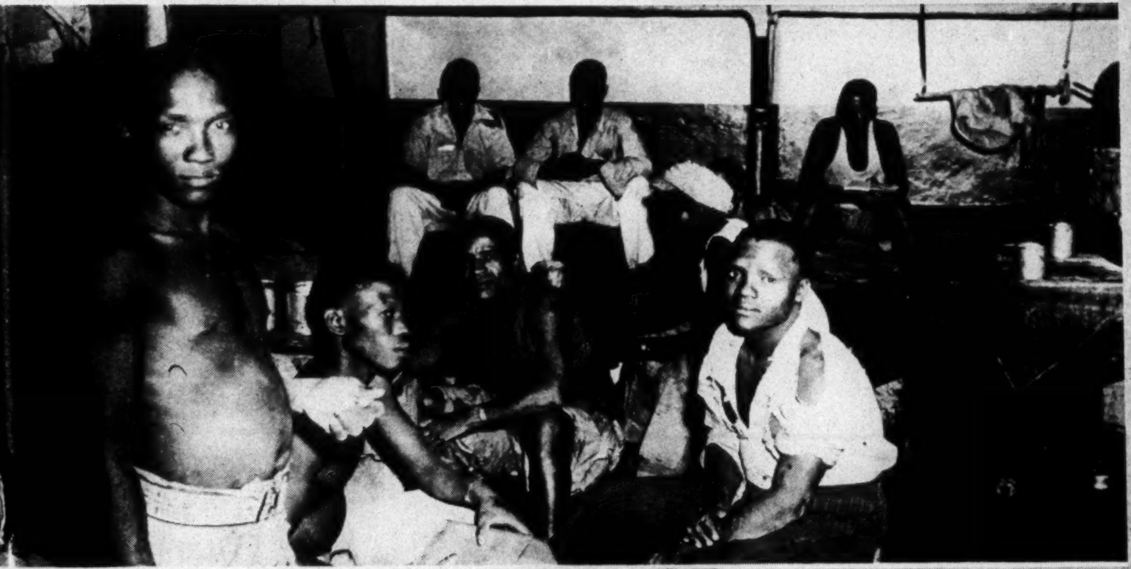


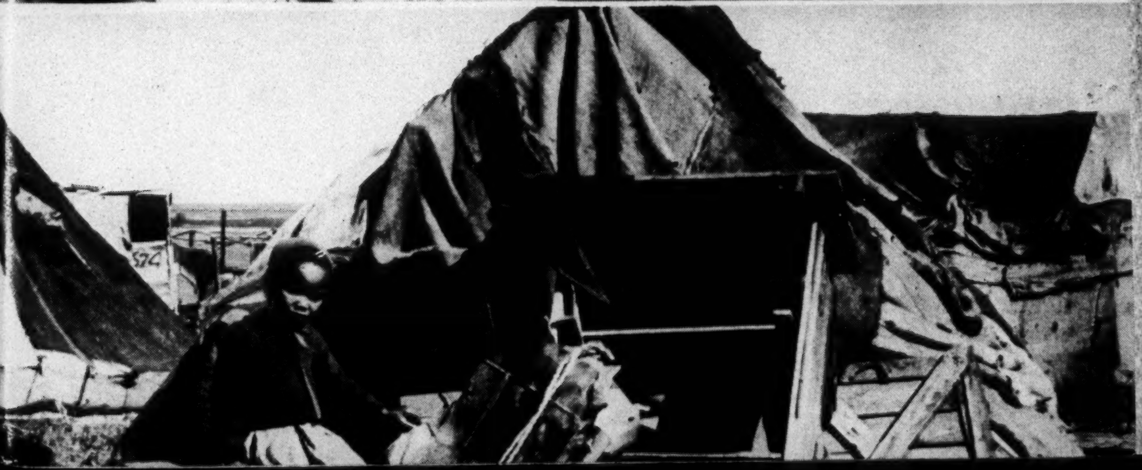


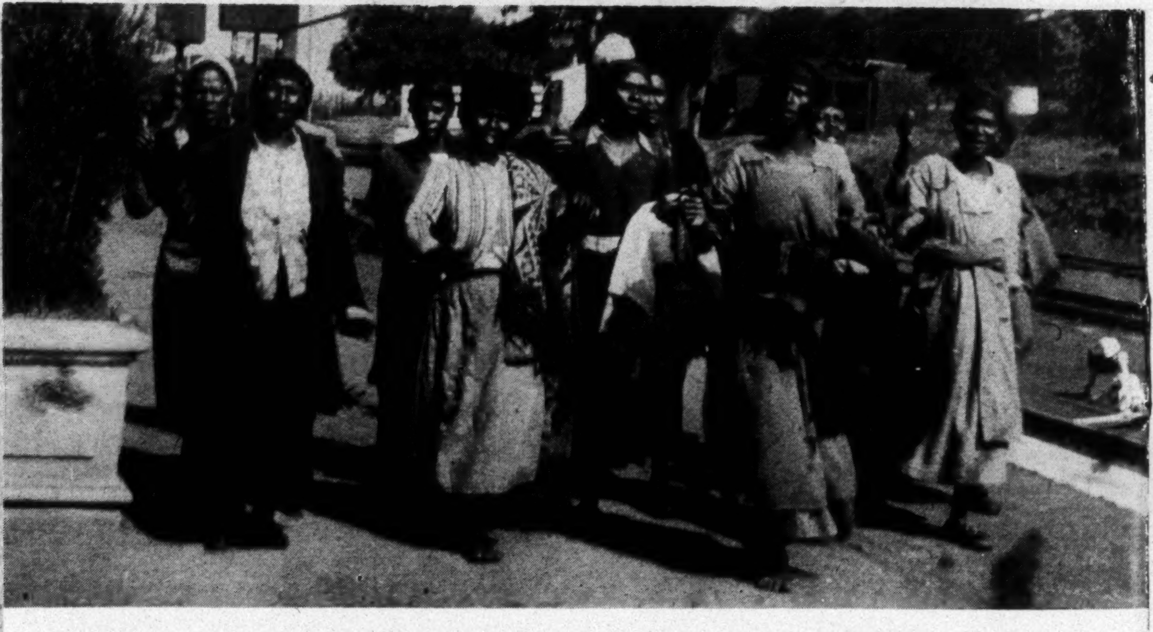
SYMBOLS OF RACISM. Signs on an elevator in a Johannesburg apartment building and on a white farm in the Transvaal. *Below:* Living quarters of African mine workers, complete with cement bunks. *Bottom:* Waiting for her parents to find another "home" in one of the slum settlements in which Africans are confined in South Africa.


THIS LIFT IS FOR EUROPEANS ONLY
SERVICE LIFT IS PROVIDED FOR TRADESMEN,
NON-EUROPEANS, PRAMS & DOGS.
NO HAWKERS ALLOWED.

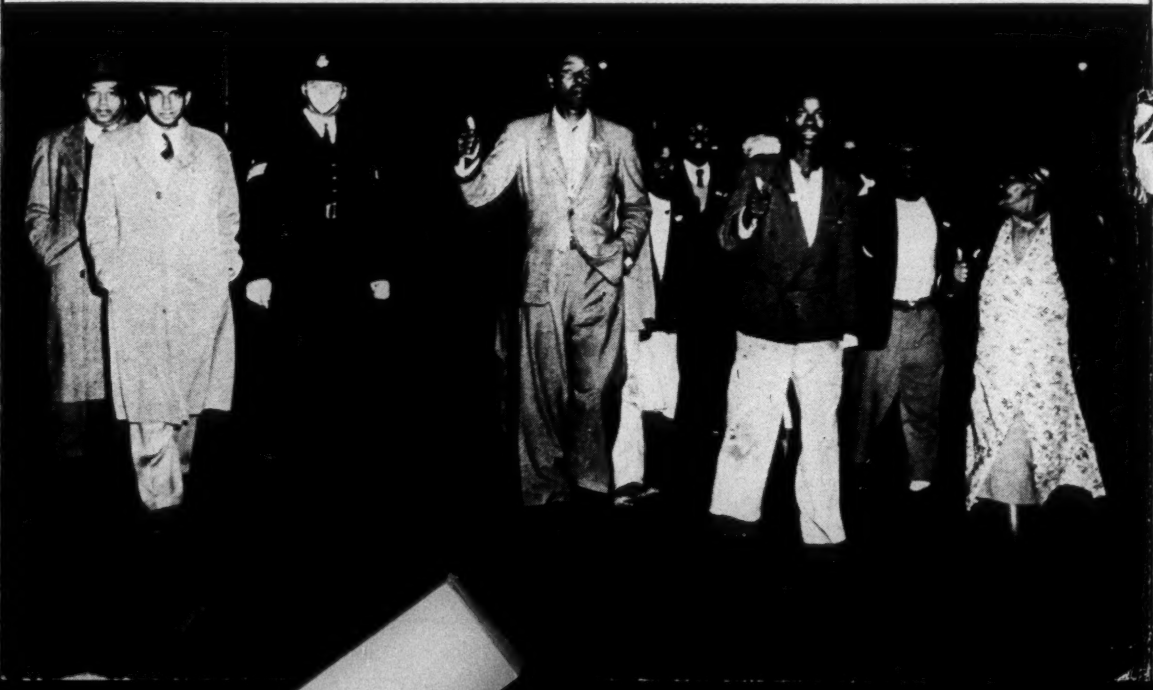

DANGER!
NATIVES, INDIANS &
COLOUREDS.
IF YOU ENTER THESE
PREMISES AT NIGHT
YOU WILL BE LISTED
AS MISSING.
ARMED GUARDS
ON SIGHT
DEVOUR
YOU HAVE







DEFYING THE UNJUST RACIST LAWS. "Mother has gone to jail to fetch freedom," said the child of one of the hundreds of African women who have played a prominent part in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws. *Above:* A group of defiance volunteers on their way to break the railway segregation regulations in the Cape Province by riding in the coach reserved for whites. *Below:* Defiance volunteers violate the curfew regulations barring Africans from the streets at night.



RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

RESISTANCE

Against FASCIST ENSLAVEMENT *in* SOUTH AFRICA

With a POSTSCRIPT FOR AMERICANS

By Dr. Alphaeus Hunton

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS: New York
1953

"WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by rule of law. . . ."

Preamble of United Nations Resolution on Human Rights, December 10, 1948

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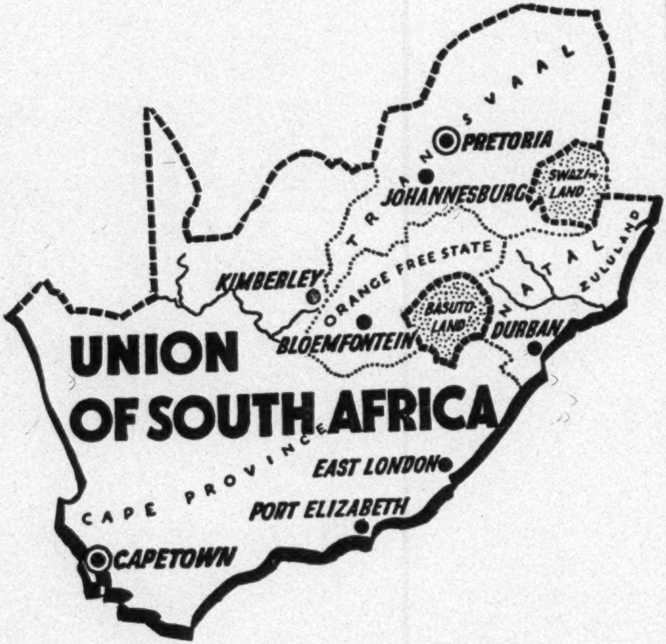
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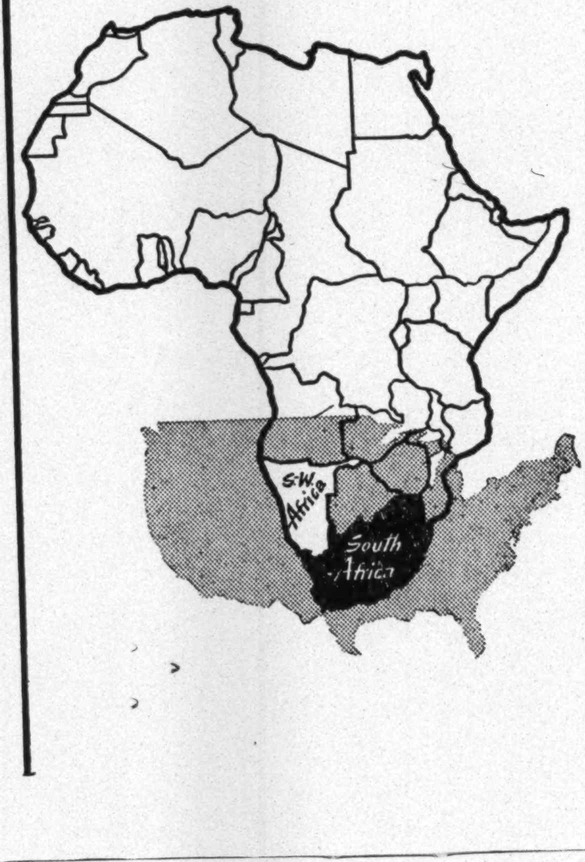

S.W. Africa
South Africa

I.

South Africa's Oppressed Appeal to the World

THE DISABILITIES OF THE NON-WHITE PEOPLES OF SOUTH ARICA

The Union of South Africa is a country where the most blatant racial discrimination is continuously practiced and openly upheld by the Government as the "way of life" of South Africa.

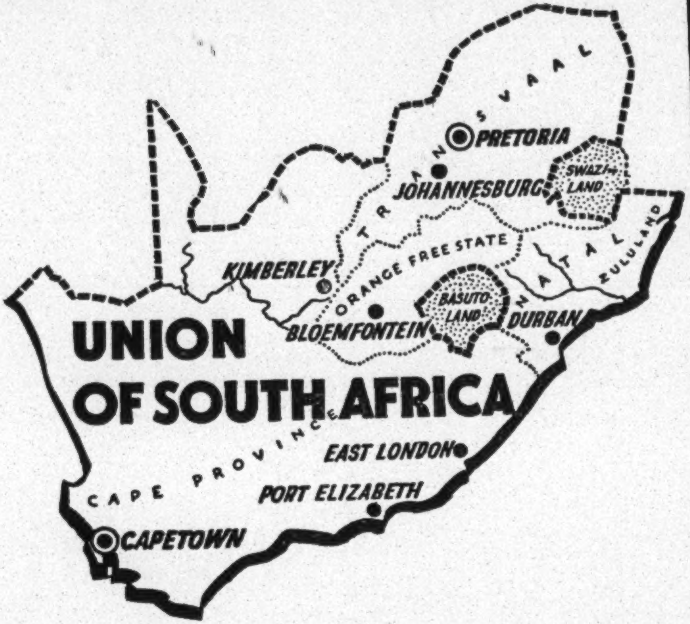
The victims of these discriminatory laws and practices are not a minority, but the entire non-white people, who form the great majority of the country's population.

The non-whites are denied any voice in the government and administration of the country. They are being forced increasingly into a position of economic destitution. Their rightful demands and aspirations are ignored and derided. They are faced with a desperate future of land-exhaustion and decimation by avoidable disease.

It is for these reasons that the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, both of them the premier, oldest-established and most responsible organizations of their respective population groups, have decided to embark upon the *Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.*

THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Whites, known in South Africa as "Europeans." There are two and a half million fair-skinned people, of European descent, from whom are drawn all the members of Parliament, the judiciary and the upper Civil Service; all directors, shareholders


UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
TRANSVAAL
PRETORIA
JOHANNESBURG
SWAZI-LAND
ORANGE FREE STATE
KIMBERLEY
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NATAL
ZULULAND
DURBAN
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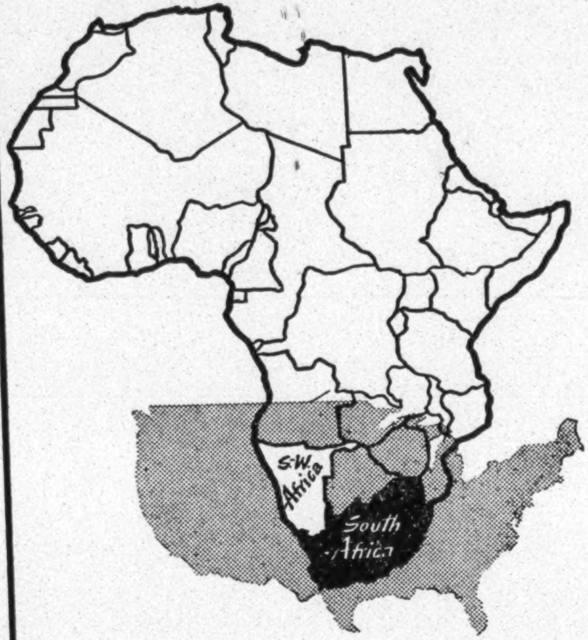
S.W. Africa
South Africa

I.

South Africa's Oppressed Appeal to the World

THE DISABILITIES OF THE NON-WHITE PEOPLES OF SOUTH ARICA

The Union of South Africa is a country where the most blatant racial discrimination is continuously practiced and openly upheld by the Government as the "way of life" of South Africa.

The victims of these discriminatory laws and practices are not a minority, but the entire non-white people, who form the great majority of the country's population.

The non-whites are denied any voice in the government and administration of the country. They are being forced increasingly into a position of economic destitution. Their rightful demands and aspirations are ignored and derided. They are faced with a desperate future of land-exhaustion and decimation by avoidable disease.

It is for these reasons that the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, both of them the premier, oldest-established and most responsible organizations of their respective population groups, have decided to embark upon the *Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.*

THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Whites, known in South Africa as "Europeans." There are two and a half million fair-skinned people, of European descent, from whom are drawn all the members of Parliament, the judiciary and the upper Civil Service; all directors, shareholders and administrators in major mining, industrial and financial enterprises; practically the entire middle and professional classes and the upper, skilled personnel in the country's major industries. Innumerable laws and customs are enforced to preserve the privileged status of this racial minority, officially referred to as "Europeans" or "blankes" (whites), who are inculcated from infancy with the conception of themselves as the Herrenvolk. They are divided into two main language-groups: English and "Afrikaans"; the latter language, akin to Flemish, is derived from the Dutch. Only these two languages enjoy "official" status, all State documents, laws, etc. being promulgated in both these languages—but never in the languages of the African majority.

Africans. There are eight and a half million persons of indigenous African descent in the Union, forming very substantially the majority of the population. Most of the Africans, about three out of four, have their homes in the rural areas, either in the "Reserves", or as squatters or laborers on European-owned farms. Most of the able-bodied male Africans are away from their homes most of the time, working as migratory laborers in mines, in industry, in domestic service or agriculture. A rapidly increasing number of African workers are living as permanent residents in the "locations" which have been erected on the borders of all South African towns. From these "locations" they travel daily to the towns to work in factories and other white-owned enterprises or in the kitchens and gardens of the whites' homes. The Africans in the Union are subjected daily to a number of racially-determined restrictions, humiliations and hardships which must, in quantity and degree of onerousness, be probably without parallel anywhere in the world, at any time in history.

"Colored". There are about one million people in the Union of mixed descent, referred to in legislation and common usage as "Colored". Commonly speaking either English or Afrikaans, this population group numbers many skilled artisans among its ranks, but also thousands of agricultural workers who tend the vineyards and wheatlands of the Cape, working for a pittance or under the infamous "tot" system whereby wages consist partly of wine rations. Colored people possess no voting rights except for

a limited male franchise in the Cape Province; even this is now threatened by the Malan Government.

The Indians today number 364,000. Indian indentured labor was imported from 1860 to work the sugar plantations. They are prohibited from moving from one Province to another and may not live in the Free State at all. The Statute Book carries a succession of anti-Indian laws, the majority aimed to prevent their land ownership and restrict their trading rights. The Government's policy, often stated, is the forcible "repatriation" of all Indians to India, although the overwhelming majority are South African born and regard themselves as South Africans.

THE LAND OF THE "HERRENVOLK"

While in many parts of the world there has been, since the end of the Second World War, a steady trend towards a greater measure of democratic rights and liberties for the people, this has not been the case in South Africa. Indeed a succession of steps has been taken, especially since the advent of the present Government headed by Dr. Malan in May, 1948, to still further curtail and restrict the rights and depress the status of South Africa's non-white population.

For generations the treatment of the non-whites in South Africa has been an international scandal. From the plunder of the lands of the African tribes of Xhosas, Zulus, Pedis, Basuto, Tswanal, Mashonas, in the nineteenth century, to Dr. Malan's present threats to annex the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland; from the decimation by the German colonisers of the Herero tribe in South West Africa a half-century ago, to the Union's current defiance of the United Nations' recommendations concerning the South West African mandate; from the notorious massacre of an African religious sect at Bulhoek in 1921, to the bloody repression of the strike of African workers on the gold mines in August, 1946—for over a century the white rulers of South Africa have shocked the conscience of the world.

This is the country where the labor conventions of the International Labor Organization concerning indentured labor are flouted; where private jails are established in rural areas to supply white farmers with cheap convict labor. This is the infamous oligarchy where political rights and economic opportunities are vested in a minority whose only claim to these privileges is their fair skin.

"For Europeans Only"

In town and country, at state-owned railway stations, post offices, and municipal buildings, at libraries, cinemas, hotels and cafes, on buses and trams, in lifts and at swimming baths, over benches in the public parks, one reads the omnipresent words "Europeans Only—Slegs vir Blankes". Segregation is practiced at church services, on the sports field, at political meetings, at concerts, plays, and cultural events. The ideology of the ruling caste in South Africa, like that of the Hitlerites in Germany, is that "Non-Europeans" are an inferior race of men divinely ordained to serve their white masters and to occupy forever the status of subordinates.

The Dutch Reformed Church, of which Dr. Malan is an ordained minister, issued a strong statement in April, 1951, attacking the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights. Criticizing such formulations in the Declaration as "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and "Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms without distinction of any kind such as race, color and sex", the Church Statement declares this principle "is not only wholly unrealistic but it also takes no account of the wide differences which God in his wisdom of creation laid down."

The endless humiliations and wounds to human dignity of the Non-Europeans, their hard struggle to survive landlessness, slums and low wages, have led to a culmination of bitterness, resentment and frustration. The past four years of Nationalist rule have exceeded all that has gone before in their ruthless repression, *their deliberate closing of every door to the advancement of the non-white peoples*. In the words of Dr. Malan, writing to the African National Congress on January 29, 1952:

"It should be understood clearly that the Government will under no circumstances entertain the idea of giving administrative or

executive or legislative powers over Europeans, or within a European community, to Bantu men and women, or to other smaller Non-European groups. The Government, therefore, has no intention of repealing the long-existing laws differentiating between European and Bantu."

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

Union Government spokesmen are forever advancing the claim that since the greater proportion of taxation is paid by the whites, to them must go the credit for such social services as exist in South Africa. The implication is that until the Africans (the poorer section) pay for themselves, they do not deserve better social services. It is true that a very high percentage of those who pay income tax in South Africa are white; but since this fact arises directly out of the closing of every opportunity for non-whites to enter the higher income groups, to claim this as a merit for white domination is preposterous.

The Social Security Committee estimated the average income per head of the European population in 1941-2 at about $600 per annum, that of Coloreds at $100 per annum and that of Africans $40.*

In fact, the taxation system of the Union is grossly unfair, because while whites whose income falls below certain minima are in many cases exempted from taxation altogether, *all* Africans are subject to "poll tax" and certain other taxes regardless of the income earned and even if unemployed. Naturally those non-whites whose earnings are sufficient to fall within the income tax-paying group are taxed on the same basis as the whites.

In 1936 over 30,000 Africans were imprisoned for their failure to pay taxes. Moreover, the many indirect taxes and duties on common goods are naturally borne by all in South Africa.

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* It was disclosed in South Africa's Parliament on Feb. 16, 1953 that of the country's total national income, $3,360,000,000, the eight and a half million Africans were receiving only $89,600,000 a year, or a per capita income of $10.54. This would indicate that during the last decade the income of the whites has greatly increased while that of the non-whites has been sharply reduced. (Amounts in pounds, shillings and pence in the Memorandum text have been converted into dollars and cents equivalents at the rate of exchange existing at the time referred to in the text. All footnotes are editorial additions to the text.)

An article on taxation by two well-known economists, P. H. Guenault and J. N. Reedman, published in the *Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1949) states: "It is the direct taxes which mark most clearly the differences between European and Native taxation in the Union. Of these the taxes peculiar to Natives are (a) the general tax, commonly termed the poll tax [£1 or $2.80 per year payable by every male African between the ages of 18 and 65 years; whites under 21 and over 60 are exempt from general direct taxes]; (b) the local or hut tax; (c) quitrents, and (d) the provincial hospital tax. One other tax, however, should be mentioned, namely, the pass fee, which, although generally regarded as falling on the employer of Native labor who pays the fee, constitutes a tax on the employment of Native labor, the burden of which will be shared in some proportion between the worker and employer. . . .

"Grave Inequities"

"The Social and Economic Planning Council rightly concludes: 'The present system of Native taxation leads to grave inequities as between the Native and other sections of the population. . . . Members of the other racial groups who earned an income equal to the average Native income would generally be exempt altogether from direct taxation.'

"To complete our survey, it is necessary to mention indirect taxation. Here it can be said that those indirect taxes which affect the African through increasing the prices of such essentials and conventional necessities as blankets, clothes, sugar and, in urban areas, tea . . . constitute a most onerous burden on a very poor section of the population."

It should also be noted that in defiance of all well-established principles of taxation and state expenditure, the public expenditure of South Africa is weighted heavily against the lowest income-groups. For example, in the Transvaal Province in 1949-50, the expenditure per head on each white child for education was $117.57, for each Colored and Asian child $46.34, and for each African child only $17.95.

It should be remembered that while education is compulsory for white children, it is not so for Africans, and in fact, no school accommodation is available for the majority of African children. As the figure above ($17.95) refers only to African children actually in school, is must be considerably reduced to cover all children of school-going age. Over the Union as a whole in 1946 only 34 per cent of African children between the ages of seven and sixteen were attending Government and Government-aided schools.

For the year ended June, 1951, the annual welfare expenditure per head of the total European population of the Union was $15.12 —compared with the less than $3.26 per head of the non-European population.

Everywhere social, educational, and health services for non-whites are vastly inferior.

POLITICAL POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE WHITES

The South Africa Act (Act of Union, 1910) is the Union's Constitution and it enshrines the principle of race dicrimination.

All members of Parliament must be "of European descent". With minor exceptions (explained below) Africans are not allowed to vote. The indigenous inhabitants of the African continent, who are the big majority of the people, are barred from exercising the first right of a citizen of a democracy: the right to choose his or her own Government, by vote.

The Constitution reflects certain historical differences, mainly in regard to the status of the non-white people, that existed between the Cape and the Northern provinces before Union. In the Cape Colony many non-whites had the right to vote in the Parliamentary and other elections. In the Transvaal and Orange Free State non-whites had no political rights at all. These differences were retained in the South Africa Act. Non-whites kept the vote in the Cape, but this right was not extended to the Northern Provinces. But even in the Cape the right of non-whites to stand for Parliament was removed.

Since the passing of the South Africa Act, changes have been made to restrict still further non-white voting rights in the Cape. Africans have been placed on a separate voters' roll, and they elect three "Native Representatives" (they must be white) separately. In 1930 white women were given the vote, but Colored women were not. This, of course, cut the voting strength of the Colored people in half. Then educational and property restrictions on voters were removed, but not in the case of Colored people. This further reduced their political influence.

And now under the Nationalist Government, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, passed amidst one of the greatest constitutional storms in the country's history, removes Colored voters of the Cape from the common roll, flouting the entrenched clause in the Constitution which safeguarded the non-white franchise of the Cape. The Nationalists defied the Constitutional provision that the franchise could not be taken from the Coloreds except by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting together. Their Act substitutes a communal franchise for the direct vote, giving the Colored people four (white) representatives in the House of Assembly.

Seven Whites "Represent" Eight Million Africans

Apart from the three "Native Representatives" in the Lower House who represent the Africans of the Cape Province, the only other African representation in Parliament is in the Upper House, the Senate, where four members are indirectly elected by the Africans under the 1936 Native Representation Act. Even these Senators must be whites. The four Senators represent Africans throughout the country, with the exception of those in the Cape who have three Assembly representatives. Thus one Senator is elected by the indirect vote of all the Africans of the Transvaal and Free State provinces, taken together. Under the system of indirect election, chiefs, headmen, advisory boards, and local councils constitute the electoral units and have as many votes as there are African taxpayers in the area.

In contrast to this extremely limited franchise of the non-whites (and it must be remembered that apart from 1,500 Asians in the Cape no Indians are represented in Parliament at all), every white person over the age of 21 years has the vote. In the Cape where Coloreds and Indians have a vote, they must be able to write their names and addresses and occupy property to the value of $210 or earn $140 a year if they are to qualify for the voters' roll.

Thus in the Upper House of Parliament forty senators represent the whites and four represent the Africans; while in the Assembly 150 members represent the whites and a small number of Coloreds and Asians, and *three* speak for the Africans of the Cape Province. Out of a total of 197 members, 190 represent 22 per cent of the population, and *seven* represent 68 per cent. The remaining 10 per cent are totally unrepresented.

Only in the Cape are non-whites represented on Provincial Councils, and only on Cape municipal councils may non-white councillors sit. Everywhere else City and Town Councils are exclusively white.

THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR LAND

Since the earliest days, the history of the African people of the Union has been one of the steady expropriation of their lands. In the beginnings of white settlement, "Kaffir Wars"* against neighboring African tribes were fought for their cattle and land; later, bands of settlers penetrated further and further into the interior, encroaching on tribal lands as they went.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of almost continuous war against African tribes. The Basuto chief, Moshesh, a brilliant diplomat and statesman, maneuvered adroitly in the face of attacks by both Boer and British to preserve something of the integrity and independence of his country. But in 1868 he was forced to agree to annexation by the British, and the former broad lands of Moshesh were reduced to a comparatively small and mountainous area. Ten years later, in 1878, in the Transvaal a considerable force of English and Boers defeated Setubuni, chief of the Bapedi, the last African independent chief.

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* "Kaffir" is a derogatory, chauvinist term applied to Africans.

Seizure of lands that was not accomplished by open warfare, in which the whites were successful thanks to their superior arms, was brought about by fraud and deceit. Many a chief was induced to allow whites to settle "temporarily" on a part of his territory only to find later that they claimed legal ownership of the whole of his territory.

It is on such force and fraud that most of the title deeds to land in the Union are today based.

The process of driving the African from the land was completed and legalized in 1913 with the passing of the notorious Native Land Act. This Act prohibited all Africans from aquiring or hiring land outside areas scheduled in the Act. It brought about the tragic uprooting of hundreds of thousands of families settled on their land for generations who now had nowhere to go. This was a deed of historic infamy whose effects are felt to this day.

Driving the African into Wage Slavery

The confinement of millions of Africans to areas far too small to support them had a very clear purpose; the pressure of land hunger, poverty and starvation forced them to leave their homes in the countryside to seek work on the mines and farms.

The Union's land policy has always been the lever for its migratory labor and cheap labor policy.

In 1897 in Johannesburg an Industrial Commission of Enquiry was appointed at the instigation of the Chamber of Mines. This was a time of serious cheap labor shortage for the mines. The Commission records reveal that from 1890 onwards the Chamber had made repeated representations to the Transvaal Volksraad (the then Parliament of the Transvaal Republic) for (1) better "control" of Africans through the pass laws, and (2) the increase in the hut tax "as an incentive to the Natives to work", among other matters.

The chairman of twelve mining companies, who was one of the witnesses to this 1897 Commission, said the more stringent pass law came into existence "at the request of the mining industry, and was framed by certain persons connected with the mining industry; it was the mining industry that induced and solicited the government to administer the law."

Here is a further extract of the record of proceedings:*

Mr. George Albu (then Chairman of the Association of Mines): ". . . The Native at the present moment receives a wage far in excess of the exigencies of his existence. The Native earns between 50s. ($12.15) and 60s. ($14.58) a month and he pays nothing for food and lodging—in fact, he can save almost the whole amount he receives. . . . If he can save £20 ($97.20) a year it is almost sufficient for him to go home and live on the fat of his land. In five or six years the native population will have saved enough money to make it unnecessary for them to work any more. The consequence will be most disastrous for the industry and the state. I think if the native gets sufficient pay to save £5 ($24.30) a year, that sum is quite enough for his requirements and will prevent natives from becoming rich in a short space of time."

A member of the Commission: "Do you intend to cheapen kaffir labor? And how?"

Albu: "By simply telling the boys that the wages are reduced. The maximum is at present 2s 3d (55¢) a shift [a day's work] and we can reduce it to 1s 6d (36¢), that is for skilled labor. For ordinary, 1s (24¢) or less for a shift."

Commission Member: "Suppose the Kaffirs return to their kraals [countryside settlements]. If that happened and you were without black labor, would you be in favor of asking the government to enforce labor?"

Albu: "Certainly. A kaffir cannot live on nothing."

Commission member: "You would make it compulsory?"

Albu: "Yes. I would make it compulsory, and *without* using force. A tax would be levied."

Commission member: "Do you think you could get the majority of the people on the Rand with you in trying to make the kaffirs work at a certain rate?"

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* Quoted from *The Native Labor Question in the Transvaal.*

Albu: "I think so."

Commission Member: "Would it not be called slavery?"

Albu: "Not so long as the men earned a certain amount of money."

Commission Member: "If a man can live without work how can you force him to work?"

Albu: "Tax him then."

Africans Herded into "Reserves"

The rapid expansion of gold and diamond mining and subsidiary industries led to an acute demand for labor. So long as many Africans enjoyed the life of the independent peasants, even though as tenants and share-croppers on land owned by whites, they could not be pressed into service except by the offer of wages and amenities better than the mine-owners were prepared to offer. They attempted to solve this problem by indenturing cheap Chinese labor, but this was proved unsatisfactory. It was then that the Land Act was resorted to.

After the 1913 Land Act the total area left for African occupation as "Native Reserves" was 22,617,335 acres out of a total of 309,333,500 acres,* that is about 7.3 per cent of the total land area. It was promised that more land would be added to the Reserves but by 1936 the total addition was about one per cent. It should be remembered that the 1913 Land Act followed the census of 1911, which showed Africans to constitute 78 per cent of the total population.

"With the exception of the Transkei and Pondoland they (the 'Native Reserves') were, on the whole, regions of only medium or poor fertility, many of them left for Native occupation after the better land in the vicinity had been taken over by white farmers." (E. R. Roux, in *Race Relations Handbook*)

The 1936 Trust and Land Act abolished the right of Africans in the Cape Province to purchase land outside the Reserves, thus placing them in the same position as those in the other three provinces. At the same time an area of 15,732,000 acres was earmarked for purchase for additional Reserves. These purchases were supposed to take place by 1946. But today 6,431,509 acres yet remain to be purchased.

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* Converted from morgen, the South African land measure used in the text. One morgen equals 2.17 acres.

White farmers have bitterly and consistently opposed even these limited accessions of land for Africans. Mr. D. L. Smith, when Chairman of the Native Affairs Commission, said: "It appears that the European community is not prepared to honor its promises."

Rural Slums

Today, the Reserves, in the words of a Government Commission, are "generally backward areas, and the whole atmosphere in them is one of stagnation, of poverty of people and resources. There has been little if any attempt to integrate them into the national economy; they have been largely ignored and neglected."

The rate of increase in population has far outstripped the rate at which land was added to the existing Native areas. Few families in the Reserves can depend solely on agriculture for their livelihood. Yields from crops and animals are so low that supplementary income must be obtained from somewhere. Due to the overcrowding of the Reserves, the small-size holdings of the individual, and the utter dependence of the people on each season's crop, it has been impossible for the African farmers to let land lie fallow, rotate crops, or practice other good farming techniques. The result has been that the land in the Reserves, poor to start with, has reached a chronic and shocking state of erosion and steadily aggravated infertility where droughts and dust-storms are becoming increasingly prevalent.

Traditionally the Africans are a cattle-owning people but more and more today their cattle are passing from their possession. Report No. 9 of the Government Social and Economic Planning Council states: "In the two Ciskeian districts (Kingwilliamstown and Keiskamahoek), 30-35 per cent of the taxpayers own no cattle; in the seven Transkeian districts 44 per cent of the families have no cattle at all. In the seven districts of the Transkei, 33,923 families, i.e. 47 per cent, have neither sheep nor goats." Thousands of families in the Reserves not only own no land but also possess no stock.

While the African peasant in the Reserve has thus a desperate struggle to maintain a bare existence for himself and his family from the produce of the land, he is still called upon to find money in order to pay taxes and purchase necessities of life. Yet it is almost impossible for him to obtain money from his farming operations. Even if he had managed, often by depriving himself and his family of food, to accumulate a small surplus of farm products, these would be mortgaged in advance to the white trader.

Evils of Migratory Labor System

The head of an African family living in the Reserves is thus compelled to spend a large part of his life away from his land and family, working in the gold mines, in industry, or on a farm to earn money. In the words of the Government Mine Wages Commission, "a considerable percentage of the Reserve Natives have to work for hire almost continuously with relatively short breaks to earn a living."

The 1936 census showed that 54 per cent of the male population was absent from the Reserves at the time of the census. It is the young men who go out to work, and consequently in the Reserves the work of farming has to be done by the aged, by children and by women free from domestic duties. The average period spent away from home by mine laborers is about 14 months.

Again to quote the Social and Economic Planning Council: "From a long-term point of view, the Council regards the system of migratory labor as morally, socially and economically wrong, and it looks forward to its ultimate disappearance.

"As far as the Reserves in particular are concerned, no real progress towards their rehabilitation is possible as long as the migratory system of peasant labor is encouraged. The loss of manpower is bound to react adversely upon agriculture in the Reserves. Moreover, the Native has little incentive to improve himself as an agriculturalist, and his work outside the Reserves is not of much benefit to him in his home environment.

"If the migratory system prevents the Native from becoming a good farmer, it also makes him a poor industrial worker. The system is in fact wasteful of the country's greatest asset—its human resources."

THE GOLD MINES

South Africa's mining industry has been built up on and depends on a plentiful supply of cheap African labor.

The Union cannot supply the mines' full quota of labor and the system of migratory labor extends northwards through Africa, right into the tropical areas.

In 1951, of the mines' total African labor force (something like 25 per cent of those who applied in the Reserves were rejected on medical grounds—a shocking commentary on the poverty and poor state of health of those in the Reserves), 39 per cent were from the Union; 17 per cent were from the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland; 30 per cent were from Portuguese East Africa; and 14 per cent were from the tropical areas. Strenuous efforts were being made to increase the flow of labor from the tropical areas to make good the shortage in Union mine recruiting.

The evils of the migratory labor system in the break-up of family life and the absence of the family heads and young men for long periods of time are thus felt in Africa far beyond the Union's borders.

The Recruiting System

Great mine recruiting corporations exist to contract Africans to work on the mines. The Native Recruiting Coporation operates in the Union and High Commission Territories, and the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association in areas north of latitude 22 degrees S. The Native Recruiting Corporation has a network of branch offices and agents throughout the African Reserves and

Protectorates. In the Transkei (the largest African Reserve in the Union) the agents are usually the traders, and they receive a bonus of between $4.20 and $5.88 for each recruit they sign on. This leads to a pernicious system whereby traders encourage and *even contract* debts which will have to be worked off on the mines.

Contracts are in complicated legal phraseology and few Africans who sign them understand them. A breach of the laborer's contract is a criminal offense and special courts try deserters from the mines who are recaptured. Some 6,000 desert from the Union every year, and about half are recaptured and punished for breaking their contracts. Conveniently, too, for the mines, South Africa has not ratified the Forced Labor Convention, and convict labor is also used on some mines.

In the Union the minimum period of contract is 270 shifts (about 10 months). In terms of the Mozambique Convention of 1928, laborers from Portuguese East Africa are recruited for 313 shifts (about 12 months) and their contracts may be extended for a further 156 shifts.

What the Black Mine Worker is Paid

Wages of African miners have barely increased over the last fifty years.

The Witwatersrand Native Labor Association lays down a *maximum average daily wage* for African miners which no mine may exceed, thus effectively keeping wages down to starvation level and preventing inter-mine competition for labor by the offer of higher wages.

In 1937, 50,211 white mine workers earned $89,965,822 and 400,288 African miners earned $63,696,903; so the average wage for a white miner was $1,792 a year and that of the African $151 a year.* In 1942 the monthly wage of an African worker in the mines was $14.31 and that of the white worker $142.32. In 1943 a Government Commission on African miners' wages recommended an increase of 8¢ from the then minimum rate of 35¢ a shift for surface and 40¢ a shift for underground workers to 43¢ and 48¢ respectively, and also an additional 5¢ a shift cost-of-living allowance. In 1944 wages of African surface workers were raised by 7¢ a shift and of underground workers by 8¢ a shift.

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* In 1951 less than 40,000 whites were paid $86 million while 300,000 non-whites got about half that amount, some of the African workers receiving as little as 36 cents for a day's work. The total of white and none-white wages in 1937 represented less than 39 per cent of the value of the gold produced, $390 million. In 1951 the total wages represented less than 32 per cent of the value of gold produced, $403 million. For the amount of South African gold that the U.S. gets, see below, page 52.

On the mines the workers are housed in closed compounds, in great barracks accommodating from 16 to 40 men in one room. They sleep on concrete berths divided from each other by concrete partitions. The 1943 Commission said: "This type of berth is hard and affords little opportunity for comfort, and a more serious objection is that it is cold."

Working Conditions

The miner may not leave the compound without a special pass from the compound manager. The food given in the early morning is "lambakza" (a thin, unsweetened porridge), bread, black coffee and sugar. After that meal the workers, said the Commission, "will be hard at work for some eight hours and during that period will have no other food."

For permanent partial disablement on the mines an African may be paid $2.80 to $28.00; for permanent total disablement or death a lump sum of between $84 and $140 is paid; compensation for phthisis is on about the same scale as for total disablement or death.

There is no paid leave for African miners. Only two public holidays a year are observed by the mines—Good Friday and Christmas Day. The mines grant no sick pay. If a man misses work through illness (and the type of work causes many to get sick) he gets no pay for the time he misses.

The miner gets no extra pay for overtime, or for Sunday work, although he is obliged to do such work whenever the management asks him to do so. Out of his wretched pay he has to buy special boots needed underground, and bedding for his sleeping coffin. If he loses his lamp or his jacket, supplied by the mines, he has to pay for it.

No Right to Organize, No Right to Strike

While employers on the gold mines organize a monopoly for the deliberate and open purpose of keeping wages down, everything possible is done to prevent the African workers from organizing a trade union. From 1941, in the face of tremendous difficulties placed in their way by both the Government and the Chamber of mines, the African workers have struggled to build the African Mine Workers' Union. The mine managements, under instructions from the Chamber of Mines, at all times refused to meet representatives of the Union. Workers belonging to it were victimized. Under War Emergency Regular 1425 no gatherings of twenty or more persons are permitted on gold-proclaimed property.

The great August 1946 African mine workers' strike, which affected 32 mines in an industry that had barely increased African wages in 50 years and yet earned super-profits, was put down by brutal police terror, the whole state machinery aligning itself with the mine-owners against the workers' wage claims. Police made baton charges into compound rooms to force the miners down the shafts. In a week of terror miners were shot dead and crushed to death as crowds were dispersed by fierce police charges. On one mine, workers who staged a sit-down strike underground were clubbed back to work "stope by stope, level by level" (in the words of a newspaper report) by armed police who descended into the mine to force them to work.

After the strike an unprecedented campaign of victimization was launched against workers who dared associate with their Union. The spy system in all the compounds was tightened up and extended, and everything possible was done to isolate the miners inside their great compounds and prevent their contact with their union organizers.

So, shut off in these compounds, herded like cattle in barracks, and cut off from their wives and families for long months at a time, over 300,000 miners slave deep underground for a mere pittance. The miner returns to his home in the Reserves with what he has left of his earnings, only to be back on the mines after an interval when repayments to the trader and other cash needs have exhausted his small cash hoard.

ON WHITE FARMS

Over two million Africans labor on white farms.

The first Secretary of the African National Congress, the late Sol. T. Plaatje, painted in his book, *Native Life in South Africa,* a heart-breaking picture of thousands of Africans he saw in 1913, in the bitter heart of winter, trekking aimlessly with their cattle and families across the Union, rendered homeless and landless by the Land Act. Many of them subsequently became landless agricultural laborers, or labor tenants, modern serfs, allowed to farm a small piece of ground in return for their service and that of members of their family for a certain period every year. As one petty chief put it, "My grandfather awoke one morning at his own kraal and found a white man who said, 'You are living on my farm and you must work for me.'" In effect, African agricultural laborers are paying with their labor for access to the land they once held themselves.

There is no legal minimum wage for farm workers. Probably half receive no cash wages at all. "Where the wage in kind is the only wage, the contract usually takes the form of labor-tenancy, the worker giving up 90 days service in exchange for residence, grazing, arable land and a ration of food while he is actually working. . . . There are no accurate figures available of the cash value to the laborer of this return for his services but an average of $70 a year for a family of five would probably be an exaggeration." (John Burger, *Black Man's Burden*)

According to the Government Bureau of Census and Statistics, while white laborers and other white workers on farms are paid an average of $56 a month in cash and kind, non-white laborers get an average of $7.70 a month in cash and kind; a man getting about $9 a month and a woman about $4.90.

Conditions vary from one area to another. Sometimes the laborer must give ninety days service a year, sometimes two days a week. In some areas African farm laborers get a cash wage varying from 70 cents to $2.80 a month, and in kind a piece of land to plough, grazing for a few animals, a hut which the worker must build himself, half a bag af maize meal a month and other rations, water and fuel. Women in domestic service on farms are paid much less and children are paid up to 35¢ a month.

A Form of Slavery

For these wages the farm laborer does exhausting work from dawn to sunset. He gets no compensation for injuries, no hospital treatment, no schooling for his children. He lives in mud and thatch huts, is underfed, clothed in rags. Often he is physically maltreated and abused by his employers, with no protection from the law. The majority of agricultural laborers, like the men in the Reserves, are in debt, and this indebtedness of farmworkers to their employers (often to the extent of $28 or $42, or more than a year's wages) fetters him to the farms.

Indebtedness and the Masters' and Servants' Act and the Pass Laws enslave the farm worker. Contracts between the laborer and his employer are rarely in writing, and disputes arising from them are common. The Pass Laws stop the African from moving to a new farm and better conditions, for he may go only with his employer's consent.

The sharecropper's destiny is in the hands of the farmer. As long as he is allowed to stay on the farm he may cultivate on his little piece of earth and struggle to feed his family. But every year families who have been given notice to leave (their "trekpass") by farmers—perhaps because their labor is no longer needed, or because there has been a dispute between master and servant—have to move off (often without reaping their crops in the field) with family, cattle, and all possessions, in search of a new temporary foothold.

Conditions on the farms are so wretched that the Union suffers from a perpetual farm labor shortage. This shortage and the drift from the land to the towns in search of better conditions will never be solved until farm conditions are improved.

But instead, the Government follows a policy of restricting the entry of Africans into the towns, deporting workers from the towns to the country areas, using convict labor to work on the farms, and in general using compulsion to supply the farmers with cheap labor. This maintenance of a supply of cheap labor for the farms (and the mines too) is secured through the notorious Pass Laws.

Use of Convict Labor

The farm prison system is another evil method by which men are forced to do farm work. There are today thirteen farm prisons in the Eastern Transvaal, in the Free State, and in the Cape. On August 29, 1952, when the Minister of Justice opened the newest farm jail at Klein Drakenstein in the Cape, he said in his speech that the farm jails were his "baby" and it had been his policy since he had been Minister of Justice that they be established. He said many more would be opened in the future.

Farm jails are financed and erected by groups of farmers in certain districts, with the approval and assistance of the Department of Prisons. For example, twenty-two farmer shareholders invested $70,000 in the first farm jail to be built at Geneva in the Free State. Convicts are then allocated to these jails by the Department of Prisons, and are guarded by warders or farmers, the latter fetching their batch of convicts each day and, in some cases, themselves standing watch over them in the fields.

Farmers in Carolina, Eastern Transvaal, who employ convict labor, decided to send a deputation to the Minister of Justice for the tightening up of security measures to guard prisoners. They wanted their white guards to be armed with sten guns instead of the .303 rifles they at present carry.

It has been estimated that 25 per cent of farms in some districts are dependent on African convicts for their supply of labor.

In July 1952 one of the Senators representing Africans in Parliament made representations to the Minister of Justice on charges of rough handling of prisoners in farm jails in the Bethal area. He called for an inquiry into the employment of convict labor. He cited an example of one jail where an African convict had had his eye kicked out.

Workers Whipped, Kicked Beaten

The Institute of Race Relations carried out investigation into the treatment of labor in the Bethal area and reported cases where laborers were "whipped, kicked, beaten and generally assaulted, and locked up all night in cattle sheds."

Since the early 'twenties the treatment of farm laborers in the Bethal and nearby areas has shocked the world. Apart from the farm jails in which convicts are kept to work on the farms, large parts of the farming area of the Eastern Transvaal are worked by indentured farm laborers who are obtained from labor recruiters for a fee per head and kept in the farmers' private compounds. Many of these men come in search of work from territories outside the Union such as Nyasaland and the Rhodesias. As they cross the border into the Union they are rounded up by police and labor recruiters. The law is that so-called "foreign natives" are excluded from entering the Union unless they sign contracts for work on the mines or farms. If they refuse, they are deported over the border again and left to find their way back to their homes.

Labor recruiting organizations, in many cases operated by rings of farmers, round up these men and sign them on for farm work. They live, throughout the period of their contracts, in closed compounds, spurred on to work in the fields all day under the whips of foremen, and, on many farms, are brutally assaulted as they work. Reports of these assaults have made world headlines. In 1947 the Minister of Justice ordered an investigation into the allegations of ill-treatment. A number of convictions of white farmers and African "bossboys" followed. But reports from these areas are that conditions are as bad as ever.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND THE PASS LAWS

South Africa may have great industries and gold mines using the most up-to-date production techniques, but her methods of controlling labor are feudal, even semi-slavery.

The main vehicle for controlling African labor is the pass law system. It is estimated that, in all, Africans may be required to carry seventeen different passes.

No African may move freely and unhindered about the country. Every African employee has a service contract (one of the passes he must carry) binding him to his employer and without whose consent he may not take another job. He may not move from one province to another, from one town to another, even from one suburb to another, without a pass. He may not even enter locations other than his own without a permit. For an African to be out in the streets after curfew hour without a night special pass is a criminal offense.

All Africans must produce their tax receipts on demand, and failure to do so leads to arrest.

In law, all Africans over the age of 18 years must carry passes, but in practice all who are in employment are required to register, so youngsters from the age even of 14 years who are working are subject to the pass laws.

The issue of rail tickets to the cities is controlled in some areas and only those Africans with permission to seek work in the cities are allowed on the trains.

A worker in a city who wishes to go on holiday to the country or to visit another town must get a traveling pass. Today, under strict influx control, he is liable not to be allowed back into the town after his temporary absence. Johannesburg, for example, admits no new Africans for work in the industries or residence.

Urban Areas Act

It is under the Urban Areas Act that provisions are made for the imposition of the service contract system under which all Africans in employment must register and pay a monthly service contract fee of 2s. (28¢). Under this Act regulations are promulgated for the refusal to Africans of admission into the towns and the deportation of those there "illegally." Hundreds of Africans are regularly deported to the country areas and to farms.

In the towns a man who loses his employment is given seven days in which to look for work and then perhaps a further exten-

IN TOWNS AND INDUSTRIES

Non-whites form a very large proportion of the settled urban population in the principal industrial centres of the Union. The 1946 census showed that of a total urban population of about 4,300,000 over 2,500,000 were non-white.

Over two-thirds of the employees in manufacturing industry are non-white. The ownership and control of industry is vested exclusively in the hands of white persons, and, as in every branch of the civil services, non-whites are completely excluded from all executive positions in management and administration.

The same picture presents itself in the field of productive employment. In the major industries salaried jobs are maintained as the jealously-guarded preserve of the white workers, sometimes —as in the mining industry—by law, frequently by rigidly observed custom. Fitters and turners, welders, locomotive-drivers and firemen, plumbers, and all similar occupations are restricted trades, open to whites alone.

This discrimination reflects itself in the wide gap between the average salaries and wages paid to employees of the various racial groups in secondary industries. The gap is even more marked in the mining industry, where for the year 1950 the average per capita cash earning was $1993 for white employees and only $143 for Africans.

Workers' Rights for Whites Only

In the Union of South Africa, relations between employers and employees in industry are regulated under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1937, which provides for collective bargaining between legally-recognized trade unions and employers' organizations. Agreements reached between these bodies are promulgated officially by the Government and have the force of law. Quasi-official bodies (Industrial Councils) are established, consisting of representatives of employers and employees, to implement and administer these agreements.

However, in defining an "employee" the Industrial Conciliation Act specifically *excludes* from its definition all "pass-bearing

Natives"—i.e., the overwhelming majority of African men. Hence trade unions of Africans, or including Africans, are specifically excluded from the legal recognition and protection afforded to trade unions registered under the Act. This means in practice that wage-rates and conditions *for all workers* are fixed by negotiation between representatives of white employers and white employees. This naturally operates to the severe detriment of the African worker.

For example, in the engineering industry, journeymen (who are exclusively white) are paid at the rate of 52½¢ per hour, whereas laborers (who are all non-white) receive 8½¢ per hour, basic pay. Journeymen get three weeks paid holiday, laborers and non-white semi-skilled operatives only two weeks; journeymen receive special cost-of-living allowances, holiday bonuses, extra overtime pay, etc., not applicable to laborers and semi-skilled operatives. Similar examples of discrimination are to be found in many other industrial agreements.

Strikes Illegal

A further discriminatory factor depressing the wage-rates of African workers is that in terms of various provisions of the Masters' and Servants' Law, the Native Labor Regulation Act of 1911, and in particular War Measure No. 145 of 1942 (promulgated as an emergency measure during the Second World War, but still in force), strikes of African workers are prohibited by law and heavy criminal sanctions operate against strikers.

Therefore trade unions of African workers are placed in the impossible position that access to the legal machinery of collective bargaining is denied them and at the same time resort to the traditional trade union weapon of direct action to withhold their labor is held illegal.

The Law Forces Africans into the Lowest Paid Jobs

The complex system of Pass and Urban Areas legislation in South Africa is designed to circumvent the natural laws of supply and demand in respect of labor power. The tendency is natural for a man whose movements are circumscribed by the pass laws to take the first job that offers itself, however low the pay may be, or however unsatisfactory the hours and conditions of work.

Besides the white farms and the gold mines, another field into which African labor is channeled through the operation of the pass law system is that of domestic service. The latest legislation of the Malan Government provides for the extension of the pass system to both women and children. It is not uncommon for the "permits to seek work" to be endorsed "for domestic service only."

Very large numbers of African men and women are thus directed into domestic service, where wage rates are extremely low (from $8.40 to $16.80 per month). White workers commonly employ an African to clean their houses and do the cooking. It is usual to find a small white family of the professional and salaried class employing two or three domestic servants, while in the more expensive suburbs of all major cities of the Union one frequently finds families of two or three persons with a small army of retainers (cooks, gardeners, cleaners, chauffeurs, nursemaids, etc.) to wait upon them.

Housing Conditions

Non-whites in the cities and living there with their families are subjected to the most appalling living conditions.* The 13th report of the Social and Economic Planning Council, issued by the Union Government in 1948, states:

"There exists a very acute shortage in urban areas of houses conforming to minimum standards of space and hygiene. This shortage is particularly marked in the case of houses for Non-Europeans. The estimated shortage of houses was 125,000 for Non-Europeans in 1943, with a further 150,000 needed up to 1955.

"Some Non-Europeans are housed in municipal hostels, in compounds, or on their employers' premises. The rest are scattered through the cheapest quarters, or segregated in locations and villages, or live in peri-urban black belts. . . . Gross overcrowding has led to the formation of squatters' camps on the outskirts of housing schemes. Overcrowding is an important factor in the spread of infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis."

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* "I have now visited slums on the four continents and I doubt whether I have seen worse than those which profess to 'house' the majority of South Africa's millions," said Miss Monica Whateley, one-time member of the London County Council, in her report on a visit to South Africa in 1949.

Africans are prohibited in terms of Urban Areas legislation from owning or renting property outside of municipally owned and controlled areas (called "native locations"). The municipal authorities are elected by the votes of the whites only, and the tendency has been towards the most scandalous neglect of the housing needs of the Africans in the towns.

The Rev. Father T. Huddleston, addressing the Johannesburg Synod of the Anglican Church on October 27, 1952, pointed out that: "The worst slum in Johannesburg was Orlando, which had 4,000 shelters, each about 10 feet square. In these lived 6,500 families, or about 35,000 people, and the sanitation provided was appalling. . . . Figures which I obtained from the Medical Officer of Health show that the mortality rate is 254.18 per 1,000 births. That means that one in every four children will die before the age of a year."

This and other slum areas, he pointed out, were owned by the City Council of Johannesburg, the largest industrial centre in the Union.

Transport to Work

It should be noted that owing to racial prejudice and also the desire to use the cheapest land, the urban authorities have invariably situated their "Native locations" at a considerable distance from the centre of the city. The African worker is therefore faced with a great deal of expense and inconvenience in travelling to and from work.*

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* In protest against the high fares charged them Africans have several times boycotted the municipally-owned buses which transport them between their outlying "locations" and their places of work in the cities. For weeks thousands of Africans walked daily ten or more miles back and forth to work rather than use the buses.

The Social and Economic Planning Council reports in this connection: ". . . the national policy of segregation and the practice of local authorities to house Natives (and other Non-Europeans in some cases) away from the areas occuppied by other races have created in South Africa the unique phenomenon that the lowest paid workers have to live farthest from their work."

"Keeping the Native in His Place"

A matter of incalculable importance, which cannot adequately be covered by a general survey of discriminatory laws, is the unending, humiliating, painful and intolerable series of acts of ill-treatment, insult and contempt to which a man or woman of dark skin-color is subjected not only by the authorities but also by ordinary members of the white population. These acts spring partly from a conscious desire to "keep the Native in his place" —i.e., to make the non-white conscious *all the time* that he is regarded as an inferior. They also arise out of psychological factors inculated among the whites from early childhood; from racial arrogance and blatant chauvinism—with an underlying knowledge that the white "superiority" is really a myth, an underlying consciousness of injustice and fear of its consequences; hence a compulsive urge to assertiveness and aggression.

This is particularly to be observed among the police and petty officials who have dealings with the non-white people. Illegal assaults are continuously being made on non-whites awaiting trial or after conviction by policemen and jail officials. These cases are seldom brought to public attention or before the Courts, yet they have repeatedly called forth sharp comment from magistrates and judges.

Police Brutality

The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town in addressing a Medal Parade of the South African Police on 17th July 1952, noted that "friends of the police" were "distressed" by the number of policemen who had appeared before the Courts recently, and said: "Do not forget that even animals have the right not to be mistreated. I enjoin each of you to refrain from mistreating anyone in your power."

On the very same day, Griffith Zanzile, a 37-year old African, was claiming $560 damages from the Minister of Justice for an assault by two detectives in which he had been kicked in the stomach and on the kidneys and hit over the head, shoulders, arms and back with a length of rubber hose. "I couldn't count the blows. They were many."

Recently an African woman, Johanna Skozena, told the Germiston Magistrate how three police detectives assaulted her. "I was taken to a charge office where van der Merwe tied a hose pipe around my neck. Van der Merwe seized one end of the hose pipe and another constable another end, and pulled it. This choked me and I lost consciousness. When I recovered van der Merwe was striking me with the hose pipe over my shoulder and elsewhere on my body. Van der Merwe told me I must pray because it was my last day."

Police have on a number of occasions been convicted of raping non-white women they had arrested, of beating up prisoners, and even of homicide.

Far from taking stern measures to stamp out such excesses, they are regarded leniently and even encouraged by the Nationlist Government.*

Abuses and Insults

This kind of ill-treatment is not confined to policemen. Frequently white ticket examiners on trains, trams and buses are guilty of vicious attacks on non-white passengers. Ordinary civilians more and more frequently take the law into their own hands and assault non-whites whom they suspect of designs on their property or often of being "cheeky" and not knowing their "place". Some years ago a well-dressed African domestic servant waiting for a tram was set upon and beaten so severely by two white men that he subsequently died. In court they explained that they were infuriated by his good clothes and particularly by the fact that he was wearing gloves. The purchase and use of firearms by whites is becoming increasingly prevalent and disturbing.

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* The wanton shooting down of Africans has shown a marked increase. According to the N. Y. *Times* (Nov. 16, 1952), during the four and a half years of Malan's administration down to Nov. 15, 1952, there were twenty-nine police clashes with Africans resulting in 238 deaths and 1,446 injured. Most were victims of police bullets. "Shoot first" was the instruction given the police by Malan's Minister of "Justice," C. R. Swart, in November 1952.

Indescribably galling is the continuous normal stream of petty racial insults and provocations which every non-white in South Africa has to endure. Nationalist politicians, including Cabinet Ministers, habitually use insulting and derogatory terms in referring to non-white nationalities. Africans are called "Kaffirs", Indians "Coolies", and Colored people "Hottentots". Other terms of a like character—i.e., "Coons", "Niggers", "Sammy", "Bushmen"—are also used.

White people in South Africa do not refer to adult Africans as men and women, but as "boys" or "girls". Every daily newspaper carries advertisements for "cookboys", "watchboys", "gardenboys", "nursegirls" and the like. Even industrial agreements refer to African foremen and supervisors as "bossboys."

Apartheid Madness

The sense of grievance of the non-whites is added to by the patent illogic and absurdity of the operation of segregation (or Apartheid). Whenever it serves the purpose of the ruling group, Apartheid practices are thrown overboard. The non-white is told that he is unclean and unfit to be in the white residential areas, yet almost every white home accommodates non-white domestics in the servants' quarters at the back. It is unheard of as a rule for non-whites to dine with whites, yet they cook the food, wait at the table, and feed and tend the children. Lifts marked "Europeans only" may be operated by a black liftman; when the lift for non-whites is out of order they must climb the stairs, but whites have no compunction in "invading" the non-white lift when theirs is being repaired.

Each year apartheid measures become more fantastic and crazy. Separate entrances into railway stations lead to the same platforms; telephones are marked "European Telephone" and "Non-

European Telephone"; from behind one counter the same public official serves whites and non-whites, but they are divided from each other by a partition. Partitions are erected in factories to separate groups of workers of different races doing identical work.

It should be noted that wherever separate facilities, cinemas, buses, schools, clinics and so on are provided for non-whites, these are invariably of a grossly inferior and unsatisfactory kind.

The purpose of "Apartheid" is never to allow the non-white to forget that he is an inferior, a "third-class citizen", entitled only to third-class facilities.

THE CAMPAIGN IN DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS

In recent years, and particularly since the accession to power of the Nationalist Government, the burden of oppression of the non-white peoples has become intolerable. Every session of Parliament has passed a number of laws which further limit the rights of the non-whites.*

All attempts of the non-whites to place their grievances before the Government have been rejected. Expressions of their views by their leaders have been branded "agitation." Denied a say in their future and a voice in their Government and yet subjected to ever-increasing oppression, the non-whites had no alternative but to launch a campaign in defense of their rights.*

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* These laws include the Group Areas Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, and the Suppression of Communism Act, four of the laws against which the Campaign in Defiance of Unjust Laws is directed, and also the following: *The Native Laws Amendment Act,* further tightening the control of all African labor, extending pass requirements to African women and children, and enabling the Government to banish tribes, portions of tribes, or individuals from their lands; *The Native Labor Regulation Act,* making African workers subject to criminal prosecution for such things as being absent from work without leave or refusing to obey any lawful command; *The Native Land and Trust Amendment Act,* enabling the Government to uproot large numbers of rural families living as squatters without providing any alternative land for them; *The Mixed Marriages Act,* making all marriages of whites and non-whites illegal; *The Immorality Amendment Act,* imposing jail sentences for whites and non-whites engaging in sexual relations; *The Population Registration Act,* requiring all South Africans to carry state-issued registration cards; *The Criminal Laws Amendment Act,* making whipping for certain offenses compulsory; *The Native Building Workers' Act,* prohibiting thousands of skilled and semi-skilled African artisans from practicing their building crafts in specified areas; *The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act,* aimed at prosecuting homeless non-whites, uprooted from their land in the past and compelled to erect shelters on vacant plots.

On June 26, 1952, the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress launched their Campaign in Defiance of Unjust Laws.

They stated clearly the principles which were the kernel of their political demands and their struggle for freedom:

"All people, irrespective of the national groups to which they belong, and irrespective of the color of their skin, are entitled to live a full and free life on the basis of the fullest equality. Full democratic rights with a direct say in the affairs of the Government are the inalienable right of every South African—a right which must be realized now if the country is to be saved from social chaos and tyranny and from the evils arising out of the existing denial of the franchise for the vast masses of the population on the grounds of race and color. The struggle which the national organizations of the non-European people are conducting is not directed against any race or national group, but against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. It is for the creation of conditions which will restore human dignity, equality and freedom to every South African."

Unjust Laws Must Be Repealed

The Campaign is disciplined and non-violent, aimed at the following six laws:

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* The decision was voted at the annual conference of the African National Congress, December, 1951. On Jan. 21, 1952 Congress made a final appeal to the Government to repeal certain of the most obnoxious laws, declaring its intention of otherwise initiating the campaign in defiance of these laws. This appeal having been rejected, on Sunday, April 6, 1952, at meetings throughout South Africa scores of thousands of non-white people assembled and publicly vowed: "We, the oppressed peoples of South Africa, do solemnly pledge to carry on our relentless struggle for the repeal of the unjust laws. We shall go on to the uttermost limits of our endurance and sacrifice to carry out the African National Congress plan to defy the unjust laws which subject our people to political slavery, economic misery and social degradation. From this day on we vow to act as free men and women and to dedicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom and fundamental rights." In Johannesburg, the N. Y. *Times* (April 7, 1952) reported, "several thousand non-whites marched in Fordsburg Freedom Square to the tune of Paul Robeson songs played over a loudspeaker. They carried banners reading, 'Down With Apartheid,' 'Down With Passes'."

1. *The Separate Representation of Voters Act*, which robs the Colored man of his vote and rapes the Constitution, is an attempt to reduce the Colored people from their already inferior status to the status of the African.

2. *The Group Areas Act* is the framework within which ghettos for the different non-white sections will be established. It gives the Government power to expel, without compensation, communities from land and property which they already occupy.

3. *The Pass Laws* are perhaps the most hated machinery of oppression under which hundreds of thousands of Africans are arrested and imprisoned every year on trifling charges for failing to carry one or other of the seventeen permits, documents and passports required of them.

4. *The Suppression of Communism Act* and its amendment give the Government the power, under the pretext of eliminating "Communism", of suppressing all democratic opposition. Under it the Minister has, at his sole discretion, power to ban organizations, close down newspapers, deport individuals, remove trade union and other officials, hold secret inquiries into individuals and blacklist them. Already forty leaders of the African, Indian, and Colored people, many of them opposed to the Communist ideology, face charges in the courts under this vicious law.

5. *Stock Limitation and Cattle-Culling Regulations* make impoverished African peasants even poorer by depriving them of their cattle and small stock. The way to improve African farming and stock-breeding methods is to enlarge the peasant's land and raise his economic status. The methods of the Native Affairs Department of the Government can only reduce him to destitution.

6. *The Bantu Authorities Act* seeks to set up dummy tribal councils for the Africans and to offer them, instead of the full franchise, Government-controlled bodies which will make a pretense of giving them political representation. Under this act chiefs will be more than ever tame Civil Servants at the beck and call of the Government. Further, this Act tries to divide the African people tribally, and to break their unity in the face of oppression. This Act in fact merely provides machinery for some Africans to administer the system of oppression of their own people.

A Disciplined and Determined Struggle

The Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws aims at a prolonged, disciplined and determined struggle uniting all the non-white population groups and the minority of white democrats for the repeal of these unjust laws. It is planned to undergo various phases in the course of its development.

The first phase has consisted of bands of selected volunteers deliberately and publicly flouting various apartheid measures and regulations.

In the four months since the inception of the Campaign on June 26, 1952, 7017 people have served imprisonment for defying unjust laws.*

Volunteers have gone into action in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, Queenstown, Grahamstown, Cape Town, Kingwilliamstown, Mafeking and Kimberley, Reef Towns, Vereeniging, Durban and Bloemfontein, and Pretoria.

The Campaign has spread from these bigger towns into the country, in such places as Peddie, Uitenhage, Jansenville, Fort Beaufort, Port Alfred, Alice, Paarl, Worcester, Ceres, Stellenbosch, Witbank, and Bethal.

Laws selected for defiance so far have been the curfew, permit system, and apartheid regulations.

In the words of one of the leaders of the Campaign, the permit regulations have been selected for defiance to "focus attention on the system which turns African townships into fenced compounds, closeted away from the outside world, and which relatives and friends may enter only on the good grace of the authorities. This system, entailing monthly permit fees, drains the family incomes and separates children from their parents. . . .

"In attacking the curfew regulations (part of the pass laws) African volunteers are assailing the system that sends thousands of innocent Africans to jail every year and for an act that would be judged an offense in other countries only in times of strict martial law.

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* By the end of 1952, 8,065 persons had been imprisoned in the Campaign (N. Y. *Times*, Jan. 8, 1952). The first white volunteers to participate in the Campaign, including Patrick Duncan, the son of a former Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, were arrested in early December, 1952.

"In South Africa Africans live permanently under martial law, never safe from the raiding police, never secure in their beds at night, liable to be at any time roughly pushed into a police pick-up van and into a cold concrete cell for not carrying the right number of passes on their persons or for being out after 11 o'clock at night.

"In defying the post office and other apartheid laws, volunteers will express their peoples' resentment against laws which, like all other laws which the Campaign is pledged to have repealed, attempt to put the stamp of inferiority on the non-European people for all time."

Government's Brutal Retaliation

The answer of the Government to the Campaign has been one of threats of even greater repression, and the unleashing of a policy of terror and intimidation against the people and their organizations.

Volunteers serving terms of imprisonment have been brutally ill-treated. In one jail they were beaten with a hosepipe lined with wire, in another a form of electric shock treatment was administered. Whippings have been ordered by magistrates for young volunteers under the age of twenty-one.

As the campaign developed, more and more severe sentences have been meted out by magistrates. For walking through the Johannesburg station entrance for "Whites Only", volunteers were sentenced to two months imprisonment with hard labor. For sitting on a railway bench for "Whites Only", resisters were sentenced to one month imprisonment with hard labor.

In the Cape, in Kimberley, Queenstown, Peddie and Port Elizabeth, police clubbed Africans who had gathered outside the courts during the trial of members of their families and relatives who had defied unjust laws. In Queenstown a number of African women were taken to the hospital with injuries.

Under cover of crushing the non-white movement the South

African Government is preparing to whittle away the rights of all sections of the people and introduce a full-fledged fascist state.

Five leaders of the African National Congress and South African Indian Congress were served with notices under the Suppression of Communism Act prohibiting them from attending any public gatherings. When they defiied the ban, they were brought to court and sentenced to periods of four and six months' imprisonment.

Meaning of the Government's "Anti-Communism" Crusade

In sentencing these African and Indian leaders under the Suppression of Communism Act, the magistrate delivered a judgment in which he said: "It is common knowledge that one of the aims of Communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without discrimination of race, color, or creed. . . . The Union of South Africa, with its peculiar problems created by a population overwhelmingly non-European, is fertile ground for the dissemination of Communist propaganda. This would endanger the survival of the Europeans and therefore legislation must be pursued with the object of suppressing Communism."

Thus, by this ruling of the magistrate, anyone who advocates the ending of race discrimination is a Communist and liable to prosecution and a period of up to ten years imprisonment.

The African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress have maintained from the inception of the Suppression of Communism Act that it was promulgated to suppress all who oppose the rabid and fascist policies of the Government and that under cover of fighting "Communism" all democratic movements are to be destroyed.

Already a new law is being drafted to give the Government even greater powers than it already has under the Suppression of Communism Act. This law will provide for detention (concentration) camps for supporters of the non-white freedom movements. The Minister of Justice has threatened that the next Parliamentary session will pass a new law for more severe sentences against defiers.*

On August 26, 1952, after the most extensive police raids ever experienced in the country, twenty leaders of the Campaign were brought to trial in Johannesburg under the Suppression of Communism Act, and on September 16th fifteen more were arrested in Port Elizabeth.**

People's Victory is Certain

The African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress are profoundly confident in the justice of their cause and the certainty that the noble principles of democracy and human justice must ultimately triumph. We shall not be deterred by the threats of the Malan Government—the jailers of the South African people—nor shall we be provoked into indiscipline and anarchy by the terrorism and lawlessness of the police, the Native Affairs Department, and other agencies of the white-dominated state.

The Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws has gripped the imagination of the ordinary people of our country and fired them with inspiration and unconquerable determination.

The Campaign will not end with individual acts of sacrifice by our devoted and heroic volunteers. It will broaden its scope and extent to include ever-widening masses.

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* That was written in the fall of 1952. In February 1953 the Malan Government, using the excuse of the Defiance Campaign, although it had not been attended by a single act of violence on the part of the volunteers, secured the speedy enactment of two laws giving it sweeping dictatorship powers. The "Public Safety" Law enables the Government, without recourse to either Parliament or the Courts, to declare a "state of emergency" and to suspend all existing laws and regulations, abrogate all civil rights, censor and muzzle the press, bar public assembly, search and confiscate property, establish concentration camps, and impose the death penalty.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act provides maximum penalties of five years imprisonment, a $1400 fine, and fifteen strokes of the lash for any form of support of an action of protest against any law law or of a campaign of resistance against the laws of the Union. The offer, solicitation or acceptance of financial or other aid, either within or outside the country, for a resistance campaign is also made punishable by the same penalties.

The President-General of the African National Congress, Mr. A. J. Luthuli, warned the Minister of Justice on Feb. 21 that he "must expect to witness continued opposition in action to these Bills."

** All of the first group of twenty leaders were found guilty and sentenced on Dec. 2, 1952 to nine months' imprisonment, with the sentences suspended for two years and leave to appeal granted. The judge stated that the defendants had been found guilty of "statutory communism," which, he said, "has nothing to do with communism as it is commonly known."

Whatever the lunatic theories of the race-obsessed rulers of South Africa, the truth is that society is an integrated economic unity. Without the cooperation of the non-white majority the administration and ordinary functioning of South Africa is impossible.

In this factor, increasingly in the consciousness of our people, lies the great weakness of the upholders of white supremacy and the great strength of our movement for national emancipation.

With clear consciences and the knowledge that we are armed with lofty humanitarian principles common to all the great philosophies and religions of the world, *we appeal to the men and women of our own country, and indeed of all others, for that moral and practical support which will enable us to enter into the liberty and dignity which is the birthright of all men everywhere.*

II.

A POSTSCRIPT FOR AMERICANS

By Alphaeus Hunton

Thus ends the Memorandum of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

They ask for our "moral and practical support."

Why should Americans feel it their duty to respond—to help carry the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws forward to victory?

If you hate Jim Crow, if you hate fascism, that is reason enough.

But there are some who may say that we have enough to do in cleaning up *our own* backyard; it is perhaps not quite as ugly as South Africa's, but still surely bad enough.

True. There IS a big job to be done in defending and winning our rights here at home. But can we separate the problem of Jim Crow in America from the problem of Apartheid in South Africa? Can the octopus of racism and fascism be killed by simply cutting off *one* menacing tentacle?

Prejudice pays profits—to the few. Apartheid in South Africa pays big dividends to the few—not only in that country and in Britain, but also in the United States of America. How much of the blood of South Africa's oppressed black people is on America's own hands? It is time we Americans, black and white, looked to see.

WE SAID WE COULDN'T DO BUSINESS WITH HITLER — WHAT ABOUT MALAN?

There is a small group of people in the United States who are quite content with the way things are in South Africa.

Mr. H. DeWitt Smith, for instance. Just last year Mr. Smith told the members of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, "South Africa receives very bad publicity overseas, but the American investor has confidence in the Union. Africa (sic) is today one of the best countries in the world for American investment. It excellently meets the requirements an investor demands of a country."*

Who is Mr. H. DeWitt Smith? He is Vice Chairman of the Newmont Mining Corporation, which from its headquarters at 14 Wall Street, New York, controls and directs mining operations in Morocco, Uganda, Rhodesia, South West Africa, and South Africa—not to mention the United States and Canada. Among the directors of Newmont are General Lucius D. Clay, National Chairman of the Crusade for Freedom (behind the "Iron Curtain" but not in Africa) Committee, and Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, who threatened to abolish public education in that state rather than end segregation in the schools. Newmont is part of the Morgan empire.

Wages 13 Cents an Hour, Dividends 290 Per Cent

Mr. H. DeWitt Smith is also Managing Director of O'Okiep Copper Co., Ltd., in South Africa in which Newmont holds 56 per cent ownership control and the American Metal Co. 20 per cent. O'Kiep mining properties, acquired in 1937, cover 300,000 acres. Its African workers are paid thirteen cents an hour. Its production costs, says *Barron's* business and financial weekly (March 3, 1952), are "among the lowest in the world," and in 1951 amounted to 7.7 cents per pound for copper selling at 36.5 cents a pound.

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* Source: Union of South Africa Government Information Office, New York, Release dated Sept. 18, 1952. Further references to this source are denoted simply by S.A. Inf.

Net profits of O'Okiep were $5,721,946 on total metal sales of $12,920,965 in 1950-51, and $9,374,610 on sales of $19,076,794 the following year (N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* Sept. 24, 1952). Dividends (at par value) soared from 10 per cent in 1945-46 to 90 per cent in 1947-48, 142 per cent in 1948-49, and 290 per cent in 1950-51. (*Mining Year Book,* 1952, pp. 336-7.)

Is so happens that Mr. H. DeWitt Smith was also Executive Vice President of Metals Reserve Co., a U.S. Government agency, which in 1943 advanced $1.4 million to O'Okiep to increase its copper production. The South African Government was also very helpful, as the management of O'Okiep has acknowledged: ". . . every problem arising over a decade in connection with taxation, labor, foreign exchange control, water rights, rail transportation charges, road construction, etc., has been cooperatively handled by Government officials." (*Fortune,* July, 1947)

The same Mr. Smith is also Managing Director of Tsumeb Corp., Ltd., in South West Africa, likewise owned mainly by Newmont and acquired in 1947. Here the 4,000 African workers, drawn from hundreds of miles around, are paid even less than at O'Okiep —fifty cents a day. Thanks to this cheap labor and "the sympathetic cooperation of the South African Government", Tsumeb mines, producing lead, copper and zinc, paid off between $8 and $9 million on an investment of $7 million in the first 2½ years of operation (*Fortune,* February, 1950). Its net profits were $4.1 million for the year ended June 30, 1950, and $8.3 million for the next year.

From U.S. Steel to Coca Cola— They're All in South Africa

Newmont is one example. Check down the list of this country's biggest industrial corporations and you'll find practically all of them doing business—and an expanding business—in South Africa. There are U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel (sharing between them 1953 orders for over $8 million worth of track rails for South Africa's railroads), Kennecott Copper Company (with investments since 1949 of over $15.5 million in the new gold mining developments in the Orange Free State), Aluminum Company of America, International Nickel, Union Carbide and Carbon, Eastman Kodak, and American Cyanamid.

United States oil interests have been established in South Africa since 1897. They comprised 75 per cent of United States direct investments in South Africa before World War II, and in 1949 dominated about two-thirds of the Union's oil business.

Ford opened its first plant in South Africa in 1925, and General Motors came on the scene the next year. Along with them are International Harvester, Chrysler, Kaiser-Frazer, Packard, Studebaker, U. S. Rubber, Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone, etc. Then there are others like General Electric, Westinghouse, R.C.A., General Foods, and—of course—Coca Cola, to name just a few. *The South African-American Survey* 1952-1953, issued by the South African Government Information Office in New York, lists 121 United States companies operating in the Union of South Africa, stating that "The list is not all-inclusive (several thousand additional American firms are represented in South Africa. . . .) nor does it reflect the extent of capital participation by the various U.S. firms mentioned."

U.S. Capital Investments Expanding There

To the direct operation of these American corporations in South Africa, one has to add the indirect control exercised by American finance (Morgan, Rockefeller, Guggenheim, etc.) over a large section of that country's gold and diamond mines and secondary industries through New York-London-Johannesburg capital mergers such as the Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company and the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa.

In 1943 U. S.-owned assets in South Africa amounted to $86.6 million and U.S. *direct* investments were $50.7 million. The latest estimates of such direct investments range between $140 and $150 million as of 1950. These figures, however, are based on the book value instead of the much higher market value of the investments, and they do not take into account the larger, unmeasured indirect U. S. investments in South Africa.

United States Government investments and loans, dealt with later, add considerably more. Malan's Minister of Finance, Mr. N. C. Havenga, reports net capital investments of $2,346,400,000 in the Union during the six years 1946 to 1951, establishing a new high. (S.A. Inf., February 12, 1953). He did not indicate what part of this came from overseas, but it is known that the outlay for the United States-British sponsored uranium development program comprised a substantial part of the big capital movement to South Africa in 1951.

Facts About U.S. - South African Trade

Cheap African labor to extract, process and transport South Africa's exports, and British and American markets in which to sell them: without either the enslaved black labor power or the white overseas markets, white supremacy rule in South Africa would crumble.

The African workers are rebelling; more and more repressive measures are required to keep them "in their place." But overseas markets (except India) still remain safe and secure. The British and Americans get what they want at the price they are willing to pay—that is their only concern. You don't ask questions when you do business with a dealer in stolen goods.

What does the United States get from South Africa?

Gold—$1.2 billion worth of gold came to the United States directly from South Africa in the four years 1946-49, plus additional amounts from South Africa via Great Britain (which sent $2.1 billion to the United States in the same period). In 1948, nearly a half billion dollars worth, 68 per cent of all gold brought into the United States, came from South Africa (N. Y. *Times,* Feb. 29, 1949).

Diamonds—It is estimated that nine out of every ten gem diamonds sold in the United States come from South Africa, and that country's industrial diamonds are an important United States stockpile item. Diamond imports to the United States from South Africa amounted to $77.2 million in 1948, $79 million in 1950, but fell to $17.2 million in 1951.

Wool—South African wool earned $61 million from the United States in 1951.

Karakul—The United States is the principal buyer of Karakul or Persian Lamb pelts from the Union and South West Africa. Lamb, sheep and kid furs from that source sold to the United States in 1951 were valued at $12.8 million.

Chrome Ore—Ninety per cent of United States chemical grade chrome ore comes from South Africa. "Every jet engine you see probably has Transvaal chrome in it," states the vice president of an American chemical company, Mr. E. Perkins. (S.A. Inf., Nov., 1952)

Manganese Ore—In 1948 extraordinary arrangements were made by the United States to double the import of chrome and manganese ore from South Africa. That country ranks second after India as a pricinpal source of manganese ore for the United States, supplying 123,000 tons in 1949 and 215,000 tons in 1950 (N.Y. *Times*, April 29, 1951). 1951 shipments of manganese to the United States netted South Africa $7.7 million.

The list could be extended with such items as asbestos (worth $3.3 million from South Africa in 1951), copper, lead, corundum, vermiculite, antimony, iron ore, wattle bark and extract—and rock lobsters (over $5 million worth sold to the United States in 1951).

Overshadowing even gold and diamonds, South Africa's principal export to the United States is expected to be *uranium*, processed from mountains of gold ore waste with funds and machinery supplied chiefly by the United States.

The Union of South Africa far surpasses any other African territory as a supplier of raw materials to the United States and as a market for United States exports (which have been restricted by the Union Government since the peak year of 1948, when South Africa was buying more from the United States than from Britain).

	1938	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952 (6 mos.)
S.A. Imports from the USA	70	227	414	492	266	124.5	247	127
S.A. Exports to the USA ...... (exclusive of gold)	16	151	111	137	111	140	138	60

(in millions of dollars)

In 1951 total imports in ALL Africa from the United States amounted to $581 million, Egypt taking the second highest amount after South Africa, $78 million.

In the same year total exports from ALL Africa to the United States were worth $589 million; after South Africa, the Gold Coast, Britain's West African colony, provided the largest amount in value, $88 million.

SOUTH AFRICA: "FREE WORLD" ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES

"We need friends outside our borders. But on the other hand it is a fact which is too often forgotten, although fortunately it is increasingly being recognized, that the Western world is positively in need of us. Our friendly cooperation is undoubtedly also of immense value to them."—Prime Minister Malan, Speech in Cape Town, February 9, 1951.

"The West is not doing much to stop Dr. Malan or to alter his course and this is especially true of the United States, which potentially has by far the most powerful influence in Cape Town of all foreign powers. . . . In the Union of South Africa the United States Embassy takes what looks to an outsider to be a position of unnecessary timidity in its anxiety to have no interruption in the movement home of manganese and the like."—William S. White, N. Y. *Times,* May 18, 1952.

"Instead of being a 'nuisance' to the Western world as petty South African politicians had it, South Africa is more and more being acknowledged in the right places as a firm, although still comparatively small, pillar of the Western cause."—*Die Burger* (December 22, 1950), pro-Malan newspaper in South Africa, commenting on the United States-British-South African uranium agreement and the expected decision of the United States State Department to supply arms and ammunition to South Africa at the beginning of 1951.

". . . the prospect that we may shortly be called upon to fight in the Middle East as well as in Korea certainly arouses no enthusiasm among the South African people."—*Cape Argus,* anti-Malan newspaper, same date, commenting on the same developments.

"The international aspect of the uranium project needs little elaboration . . . it must give satisfaction to our partners in this enterprise, namely, the United States and the United Kingdom, that this valuable source of power is in the safekeeping of South Africa. . . . The confidence in our country and the ability of its people to honor the contract with the Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States are amply demonstrated by the provision of capital loans and capital equipment which have been sponsored by these Governments."—Malan, October 8, 1952, on the occasion of the formal opening of South Africa's first uranium plant at Krugersdorp.

"Without Africa the Western world could not hold out indefinitely in a 'cold war' and might lose a 'hot' one. The United States depends on this continent for key strategic materials. France and Britain, the chief United States allies, would go bankrupt if deprived of their African trade."—C. L. Sulzberger, N. Y. *Times,* Feb. 8, 1953.

Malan and Dulles Agree: Africa Must Be "Saved" for the West

"It is the duty of the West, and more especially of those European nations which have an interest in Africa, to see to it that the dependent territories of that vast continent, with their rich resources and immense potentialities, are made secure for our western civilization. . . . Consequently South Africa, an outpost of our Western European civilization, has welcomed the formation of the Atlantic Pact."—Malan, radio address from London, April 28, 1949.

"Regarded from the point of view of Europe and America, the answer is still the same—that Africa must be kept within that orbit. Its raw materials are the complement of the highly industrialized Europe and America. . . . In global defense Africa dare not be surrendered to the forces of Communism, and any realistic scheme of global defense must have as one of its main pillars the retention of Africa, together with western Europe, within the western constellation."—Malan's Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges (quoted in *East Africa and Rhodesia,* Jan. 25, 1951).

"And throughout Africa the Communists* are trying to arouse the native people into revolt against the Western Europeans who still have political control of most of Africa. If there should be trouble there, that would break the contact between Europe and Africa, Africa being a large source of raw materials for Europe." —John Foster Dulles, Jan. 27, 1953, in his initial broadcast statement as U.S. Secretary of State.

THE RECORD IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Dulles as Secretary of State has had nothing to say about the South African Government's monstrous violation of all the democratic principles which the "free world" professes to uphold. Neither did his predecessor, Mr. Dean Acheson. Neither has President Eisenhower or ex-President Truman. However, in the United Nations, where the Union Government's discriminatory policy and practices have been the subject of annual debate since 1946, the representatives of the United States Government have had to say something on the matter.

In 1946 the United States opposed the majority-supported United Nations resolution which noted the charge of discrimination against Indians in South Africa and asked the Union Government to report to the next Assembly meeting on the steps taken to remove the grievances.

Said Mr. Charles B. Fahy, speaking for the United States during the debate on this question, ". . . none in this Committee will defend racial discrimination. I do not take it that the Union of South

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* C. L. Sulzberger wrote in the N. Y. *Times,* Dec. 21, 1952: ". . . the rumors of massive organized Communist operations (in Africa) can be discounted. . . . Moscow is neither omniscient nor all-powerful. Her propaganda in the major part of Africa is still weak." And again, Jan. 18, 1953, the same correspondent wrote: "Communism as an ideological force is not yet widely understood in Africa. But, as one Negro remarked to this writer, 'If people call it Communism every time we try to help ourselves, it causes many of us to think there must be something good in it.' "

Africa so defends. . . . It seems to me there is something unfair, under the very trying circumstances of this particular case, to ask that 53 nations unite against one of its members and intervene . . . in this mixed legal and political problem of incontrovertible difficulty." The United Nations, he said, should refer the question of jurisdiction to the International Court and wait patiently for the "interior improvement of one's thought and conduct" and the extension of "good will" to solve the "stubborn problems" created by "racial differences."

This, with minor variations, remained the tune played over and over again by the United States delegation down through the years in the recurring United Nations discussions on the South African Government's brutal oppression of its non-white peoples.

"Neighborly Helpfulness"

At the 1952 Assembly meeting, United States spokesman Charles A. Sprague was at pains to stress the friendship existing between the Governments of the two U.S.A.s: "My Government respects fully the sovereignty of the great Union of South Africa with which it has long been associated in friendly relationship. There is steady interchange of travel* and trade between our countries. . . . My delegation is exceedingly reluctant in this gathering of the nations to point an accusing finger at this Member State and does not intend to do so. . . .

"We would leave enforcement to the lively conscience of the citizens of each country and to the power of the public opinion of the world. This course may not satisfy those eager to crack down on a Member whom they regard as delinquent. It will not satisfy those who, not recognizing the limitations of this organization, want the United Nations to *do something* about distressing situations. But, in the long run, this course may accomplish far more than abrupt and direct action. Let us not impute evil purpose or lack of intelligence to the people of South Africa. Rather our attitude should be one of neighborly helpfulness in working out just solutions to the difficult problems they face in the field of race relations in their country."

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* Mr. Sprague apparently was thinking only about whites. The policy of the South African Government in barring Negro Americans from the country, unless they have the status of servants or official United States sponsorship, is illustrated by its exclusion in March, 1953, of two bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church who had been elected in the United States to fill church posts in the Union of South Africa. Non-whites require special permission to leave South Africa even for purposes of study abroad. When African trade unionists wished to attend a labor conference in Europe, Malan's Minister of Labor, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, stated: "I think it is unfair to the Non-European himself to allow him to go overseas, especially in a country where there is no color bar and no discrimination, to attend a conference there and then have to come back to our conditions here. While there is a Nationalist Government I don't think that will be permitted." (*The Guardian*, Cape Town, May 12. 1949.)

The United States opposed the proposal for the establishment of a United Nations commission to "study the racial situation" in South Africa and "report its conclusions" to the next General Assembly session. The resolution embodying this proposal was supported by a majority of 35 members of the United Nations. Only one member voted against it—South Africa. The United States was one of the 23 members who chose the more discreet procedure of abstaining on the vote.

Mr. Dulles Explains

On the other perennial United Nations question concerning South Africa, its obstinate refusal to place the mandate territory of South West Africa, a former German colony, under trusteeship jurisdiction of the United Nations, the record of the United States delegation is no better.

In 1946 Mr. John Foster Dulles, representing the United States in the United Nations Committee dealing with South West Africa, replied to criticism of his weak and compromising position on this question by stating, "I did not feel that the United States, in view of its own record, was justified in adopting a holier-than-thou attitude toward the Union of South Africa." (*New Africa,* Council on African Affairs, Dec., 1946.)

Said Mr. Francis B. Sayre, speaking for the United States at the same Assembly session, "The question of South West Africa is one of great delicacy and difficulty. . . . Is it wise to include a provision which could be interpreted as an ultimatum? . . . to have the ultimate and practical effect which is desired—to facilitate the conclusion of a trusteeship agreement for South West Africa—the resolution must be couched in moderate and unprovocative terms."

In 1947 Mr. Dulles told the United Nations that while it was "regrettable" that the South African Government had not submitted a trusteeship agreement, as requested by the United Nations the previous year, the General Assembly should express gratification that South Africa had not proceeded to annex the territory. The United Nations, he argued, had no authority to force South Africa to bring South West Africa under trusteeship, and could only hope that "in the long run" the "moral power" of the U.N. would induce it to do so.

While the United Nations debated and the International Court of Justice reviewed the question, Malan proceeded with the incorporation of the mandate territory through passage of the South West Africa Act in 1949.

"Sheer Hypocrisy"

A Jamaica-born black man, the Reverend Marcus Jones, preaching a sermon in May, 1952, in London's St. Paul's Cathedral (the first of his color to do so), stated:

"It is sheer hypocrisy to be intervening in Korea with tanks, planes, men, and napalm-bombs while closing our eyes to events in South Africa, where the very principles for which the United Nations are avowedly fighting in Korea are being trampled upon with increasing ruthlessness day by day. . . .

"On January 11 (1952) the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, meeting in Paris, voted a resolution expressing its 'admiration and gratitude' to the Rev. Michael Scott, a heroic Christian priest and prophet for his tireless work on behalf of the oppressed Herero people of South West Africa. This resolution was proposed by a Moslem country, Iraq, and endorsed by forty nations—including Soviet Russia—while the leading Christian nations, Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, Holland, and Belgium, were conspicuous by their abstention. Regardless of the excuses submitted afterwards, the plain fact remains that the nations which are loudest in their avowal of Christian principles did not see fit to thank one who sought the application of those very principles."

In September, 1952, Malan came up with a bright idea. His Government, he said, was willing to recognize "a certain measure of responsibility [for South West Africa] toward the three remaining members of the 'allied and associated powers' from whom South Africa had received the mandate after the first world war. The powers were Britain, France and the United States." (S. A. Inf., Sept. 18, 1952.)

Malan thus indicates his confidence that the United States Government, along with the two western powers who together hold most of Africa in colonial bondage, has a sympathetic understanding of the South African Government's policy and aims with respect to South West Africa. Malan says in effect that the United States rates membership in his very exclusive White-Supremacy-in-Africa Club.

THE U.S. HELPS MALAN WITH LOANS . . .

Besides being a good customer and investor and a friendly protector in the United Nations, official and business circles in the United States have won the esteem of South Africa's white ruling class by providing it with needed loans.

In 1948-49 South Africa faced a financial crisis. Its imports, particularly from the United States, far exceeded its exports, and it could not sell its gold at a high enough profit. It consequently imposed import restrictions, called upon Britain to repay an £80 million gold loan, and Mr. Havenga, Malan's Finance Minister, came to the United States seeking a loan of $70 million. However, after prolonged conferences on the matter, he finally announced that there would be no loan "because South Africa was not 'a distressed borrower' and 'could not accept the strings attached.'" (N. Y. *Times*, Jan. 4, 1950.) He had to be content with a loan of $10 million from five United States private banks negotiated in October, 1949, by Dillon, Read & Co. of New York.

It was not revealed what blocked the expected bigger loan from the United States Export-Import Bank. But subsequent events suggest that "the strings" to which Mr. Havenga objected had to do with the terms of the United States demands for the lion's share of

South Africa's uranium. There had been several months of protracted secret negotiations on this question by American, British and South African officials. Finally, in December, 1950, there came the announcement of the conclusion of a three-way agreement (terms undisclosed) on the development of South Africa's uranium resources and their allocation to Britain and the United States. Thereupon, all doors were promptly opened wide to Mr. Havenga.

In January, 1951, two loans totalling $50 million were obtained by the South African government from the International Bank, headed by the American financier, Eugene R. Black. At the same time, $30 million more was lent by eight of America's big commercial banks. Then in June, 1951, the United States Export-Import Bank, at the request of the Atomic Energy Commission, allocated $35 million to spur uranium production in South Africa, advancing another $27 million up to October, 1952. Gold-mining companies in which substantial American capital is invested are among the beneficiaries of this United States aid. The uranium production project, it was said, would cost over $100 million "to get under way." (N. Y. *Times,* Jan. 20, 1953.)

. . . AND GUNS

"Defense of this great storehouse of strategic materials is a major problem for the West. Military leaders of eight countries with big stakes in Negro Africa met recently in British Kenya. There they agreed on the danger that native rebellions, or native refusal to fight, could open the riches of Africa to Soviet Russia in a world war," said *U.S. News and World Report,* Sept. 12, 1952. U.S. military "observers," it was reported, participated in this strategy conference.

"It is in the nature of strategy that it should be secret, hence the Americans are saying little of the military significance of the new plans in Africa which they are preparing to finance . . . the United States has Pretoria's biggest Embassy, with air and military attachés who are known to travel all over Southern and Central Africa in the course of preparing their reports." (*Cape Times,* Cape Town, South Africa, March 20, 1950.)

"Britain and the United States realized the strategic importance of South Africa and were prepared to release modern equipment for three branches of the Union's Defense Force, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, South Africa's Minister of Defense, said on his return from Europe and the United States. . . . He said the talks he had had on the defense of the Union and the African Continent with the Governments of Britain, the United States, France and Portugal were satisfactory. He had stressed the advantage of cooperation in the defense of Africa and his views were sympathetically received." (*S.A. Inf.*, Oct. 19, 1950.)

On October 17, 1952, the Malan Government announced the conclusion of an agreement with the United States Government whereby the Union of South Africa would spend an estimated $112 million on weapons of war to be obtained from the United States and Britain. Among other purposes, according to the stated terms of the agreement, the weapons are to be used for South Africa's "internal security."

* * *

How much farther is the Government of the United States prepared to go in backing up Malan, in helping to maintain in power a fascist regime which the peoples of the whole world condemn? Do profitable investments and strategic raw materials have priority over the freedom, the rights, the very lives of the millions of human beings in South Africa whose skins are not white?

Again we ask, how much of the blood of South Africa's oppressed black people is on America's own hands?

WHAT YOU CAN DO

You have read here the facts about the struggle for human freedom in the Union of South Africa.

Now, what can you DO about it?

Several thousand Americans have signed a petition to the President of the United States calling on him "to halt United States assistance in any form to the Government of the Union of South Africa, and to denounce publicly that government's racist program as an international menace."

Add *your* voice to this appeal! Help spread this pamphlet! Write especially to your Congressman asking that he support a Congressional resolution placing our government on the side of freedom and human rights in South Africa.

In acknowledging receipt of contributions from hundreds of Americans, forwarded by the Council on African Affairs, the leaders of the Defiance Campaign have expressed how very much—more than dollars and cents—this help means to them. *Much more help is needed and must be sent.*

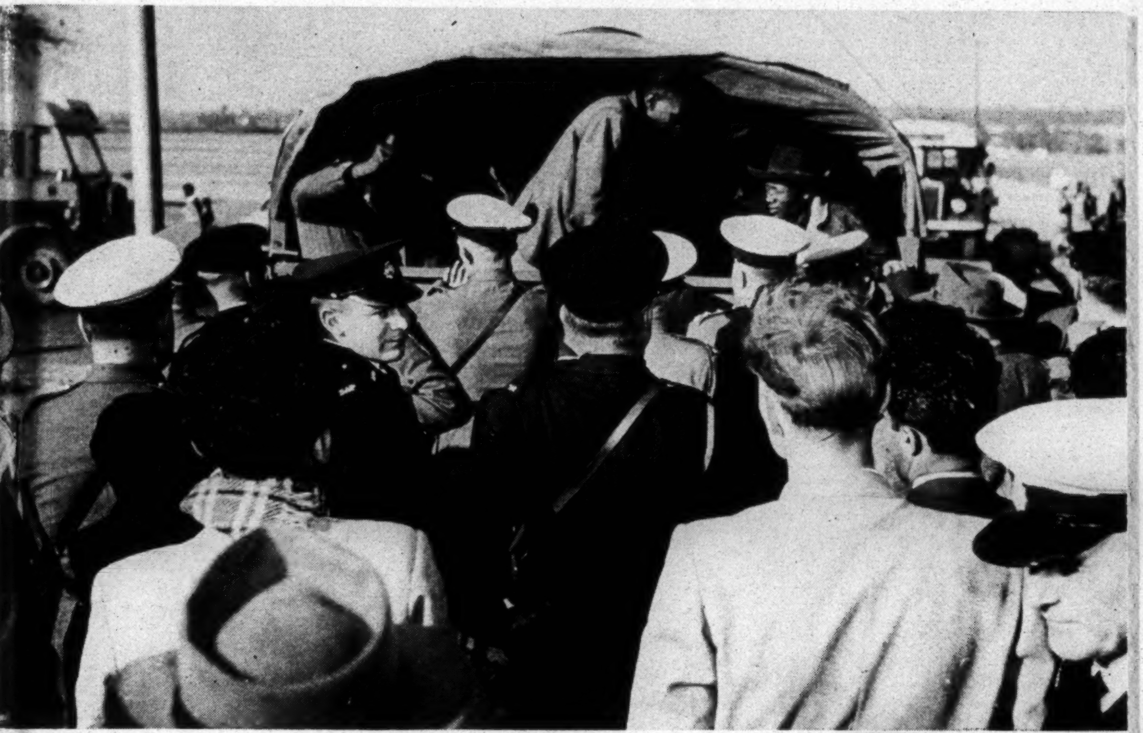
Help spread the truth about South African fascism.

THE COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
53 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

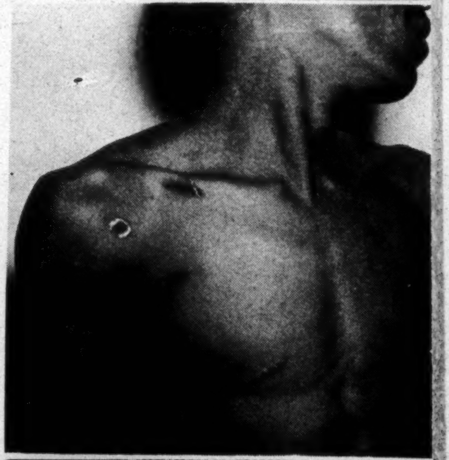
PAUL ROBESON, *Chairman* DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS, *Vice-Chairman*
DR. ALPHAEUS HUNTON, *Secretary*

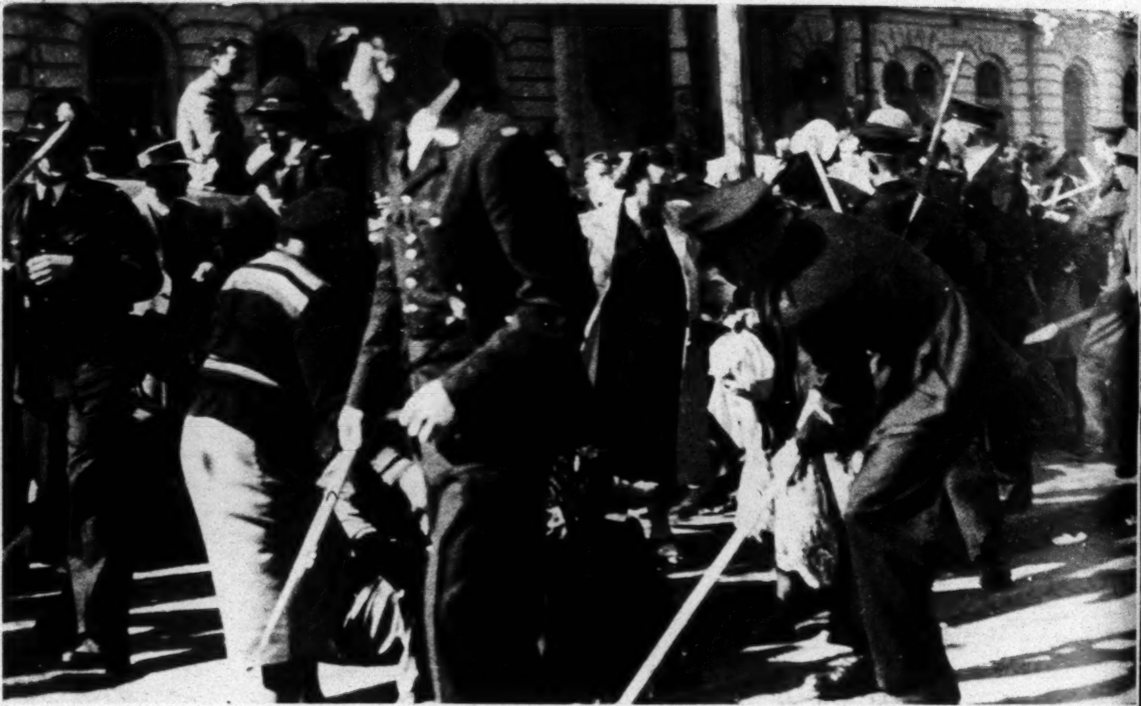
The Council's Newsletter, *Spotlight on Africa,* gives honest news about Africa each month.

Subscription one dollar a year

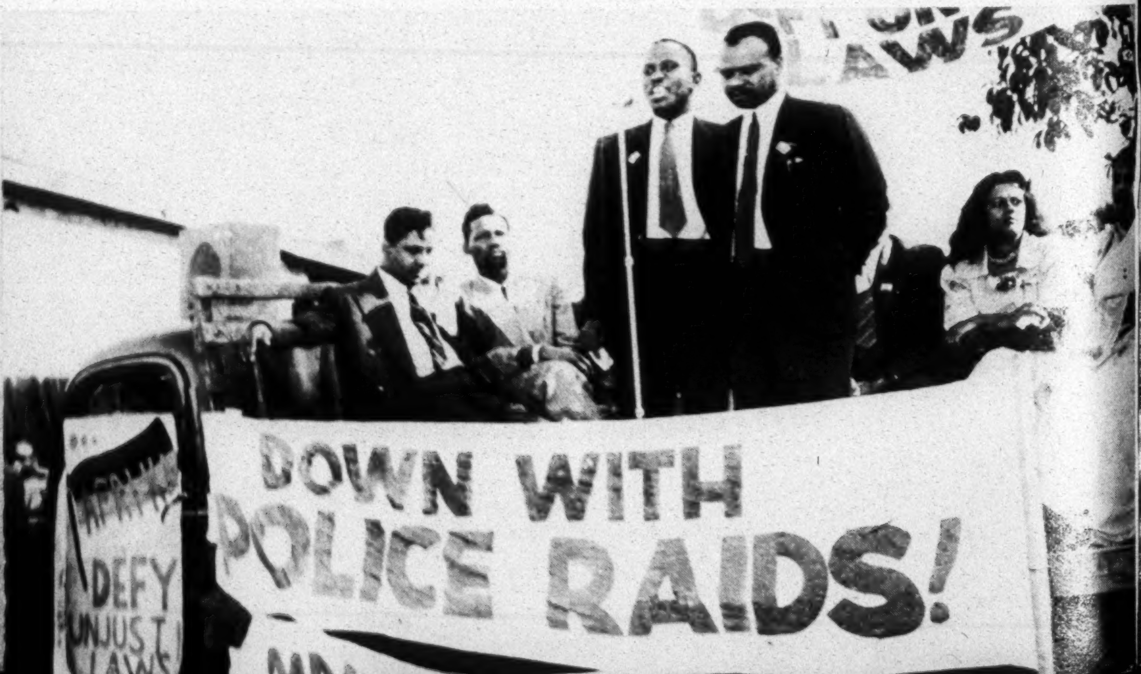


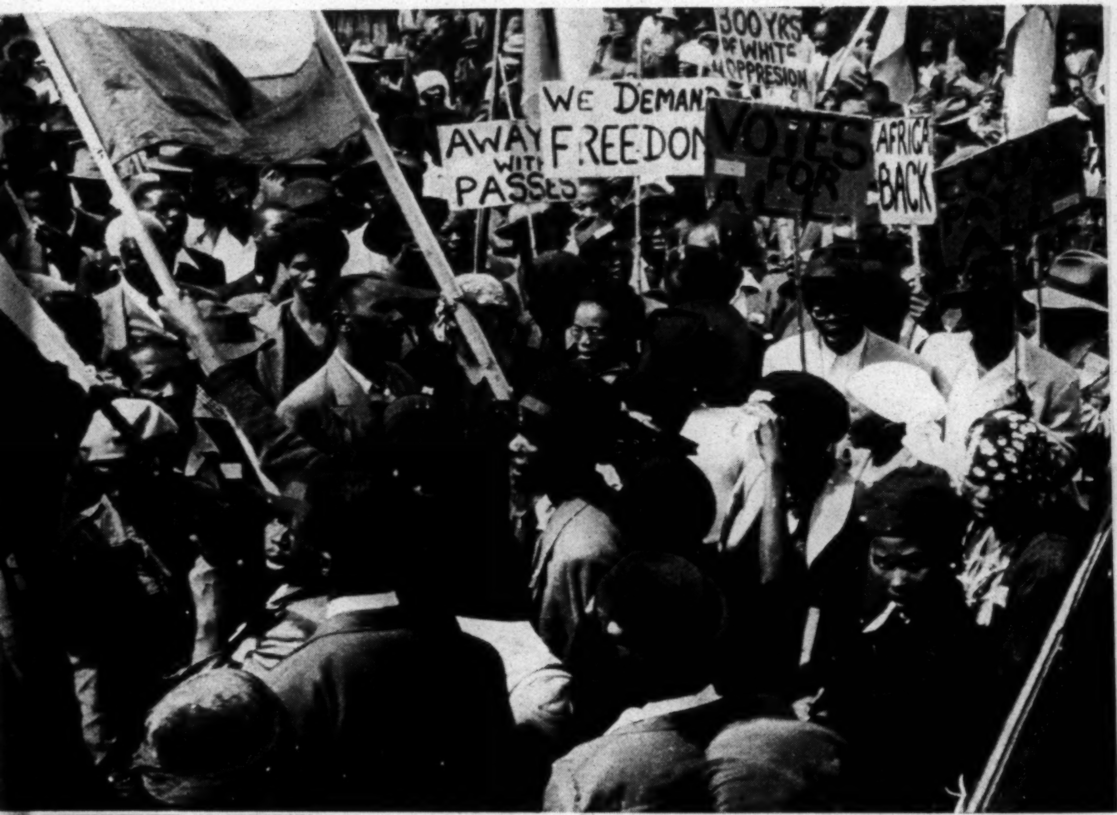
THE RAISED-THUMB "AFRIKA" SALUTE, symbol of resistance in South Africa, is given by one of the defiance volunteers who have been loaded into a truck to be taken to jail. No amount of police intimidation, heavy jail sentences, or brutal assaults by their jailers *(see page 44)*, evidence of which is displayed *(right)* by discharged prisoners, can stop the raised-thumb salutes or the resistance movement.

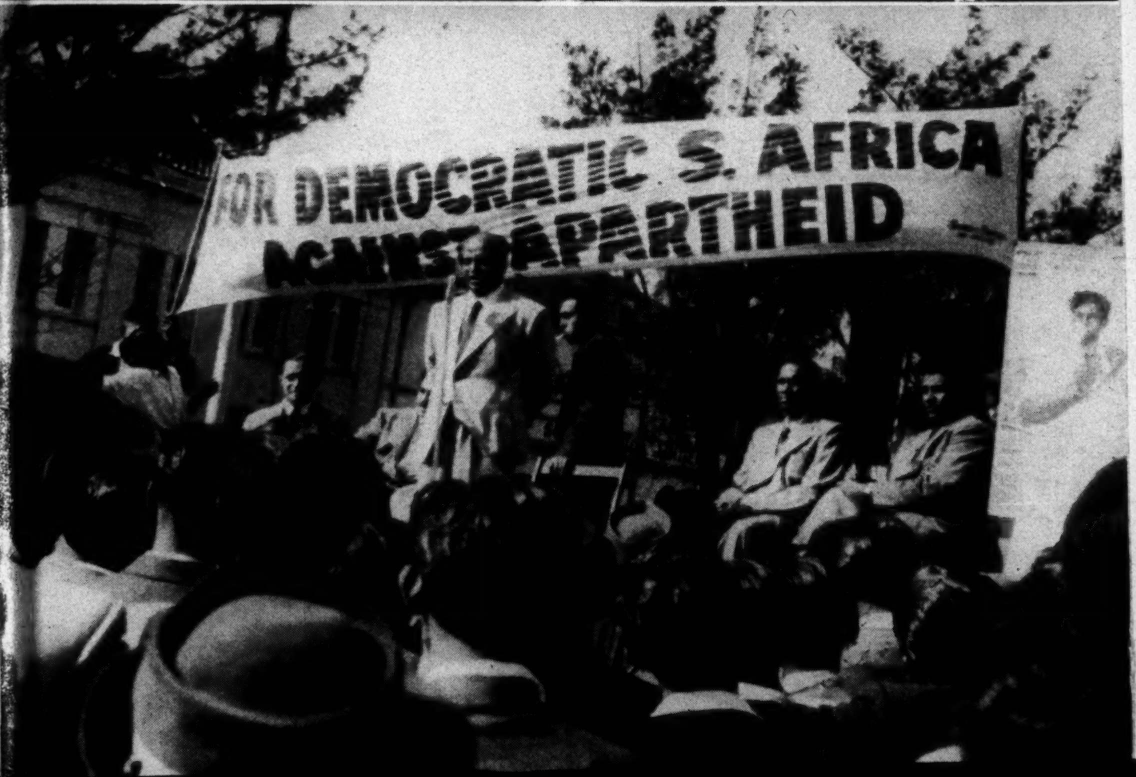




POLICE VIOLENCE UPHOLDS WHITE SUPREMACY "LAW & ORDER." ***Above:*** **Scores of women members of the democratic Garment Workers Union, both white and non-white, were savagely beaten by police in front of the City Hall of Johannesburg on May 24, 1952.** ***Below:*** **Africans demand an end of the constant police hounding and terrorization.**


LAWS
DOWN WITH
POLICE RAIDS!
AFRIKA
DEFY
UNJUST
LAWS


300 YRS OF WHITE OPPRESION
WE DEMAND FREEDOM
AWAY WITH PASSES
VOTES FOR
AFRICA BACK


FOR DEMOCRATIC S. AFRICA AGAINST APARTHEID

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION 1951-55 10/10
OF THE FOREIGN BORN

Los Angeles Committee for

Protection of Foreign Born

ROSE CHERNIN
Executive Director

88

Room 312
326 West 3rd Street
Los Angeles 13, Calif.
[redacted]
MAdison 2169

August 15, 1951

Dear Paul Robeson:

"We must treasure our fighting attorneys who combat the terror against minority groups." Abner Green, now in jail because of his devotion to this battle, never tired of impressing this truth upon us.

It was with this thought in mind that Rose Chernin, our beloved Executive Director now in Los Angeles County Jail on $50,000 bail, long ago projected a Testimonial Dinner to honor our extensive legal panel, courageous attorneys seasoned in the battle for labor's rights and the civil rights of the people - and now very much under fire. Indeed, but for her incarceration, Rose would be writing you this letter.

We are handicapped by the temporary loss of this dynamic fighter and able executive, but are determined to pool our resources to carry out the program she projected.

Only last weekend we were grievously disappointed and outraged by the fact that Ferdinand C. Smith, re-arrested as a deportee, was denied bail and thus was unable to appear at a trade union luncheon and several public meetings which we jointly sponsored with the Los Angeles Negro Labor Council; and despite the fine militant spirit of those who attended, we encountered a loss which neither organization can afford.

We must make a success of our Testimonial Dinner.

We are, therefore, most urgently asking you to appear at the Dinner as our honored guest and speaker of the evening.

The date is Sunday, September 16, 1951.

We will meet all requirements of your trip, though this may necessitate arrangement of an additional, public appearance agreeable to you - and how desirable this will be to thousands of people in this area, not to speak of the attorneys themselves, our Executive Board, the 38 local deportees, the Terminal Island Four (of whom I am one), our friends in the Negro Labor Council and the Mexican-American Association and other minority organizations now cooperating with us, all of whom in effect earnestly petition you to meet our request.

You may not remember me - we last met at a party to raise scholarship funds for Negro students at the Actor's Lab. theatre (now defunct, alas), and we discussed people's culture and the need for a Negro People's Theatre. Nevertheless, I send my warmest personal greetings.

Harry Carlisle

Harry Carlisle, Chairman
Emergency Steering Committee

hc/nr
dpowa 253

Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom
53 West 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Participate — Short while
under no obligation
to sing

CLEMENTINA J. PAOLONE, M. D.
23 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
—
OREGON 5-0879

March 19, 1953

Dear Paul,

Even when so much time goes by without actually seeing you I really spend a great deal of time with you – I find myself daily discussing many things in my mind with you and I can always hear your answers – I'm sure reading your column in Freedom helps giving me this constant help and inspiration.

I wonder, Paul, if you can honor me with a great favor – I am especially interested in the case of Norman Tallentire. Norman is one of the victims of the Walter McCarran law – so you can be sure (if you don't already know his case) that in the 40 years that Norman has already helped build a better world for our children. Norman

CLEMENTINA J. PAOLONE, M. D.
23 WEST 11TH STREET
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
OREGON 5-0879

has just received deportation orders - We must, without burdening the Nat'l Committee, raise funds for a court trial. For this purpose we would like to plan a large affair on April 25th (we can change this at your convenience). If we can have Paul Robeson sing at this affair I know we will make it a great success. This case is so important - Molly. Norman's wife is perhaps the more victimized of the two - to be forced to leave her native land where the fight for peace and decency must be carried on - Oh I know you know -

I hope with all my hopes that you will see fit to take part in this effort. May I hear real soon.

Devotedly
Clem.

March 19, 1953

Dear Doctor Hunton:

Norman told me that you were kind enough to offer to reach Paul Robeson and invite him to the affair that was agreed upon at the meeting held last Wednesday at Clementina Paolone's house to plan ways and means of aiding in Norman's defense...

Of course you can understand how moved and grateful I am for your help in this way. It is very frightening and terrible to live under this threat of the deportation of Norman, who has been my husband for more than 25 years, who has lived in the USA for nearly 40 years -- frightening and terrible to contemplate pulling up my roots and having to go to a strange country, where I have no friends or relatives and where Norman, too, is a stranger, for he has not seen the cousins that still live there for those many years; and his more intimate relatives, his sisters, all live here in the USA.

I do not want to complain unduly. I know that I am only one of many wives living in the same uncertainty today, and a number of husbands too -- all in danger of the break-up of their lives, and maybe their families...

Our friend Dr Paolone has written the enclosed letter to Paul Robeson, whom we always think of as everybody's friend.

Thank you very much for anything you can do; we know that if Paul Robeson comes, the affair will be a topnotch success.

Yours sincerely,

Molly Tallentire

Molly Tallentire

Tallentire
178 Thompson Street
New York 12 NY
GR 5-3152

April 12, 1953

Mr. John Gray
c/o Freedom Associates
53 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

We were very happy to learn that Mr. Robeson will be with us at the concert and dance Saturday, May 9th, at Manhattan Plaza.

Enclosed we send you three copies of the program, one for your reference, one for Mr. Robeson and one for his accompanist.

Of course, there may be some changes in the order of presentation. We might explain also that the concert pianist has asked us not to publicize her name.

Again with thanks for your kindness,

Sincerely yours,

Norman H Tallentire

Norman H. Tallentire

178 Thompson Street,
New York 12, N.Y.
May 14, 1953

Dear Paul Robeson:

Please let me say how much I thank you for your generosity and kindness to Norman and to me.

You were magnificent Saturday night, simply magnificent. We have known since the first time we heard you sing, years ago and before we dreamed that some day we would have the privilege of knowing you personally, how great is your voice and artistry.

And on Saturday you were superb. Everybody who was there came to us afterwards and told us the very same.

What I want to tell you also is that your expression of support, the knowledge that we have you, our great Paul Robeson, on our side, makes me stronger, strong enough to take whatever comes, and to follow your example in my own small way.

With admiration, respect and love, in which Norman joins me,

Yours,

Molly Tallentire

**NEW YORK COMMITTEE
FOR PROTECTION
OF FOREIGN BORN**

23 West 26th St. · New York 10, N. Y. · MUrray Hill 4-3458

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Executive Secretary
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RUTH HEIT
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CONSTANTIN OSSIP

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Bill Shneyer
Leon Strauss
Rose Taibi
Jeanette Turner
Frank Wedl
Milt Wolf

February 16, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o FREEDOM
139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

On January 31, 1955, the United States Supreme Court announced that it had agreed to hear the cases of 14 non-citizens challenging the constitutionality of Supervisory Parole. Supervisory Parole is that portion of the Walter-McCarran Law which "supervises" the conduct and activities of non-citizens ordered deported but whose deportation cannot be effectuated since no country is willing to accept them as deportees. (See enclosed reprint of New York Times story.)

In the main these countries are the Eastern Democracies who do not hold with the idea of disrupting and destroying families through deportation.

Supervisory Parole, as such, is one of the least understood provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law. Yet while such is the case, it is also the most repressive and restrictive.

In each instance, the 14 non-citizens involved are persons who today face deportation because of their political beliefs. In each instance they are persons whose years in this nation have been spent as leaders and militant workers in the trade union, progressive and peace movements. Yet, according to the Justice Department's interpretation of Supervisory Parole they are compelled to:

* Submit to psychiatric and medical examination.
* Report once a month to immigration agents.
* Give information under oath as to habits, associates and activities.
* Remain within a 50-mile radius of Times Square.
* Terminate membership in and association with the Communist Party.
* End association with Communists and persons whom they have "reason to believe" are "affiliated with" the Communist Party.

To an individual, they have refused to submit to this police-state type of surveillance, refused to answer any questions and maintain that such Supervisory Parole conditions are in crass and utter violation of their constitutional guarantees.

While 14 non-citizens, listed in the enclosed folder, are challenging these provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law, more than 180 non-citizens across the nation are submitted to like "parole."

The New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently engaged in a public campaign to bring the attention of the American people to this question. At the same time we are seeking to raise the necessary funds to continue the Supreme Court challenge. To date more than $5,350 has been spent on this one issue and another $5,000 is needed at a minimum.

In view of the admirable courage shown by the 14 in the face of repeated attempts to force them to submit to questioning and to force them to become stool-pigeons, we would like in some way to pay tribute to them.

On or about March 5, 1955, we would like to hold a reception in their honor. A reception which will serve a dual purpose. First we hope to bring to the attention of some 75 prominent New Yorkers the matter of Supervisory Parole in particular and the evils inherent in the Walter-McCarran Law in general. Secondly, we would like to use the reception to raise the matter of finances.

We have been given the use of a home located at 645 West End Avenue for the purpose and we respectfully request that the reception be tendered the 14 in your name. We ask this knowing your deep concern with the burning issue of protecting the rights of the foreign born and more because of your deep indignation when those rights are abrogated.

Hoping that it will be possible for you to serve in this capacity, I am

Sincerely yours,

Alec Jones

Alec Jones
Executive Secretary

ftul

GRAND CONCERT and BALL

SATURDAY MAY 9th From 8 P M

MANHATTAN PLAZA 66 East Fourth St
New York City

In honor of

NORMAN and MOLLY TALLENTIRE

who are threatened with
deportation from the USA

John T. McManus, Chairman

Tex Rossiter with his guitar
Gene Romero and Margie

Abner Green, National Secretary,
American Committee for Protection
of Foreign Born

Laura Duncan

Vito Marcantonio

Earl Robinson

Dr Clementina J. Paolone

Albert E. Kahn

Laura Duncan and Earl Robinson

Piano Recital (surprise artist)

PAUL ROBESON

Refreshments
Intermission

Floor cleared for dancing

During intermission Tex, Gene & Margie will entertain in anteroom, near the bar. Also they will entertain during recess from dancing at 12:30 AM

Concert starts at 8 PM

Dancing until 2 AM to Peoples Artists Orchestra

Adm $1.00 Refreshments Free

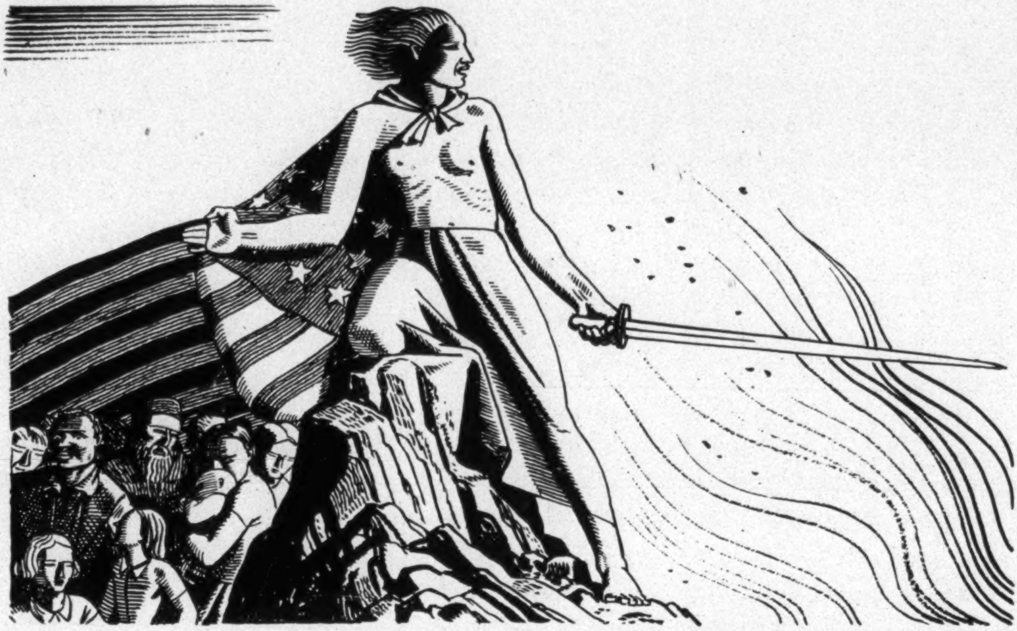
Manhattan Plaza
66-68 East 4 St — just west of Second Ave

Chairman

John T McManus
Frances Rossiter
Gene Romero Abner Green
Earl Robinson
Laura Duncan +
Vito Marcantonio x
x Dr C J Paolone
Albert E Kahn
Abner Green +
Ray Lev
Paul Robeson
Orchestra Dance

Norman and Molly Tallentire
178 Thompson Street, NY 12 Apt 5-D
Home Phone Gramercy GR 5-3152
Molly Office Phone OR 5-5700

ALP Club Phone
OR 4-9807



LIBERTY

defending national minorities

A mighty woman with a torch
And her name – Mother of Exiles . . .

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!"
Cries she with silent lips.
"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

—EMMA LAZARUS

> *"We have frequently printed the word Democracy. Yet I cannot too often repeat that it is a word the real gist of which still sleeps, quite unawaken'd, notwithstanding the resonance and the many angry tempests out of which its syllables have come, from pen or tongue. It is a great word, whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted."*
>
> —WALT WHITMAN

THE CASE OF NORMAN H. TALLENTIRE

ON MARCH 10, 1952, the Supreme Court—Justices Black, Douglas and Frankfurter dissenting—upheld the constitutionality of the Smith and McCarran Acts. Thus, it is now "legal" to arrest and prosecute foreign born residents of the United States on grounds of past actions which were lawful at the time but have now been labeled "criminal."

As stated in the dissent, such injustice will be remedied only when the American people, asserting their rights as citizens, bring pressure on their elected representatives in both houses of Congress to repeal the Smith and McCarran Acts.

Until the people make their protest effective, the case of Norman Tallentire and thousands of other foreign born of good character will be a national shame and a threat to all Liberty in this country.

The Facts

AFTER 37 years in the United States, Norman Henderson Tallentire was arrested by officials of the Immigration Department on July 25, 1951, and despite a serious heart condition was held on Ellis Island for 23 days under threat of deportation.

Bail was set at $5,000 and later reduced to $3,500, under which he was released pending final disposition of the case. An order for his deportation, issued by the Immigration Department, is now being appealed by Tallentire's counsel, the Hon. Vito Marcantonio.

Who Is Norman H. Tallentire?

NORMAN Henderson Tallentire, son of a coal miner and Methodist lay preacher, was born in Durham County, England, on October 10, 1886, and from his earliest years has been actively interested in political and social questions. One of his earliest childhood memories is the fact that his father was a "sacrificed" Union member; that is, he was blacklisted by the coal magnates for his work in organizing the Durham Miners Union. Tallentire states, "I can remember working in the General Elections of 1892, serving as messenger between the polling place and the British Liberal Party committee room."

Tallentire—the Progressive

TALLENTIRE started work at 13 years of age as an apprentice in the carpenter shop at the coal mine. Durham County is predominantly a coal mining county. He joined the Durham Colliery Mechanics Association (Union) as an

NORMAN AND MOLLY TALLENTIRE

apprentice. On becoming a full member at 16 years of age, he was elected secretary of his local union, and at 21 was a delegate to the quarterly County Conference.

He continued his work in his union, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America, AFL when, in search of work, he came to Canada in 1907. He was both recording and financial secretary of his local union in Calgary, Alberta; also delegate to the Central Labor & Building Trades Councils; was a member of the Strike Committee of his local union in 1912 in Calgary.

During his years in Calgary he was active in the Barrett and Rowan Defense Committee, a Labor case. During the years 1910-11 for ten months he was a member of the United Mine Workers of America while working as a mine carpenter at Taber, Alberta.

In September 1913 he joined the Calgary local of the Socialist Party of Canada and in March, 1914, was elected secretary of the local, serving as such until leaving for the U.S.A., again in search of work, in April, 1916.

In the U.S.A. he continued his work in his union and in the Socialist Party. In 1918 he helped organize the Mooney Defense Committee in Denver, Colo., and worked for one year as a field organizer for the Mooney Defense in Colorado, Wisconsin, Georgia, Alabama and all the New England states, also attending the great Mooney Convention in Chicago, January 14-15-16, 1919.

In August, 1919, he returned to his trade on the Pacific Coast. Was a delegate for Local 36 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners to the convention of the California State Federation of Labor at Fresno in August, 1920.

In the fall of 1919, like many other Socialist Party members, Tallentire joined the newly formed Communist Party. He continued his work in his union and in the socialist and communist movements.

In the summer of 1921 Tallentire was a member of the Executive Committee of the General Conference of the building trades in San Francisco when 45,000 building trades workers went out on a general strike, tying up the Bay Counties for 3 months in a fight against the open shop and the so-called "American Plan." In the fall of 1921 Tallentire engaged in the work of gathering funds for relief of famine sufferers in Soviet Russia, working as a field organizer in 1921-22. During this work he addressed the national convention of the United Mine Workers of America in Indianapolis in January, 1922.

In 1922 he was elected a delegate to the Bridgman, Michigan convention of the Communist Party. This convention was raided by agents of the Justice Department. Tallentire was under bail of $6,000 from 1922 until 1934 when the case was *nolle prossed* and bail was released.

During the national election campaigns of 1924, 1928 and 1936, he made national tours for the Communist presidential candidates.

Tallentire also worked as an organizer for the Labor Defense Council in 1922-3, later the International Labor Defense, for which he was assistant national secretary in 1928-9.

In the spring of 1933, Tallentire toured the nation to prepare the way for the founding convention of the Unemployed Councils. For two years—1934-5—he was New York City secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism. As an active worker in the League, he attended every national convention of that organization.

Tallentire was secretary, in 1935-6, of the Volunteer Committee to Aid the Vermont Marble Strikers, which raised $200 a week for ten months to aid the strikers at West Rutland and Danbury.

During the last ten years, Tallentire has been active in the American Labor Party in New York City as Treasurer and Organization Secretary of the Village LaGuardia Club.

Tallentire—the Worker

DURING his years as a carpenter, Norman Tallentire has worked on some of the biggest construction jobs in Canada and the U.S.A.:

- The rebuilding of Hanlans Point, Toronto, Canada
- The Niagara Hydro-Electric Project at Niagara Falls, Canada
- The Dry Cell Battery Factory, Niagara Falls, New York
- The Great Canadian Pacific RR shops at Calgary, Alberta
- The zinc smelter at Great Falls, Montana
- The Utah Copper Smelter at Garfield, Utah
- The Union Pacific RR snowsheds in Wyoming
- The Big Muddy & Central Wyoming oil fields
- The FitzSimmons Military Hospital, Denver, Colorado
- The first rubber plant on the Pacific Coast at Oakland, California
- The Standard Oil Cracking Plant at Point Richmond, California
- The Gila River Dam near Gila Bend, Arizona

In 1941 he was injured in an accident and in 1948 a heart condition developed; thus Tallentire, now past 65 years of age, has been unable to work at his trade. In 1927 he married Molly Tallentire, a native born American.

Defend the Rights of Foreign Born

TALLENTIRE'S efforts to become a citizen of the U.S.A. have been frustrated by medieval immigration and naturalization laws, which permit denial of citizenship to men and women who exercise their constitutional right of independent thought. His activity in strikes of the labor unions to which he belonged hindered his attempts to become a citizen. In the current days of hysteria, his past membership in the Communist Party is also advanced as the reason for this attempt to deport him. The attack upon Tallentire is part of the widespread attack upon the foreign born, who have labored to build our great country and without whom it could not have been built; and who in the future will continue to build it.

The Tallentire Defense Committee urges support for the defense of Norman Tallentire and for efforts to beat back the assaults upon the rights of foreign born which are in such brazen violation of our constitutional guarantees of freedom of thought, speech and association. This appeal has been endorsed by the County and State Committees of the American Labor Party.

If you wish to help, you may do any or all of the following:

Send your donation to Molly Tallentire, Secretary, P. O. Box 115, Prince Street Station, New York 12, N. Y. Make checks or money orders payable to the Tallentire Defense Committee. Solicit donations from friends and acquaintances. Write or wire the Attorney General urging him to quash the deportation proceedings and grant citizenship to Norman H. Tallentire.

Arrange delegations to your Congressman urging him to work and vote for repeal of the Smith and McCarran Acts.

Latest information is that our appeal against the deportation order has been denied, and Tallentire has been ordered deported within six months of the date of January 16th, 1953.

NAME	ADDRESS	CONTRIBUTION

THE NORMAN TALLENTIRE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

appeals to you

to help in carrying through the fight against his threatened deportation to the highest courts of the land.

ROCKWELL KENT, ***Honorary Chairman***
JOHN T. McMANUS, ***Chairman***
ARTHUR SCHUTZER, ***Vice-Chairman***
ANNA ROCHESTER, ***Vice-Chairman***
DR. CLEMENTINA J. PAOLONE, ***Treasurer***
MOLLY TALLENTIRE, ***Secretary***
HON. VITO MARCANTONIO, ***Counsel***

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WALTER-McCARRAN LAW

POLICE-STATE CONDITIONS

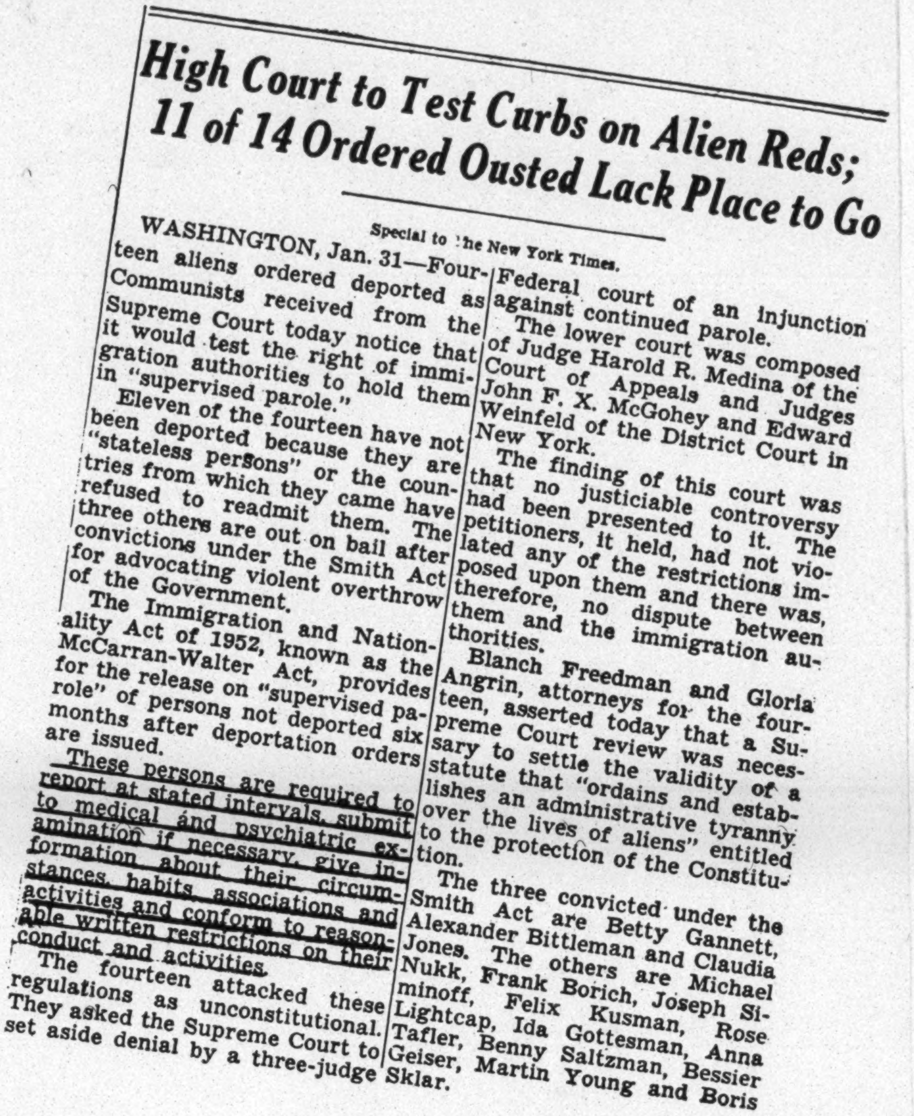
The Story Behind the Story

Read the story to the right. It is an account of why 14 non-citizens are challenging the Supervisory Parole conditions of the Walter-McCarran Law.

What the clipping does not tell is that non-citizens forced to live up to the letter of the Law can be forced to become stool-pigeons against friends, relatives, shop-mates and associates.

Read the underlined paragraph. That is the key. Yes, the 14 non-citizens do consider the conditions of Supervisory Parole an infringement on their constitutional guarantees. Where is their right to free speech; freedom of assembly; freedom of association? What rights do they have if an agent of the Justice Department can query them relative to habits, associations, force them to report regularly and disclose their habits?

Those are POLICE-STATE regulations which have no place on the statute books of a land which considers itself a democracy. The 14 are challenging these provisions in their own behalf and in behalf of the thousands of other non-citizens who might later be placed on Supervisory Paroles.



High Court to Test Curbs on Alien Reds; 11 of 14 Ordered Ousted Lack Place to Go

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31—Fourteen aliens ordered deported as Communists received from the Supreme Court today notice that it would test the right of immigration authorities to hold them in "supervised parole."

Eleven of the fourteen have not been deported because they are "stateless persons" or the countries from which they came have refused to readmit them. The three others are out on bail after convictions under the Smith Act for advocating violent overthrow of the Government.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, known as the McCarran-Walter Act, provides for the release on "supervised parole" of persons not deported six months after deportation orders are issued.

These persons are required to report at stated intervals, submit to medical and psychiatric examination if necessary, give information about their circumstances, habits, associations and activities and conform to reasonable written restrictions on their conduct and activities.

The fourteen attacked these regulations as unconstitutional. They asked the Supreme Court to set aside denial by a three-judge Federal court of an injunction against continued parole.

The lower court was composed of Judge Harold R. Medina of the Court of Appeals and Judges John F. X. McGohey and Edward Weinfeld of the District Court in New York.

The finding of this court was that no justiciable controversy had been presented to it. The petitioners, it held, had not violated any of the restrictions imposed upon them and there was, therefore, no dispute between them and the immigration authorities.

Blanch Freedman and Gloria Angrin, attorneys for the fourteen, asserted today that a Supreme Court review was necessary to settle the validity of a statute that "ordains and establishes an administrative tyranny over the lives of aliens" entitled to the protection of the Constitution.

The three convicted under the Smith Act are Betty Gannett, Alexander Bittleman and Claudia Jones. The others are Michael Nukk, Frank Borich, Joseph Siminoff, Felix Kusman, Rose Lightcap, Ida Gottesman, Anna Tafler, Benny Saltzman, Bessier Geiser, Martin Young and Boris Sklar.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED NOW!

Five thousand dollars is needed immediately if this case is to be actually heard by the highest Court of the land. The New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born calls upon you to make this possible. Help preserve our democratic rights. Help defend the Rights of the foreign born and remember:

Police-State conditions threaten the rights of all Americans, native born as well as foreign born.

Support this challenge against the Walter-McCarran Law.

Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law.

NEW YORK COMMITTEE FOR
PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

☐ Please keep me informed of your campaign for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law.

Enclosed find $........ as a contribution for your fight against the police-state conditions of the Walter-McCarran Law and campaign for repeal of the Law.

Name ....

Address ....

City, Zone, State ....

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service are using all kinds of tricks and threats to deprive non-citizens, naturalized citizens, and even native-born citizens of their rights. Foreign-born Americans should be aware of the laws of the United States and refuse to permit anyone to violate these laws by depriving them of their liberties. Only in this way will the American people be able to preserve their democratic rights and defeat those who would undermine the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution.

NATURALIZED CITIZENS

Naturalized American citizens have the same rights as native-born American citizens. Naturalized citizens and native-born Americans need not answer any questions put to them by anyone until after they have an opportunity to consult a lawyer or organization.

NON-CITIZENS

Non-citizens have the right to consult an attorney or organization before they answer any questions put to them by anyone. Non-citizens have a right to refuse to answer questions put to them by representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

If a non-citizen is arrested, he has the right to call an attorney, an organization, or a friend.

If a non-citizen is arrested, he can refuse to answer ANY questions until he has been given a chance to consult an attorney.

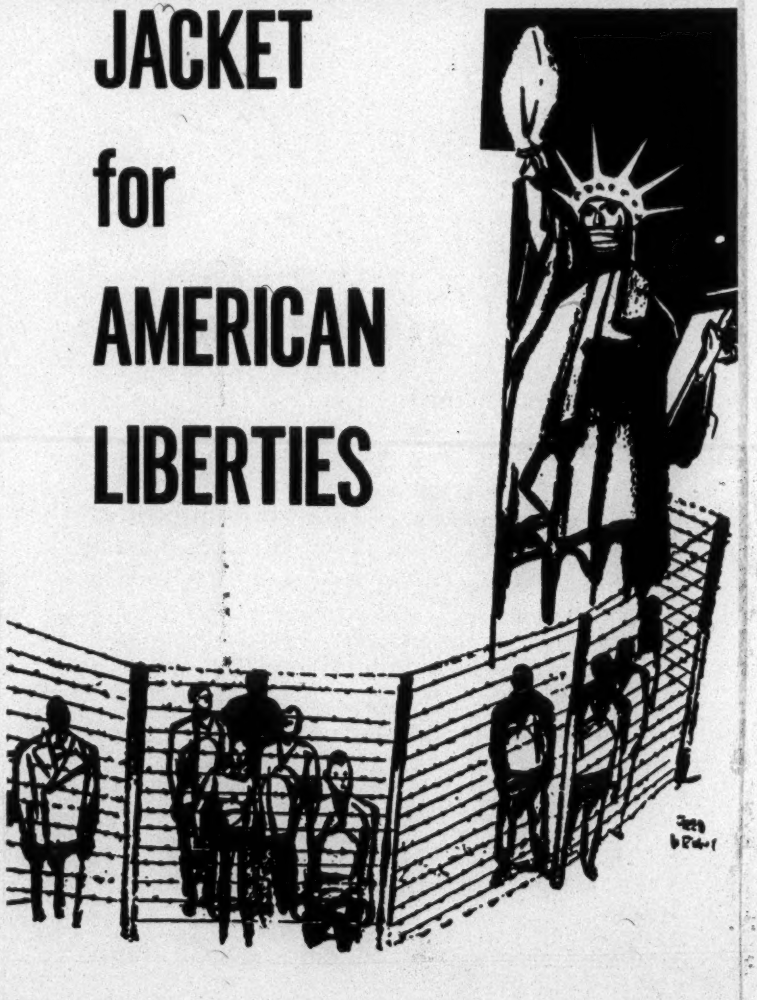
SEARCH WARRANTS

A warrant of arrest is not a search warrant. If the officer making the arrest tries to search your home, demand and insist that he stop.

If you want advice or assistance concerning naturalization, citizenship, or deportation, write or call on the New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West 26th St., New York 10, N.Y.
MUrray Hill 4-3457

The WALTER-McCARRAN LAW . . .

STRAIGHT-JACKET for AMERICAN LIBERTIES



Today in this Country...

The Justice Department is using provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law in an effort to straightjacket the minds and bodies of non-citizens!

Unbelievable?

Well take a look around you. Does your neighbor seem like everyone else on the block? If he's foreign born, he just might not be! He may be a prisoner behind bars you can't see —living in the twilight zone of Walter-McCarran Law Supervisory Parole.

When you see him leaving home in the morning, he may not be going to work. He may be off to report to Ellis Island or some other place designated by the Department of Justice.

You ask what's reporting? Well, it goes something like this, with a representative of the Justice Department asking the questions:

Name?

Address? Changed since I saw you last?

Where were you last night?

Read any books? . . . Newspapers? What books did you read? What papers?

Had any trouble with the police?

Where'd you go shopping?

What meetings did you attend?

Whom did you visit?

Travel more than 50 miles?

These are only a few of the questions put to non-citizens under that special section of the Walter-McCarran Law which deals with supervisory parole.

You ask what is supervisory parole?

Many non-citizens ordered deported cannot be deported since no country in the world will accept them as deportees. If a non-citizen is not deported within six months after having been ordered deported the non-citizen is placed on Supervisory Parole.

Supervisory Parole conditions include:

- Submission to psychiatric and medical examination.
- Weekly reporting in person to Immigration and Naturalization Service.
- Giving information under oath as to habits, association and activities.
- Restriction on the right to travel, like not leaving the city.
- Discontinuing membership or affiliation with any organization the Attorney General doesn't like.
- Ending all association with persons the Attorney General doesn't like!

These are only some of the conditions of Walter-McCarran Law supervisory parole! Violation of any of these conditions is a criminal offense punishable by a fine of $1,000 or one year in jail, or both.

But look at Supervisory Parole from the account below from one who lives under it:

Walter-McCarran Law Supervisory Parole!!

All we, who are on Supervisory Parole, are guilty of is being alive; of leading the life of a good neighbor and friend towards people we meet whether in the house we live or the job on which we work. All we are guilty of is possessing ideas of how mankind should act toward mankind. All our ideas, for which we face deportation, stem from the rich progressive history of the American people imbued in us immigrants since childhood days.

The Walter-McCarran Law says that if I violate my supervisory parole conditions, I can be fined $1,000 or jailed for one year, or both!

But how can any decent person live without violating these conditions? Are we to remain at home in a mental and physical straightjacket?

Suppose someone talks to me and it is later revealed that the Attorney General doesn't like that person? I will have broken my parole and can be fined and jailed.

Many of us on Supervisory Parole in New York must report in person weekly to Ellis Island.

Reporting weekly to Ellis Island means losing half a day's work at least. For many, weekly reporting makes it impossible to hold a job and support our families. Agents of the FBI and the Immigration Service harass and hound management where a non-citizen is employed and often this, too, results in the loss of a job.

When we report, we see old people, sick and infirm and mothers with infants in their arms go through a grilling by an immigration officer that is a sight to behold. Inhumanly vindictive and un-American as the Walter-McCarran Law is, the interpretation of it by an immigration officer and his or her discretionary application of the Law is much worse.

They demand that we tell with whom we associate, talk, work, and meet. They insist we tell them what books, newspapers and magazines we subscribe to or read. They want us to act as informers and stoolpigeons against our relatives, friends, neighbors and shopmates, or else go to jail.

All this may sound incredible and crazy. It is! But it is tragically true. But it isn't the sponsors of the Walter-McCarran law who will have their heads examined. Under Supervisory Parole it is I, and others like myself, who must submit to psychiatric examinations or face a $1,000 fine and a year in jail if we refuse.

No person who aspires to the honored possession of American citizenship and who was raised in the spirit of progressive American traditions will ever accept such treatment even at the risk of imprisonment. It would be sheer ingratitude to the people of our adopted land, especially today when its democratic institutions and procedures are being assailed, for us on supervisory parole to submit to these undemocratic parole provisions.

We exercise our constitutional rights to refuse to become informers or to in any way jeopardize our friends.

However Walter-McCarran Law police state parole conditions are in force even if they are rejected by the person upon whom they are imposed.

We who constantly feel the lashing whip of the Walter-McCarran Law often ask ourselves, what does the government want of us to make us acceptable to this adopted land of ours? Who, we ask, is welcome to these shores? How must one live to be deserving of America?

14 Non-Citizens Are Now Challenging Supervisory Parole In the Federal Courts

ALEXANDER BITTLEMAN, 64, native of Russia, an author and lecturer is victim of both the Smith Act and Walter-McCarran Law. He has lived in the United States 42 years.

FRANK BORICH, 55, native of Yugoslavia, a founder of the Mine Workers Union, he has lived in the United States 41 years and is married to a United States citizen and father of two daughters.

BETTY GANNETT, 45, native of Poland, Communist Party leader, is victim of both the Smith Act and Walter-McCarran Law and has lived here for 40 years.

BESSIE GEISER, 65, native of Russia. A dress operator, she is married to a citizen and has one daughter.

IDA GOTTESMAN, 60, a native of Hungary. A garment worker, she has lived in the United States for 44 years.

CLAUDIA JONES, 37, a native of the British West Indies and leader of the Communist Party. She has lived in the United States for 28 years and is a victim of both the Smith Act and Walter-McCarran Law.

FELIX KUSMAN, 45, a native of Estonia is a carpenter who has lived in the United States for 26 years and is married to a citizen.

ROSE NELSON, 51, a native of Russia has lived in the United States for 41 years. Active in women's work, she was one of the founders of the Emma Lazarus Women's Federation. She is married to a citizen.

MICHAEL NUKK, 47, a native of Estonia, has lived in the United States 22 years. Editor of the Estonian newspaper "Uus Ilm" he is married to a citizen and father of two sons.

BENJAMIN SALTZMAN, 59, a native of Russia, has lived in the United States 41 years. A house painter, he is married to a citizen and had three sons. One son was killed in World War II, Battle of the Bulge, another wounded and the third now awaiting a draft call.

JOSEPH SIMINOFF, 55, a native of Russia is married to a citizen, has three sons, all World War II veterans. He has lived in the United States 48 years and is a painter by trade.

BORIS SKLAR, 68, a native of Russia, has lived in the United States for 41 years. A widower, he is an editorial staff member of the Russian daily "Russky Golos."

ANNA TAFFLER, 55, mother of two sons one of whom is a World War II veteran, is a native of Russia and has lived in the United States for 40 years.

MARTIN YOUNG, 49, married to a citizen is the father of two sons. Born in Russia, he has been in the United States for 34 years and has a long history of trade union activity.

Help Restore
THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born believes that the attack upon the rights of the foreign born is an attack on the rights of all.

The Justice Department's application of Walter-McCarran Law Supervisory Parole conditions is a desperate attempt to force non-citizens it cannot deport to disassociate themselves from the labor and progressive movement under threat of fine or jail, or both.

The Bill of Rights states clearly that Congress shall make no law . . . "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people to peaceably assemble . . ."

Supervisory Parole is in direct contravention with the Bill of Rights. You can help restore the Bill of Rights to non-citizens under supervisory parole if you will:

1. *Protest this arbitrary abuse of power to the Attorney General, Washington, D.C.*
2. *Urge your Congressman to demand public hearings on all legislation before Congress to revise or repeal the Walter-McCarran Law.*
3. *Order additional folders for distribution to friends, relatives and co-workers.*
4. *Make as generous a contribution as you can to help the work of the New York Committee.*

New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Enclosed please find my contribution of $......... to help in your efforts to protect the rights of the foreign born.

☐ As a further assurance that your work is maintained, I pledge to contribute $1.00 monthly to the New York Committee's Sustaining Fund.

☐ Kindly keep me informed of your activities and send me information on the Walter-McCarran Law and Legislation which would repeal it.

Please send me........additional folders for distribution.

Name______________________________

Address______________________________

City____________________Zone______State____________

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LATE BULLETIN

Latest information is that our appeal against the deportation order has been denied and Tallentire has been ordered deported within six months of the date of January 16, 1953.

We appeal to you for financial aid to carry our appeal against this decision of the Immigration Department to the courts.

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MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS COMMITTEE ON LATIN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS 1954 10/11

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE 200 • 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-6856

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Sec'y

February 25, 1954

Mr. John Gray
c/o Freedom Associates
139 W. 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Re: Meeting against Intervention in Guadamala

Dear John:

I spoke with Paul about participating in the meeting against intervention in Guadamala. He agreed to do so. The meeting will take place on the 12th of March in Manhattan.. There will be approximately 500 present. The expenses, however, will be such that it will be possible only to pay an honorarium of $25. to Paul's accompanist.

There will be no profit made at all.

We have gotten out a new picture of Negro oppression in America which will be launched under the name of CRC.

We have also gotten out a document dealing with the intrigues of American imperialists in Latin America. These will be sent free to a thousand or more eminent personages in this country and abroad. The expense of production and of mailing will eat up more than we expect to realize at the affair.

It is a matter of our international solidarity obligations that impels us to hold this meeting now.

As you perhaps know American imperialists have called a Pan-American conference at Caracas. It is being held during the entire month of March.

Such meetings as we are holding are being held in many sections of Latin America.

The meeting will be at 8 p.m. Paul should probably be there at 10 p.m.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson

Dick
Greenspan

Gr 3-3720

WLP/s

Provisional Committee on Latin-American Affairs
HOTEL ALBERT, Room 332 • 65 UNIVERSITY PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

March 22, 1954

Mr. John Grey
c/o Freedom Associates
139 West 125th St., Suite 6
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Grey:

Enclosed is the $5.00 we owe you. Things have been so hectic since March 12th that I have not had the opportunity to send it to you before.

Let me take this opportunity to convey to you our appreciation for your fine cooperation.

Would you forward to Mr. Robeson the heartfelt thanks of our Committee for his wonderful cooperation at our March 12th rally on Guatemala? His singing was superb. The same might be said of his speech. The speech gave the 1,000 people assembled at the rally great clarity. It did a tremendous job of educating them as to the unity of interest between the peoples of the U.S. and Guatemala. It left them with a fighting spirit.

Fraternally yours,

Richard Greenspan

RG:l

Richard Greenspan
Executive Secretary

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE ON LATIN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
HOTEL ALBERT
65 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK CITY

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY AM'S

Text Of Resolution at "Guatemala Crisis" Rally:

Whereas: The United States Delegations's resolution at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, and previous provocatory statements by other U. S. high officials serves to intervene directly and indirectly in the internal affairs of a sister American republic, Guatemala, and

Whereas: In the past this policy of intervention has stained the history of relations between our country and the other countries of America, and

Whereas: Continued intervention to alter the form of government and the national policies of Guatemala constitutes a dangerous threat to the peace, and

Whereas: This threat to peace is clearly not in the interests of the people of the United States, therefore

Be It Resolved by the 1,000 people gathered here that the people of the United States be informed of the dangers of our present policy to the end that they may declare themselves opposed to any intervention whatsoever in the internal affairs of Guatemala, and

Be it further resolved that this sentiment be transmitted to the United States delegation to the 10th Inter-American Conference at Caracas, and through the press, to our fellow-Americans in the United States and Latin America.

Provisional Committee on Latin-American Affairs

HOTEL ALBERT, Room 332 • 65 UNIVERSITY PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

March 8, 1954

Mr. John Gray
℅ Freedom Associates
139 West 125 Street, Suite 6
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

In accordance with your wishes, we are arranging to have a Baldwin piano available for use in connection with Mr. Paul Robeson's appearing at our March 12th Guatemala rally.

The program for the affair is as follows: (while the affair is called for 8 P.M., we do not think we will be able to start before 8:30);

8:30 - 8:45 - Mr. Elmer Bendiner
8:45 - 9:00 - Mr. Florentino L'uis
9:00 - 9:45 - Karen Morley
9:15 - 9:45 - Collection
9:45 - 10:00- Songs and Dances of Latin America by an Inter-American group
10:00- 10:30- Mr. Robert Morss Lovett
10:30- 11:00- Mr. Paul Robeson

Thanking you again for your splendid cooperation I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Richard Greenspan

Richard Greenspan
Acting Secretary

P.S. Enclosed are 6 tickets to our affair for yours and Mr. Robeson's use.

Mass Public Rally

Cmf P21

ON

THE GUATEMALA CRISIS

Prominent Speakers • *Exciting Cultural Program*

MANHATTAN PLAZA
66 East 4th St., NYC

Friday, March 12, 1954
8:00 p.m.

ADMISSION 75 CENTS (TAX INCLUDED)

Sponsored by Provisional Committee on Latin-American Affairs

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№ 576

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP 1953-54 10/12

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

ROOM 21 • 1660 FULTON STREET • BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.
PResident 8-2057

Minutes of the

RESIDENT COMMITTEE MEETING
March 20, 1954

The Resident Committee meeting of the National Committee To Defend Negro Leadership was held at the headquarters, March 20, 1954, with twenty members and guests present. The meeting opened at 2:30 p.m. with Mr. Cyril Philips acting as Chairman. Rev. Edward D. McGowan, National Chairman, was unable to come from Frederick, Maryland, to preside at this meeting.

The first item on the agenda was a report by Mr. James Ford for the Staff on the work of the Committee and its perspectives. Mr. Ford opened by outlining three main points:

1. Some new features of McCarthyism and its threat to the Negro people;
2. The aims and purposes of the National Committee To Defend Negro Leadership; and
3. What the Committee proposes to do.

Each point was dealt with separately. In the first one, it was explained that McCarthyism is a threat not only to the Negro people but to all Americans, and tramples on the democratic liberties of all. "McCarthyism", Mr. Ford said, "is the focal point of all reactionary groupings in the country, and projects a rising danger to the democratic liberties of all Americans." It is striving to make a fascist state apparatus of the GOP. But, unable to rely on this alone, it seeks to create a mass base of support. McCarthy himself intimidates the people by bullying and terroristic tactics, trampling on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and depriving citizens of human dignity and decency, particularly the Negro people.

This last point was exemplified in the case of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, Negro woman, who was subpoenaed and questioned before the McCarthy Committee in the most degrading manner; and in the case of Mrs. Goldie Watson, Philadelphia school teacher, who was cited for contempt by the Un-American Activities Committee, causing her to lose her job at which she worked for twenty-three years; and also by abuses leveled against their attorney, George E. C. Hayes, noted Washington lawyer.

The lengths to which McCarthyism is going is the example of FBI invasion of the dignity of the Negro church, securing the services of the Reverend Obadiah Jones to act as a stool-pigeon and informer in the current trial of St. Louis Smith Act victims. Mr. Ford gave the details of numerous other attacks against Negro leaders.

The danger of McCarthyism arises also, he said, because of (1) the crisis in U.S. foreign policy (2) the maturing economic crisis and (3) the set-backs to the GOP in the 1953 elections.

But there is the other side of this question. It is the growing anti-McCarthy movement and Negroes must throw their weight into this fight. Mr. Ford gave figures percentage-wise showing unfavorable sentiment to McCarthyism among trade union, religious and educational groups and expressing itself also in the Monmouth fiasco and the current revolt against the McCarthy Committee which was set off as a result of the frame-up and slanderous attack on Mrs. Moss. She had been ridiculed and held up to scorn in an atmosphere of the worst racist chauvinism. This was picked up by the press and radio and broadcast throughout the nation.

Following attacks on Mrs. Essie Robeson and Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, a few months ago, which resulted in wide protest, McCarthy shied away temporarily from calling Negroes to hearings. But now a new wave of attacks have begun.

The second point, on the aims and purposes of the Committee, was also dealt with in detail. In the coming period of deepening economic crisis, Mr. Ford said, Negroes will be the first fired and their leaders of all strata of the population who dare speak out will be severely attacked. The National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership will be required to mount the offensive in defense of the rights of the Negro people and their leaders.

Mr. Ford quoted Rev. McGowan saying in a recent statement that "in the light of these attacks and the acute job insecurity as a consequence of economic pressures, all sections of the Negro people will have to gird themselves for struggle against McCarthyism." Mr. Ford called attention to the address of Rev. McGowan before the National Fraternal Council of Churches in Detroit and outlined the past work of the Committee under the leadership of its Chairman. He was lauded as a leader who, in spite of unfavorable publicity regarding himself and the Committee in a recent article in LOOK magazine as well as criticism from church sources, has and is carrying on nobly.

Outlining the immediate and long-range objectives of the Committee, Mr. Ford proposed a series of biographical sketches which will serve to answer the Big lie, falsehoods and open misrepresentations that are heaped upon Smith Act victims through McCarthyism. These sketches will present in detail the life and history of each victim (who come from all sections of the country) and will be published in pamphlet form. Mr. Ford read newspaper clippings and editorials from the Afro-American which show strong sentiment against McCarthyism, and also favor release of Ben Davis.

The third point dealt with the charge of narrowness of the Committee. In essence the answer to this question is that narrowness is the absence of action and a lack on understanding of the need to build such a Committee where a job is needed to be done. It was proposed that the personnel of the Committee be broadened and the scope of its work enlarged by including trade unionists and persons from all walks of life in its work. In this connection, it was announced that Mr. Robert Requa, prominent leader of the

Fur Workers International Union, has agreed to become Vice-Chairman of the Resident Committee. We must reject diversions and make effort to build this Committee as a staunch fighting organization.

Further elaboration of the third point brought out the proposal for building local committees throughout the country as rapidly as possible. It was reported that there is the beginning of one already in Seattle, Washington, under the initiative of Mrs. Jerline Ware, around the defense of Mr. Paul Bowen, trade unionist, who was recently convicted under the thought control Smith Act. It is known as "The Paul Bowen Freedom Committee."

The next item regarding the program was mentioned by Mr. Ford and later presented in more detail by Mrs. Esther Jackson. She proposed a project around a recent statement of Rev. McGowan which was sent by him to 1,000 Negro Ministers throughout the country. The Ministers were asked to sign a statement made by Dr. John A. Mackay, President of Princeton Theological Seminary and Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. In a covering letter, Rev. McGowan also pointed out the danger of McCarthyism to the church. The statement had been co-signed by five other Ministers. The response to it so far has been good. Mrs. Jackson proposed that the statement be inserted as an ad in Negro newspapers. She further proposed that it be sent out again, including a fact sheet on McCarthy and Negroes, to 10,000 Ministers and lay-leaders. Mrs. Jackson said that this project would enlarge the scope of the Committee's work and serve to build local committees.

Mrs. Jackson also explained the problems of Political Refugees, such as Henry Winston and James E. Jackson. What could be done with respect to political refugees was shown by the response to the booklet "This Is My Husband". In elaborating this point, it was brought out that on reading the booklet many people were deeply sympathetic to the work of the National Committee To Defend Negro Leadership and they expressed their feelings to Mrs. Jackson herself and her children through small personal gifts. It was also explained that scores of warm letters, many anonymous, were sent to her children at Christmas time.

In the discussion which followed proposals for the defense of Negroes victimized by the removal of passports were submitted. It was suggested that a big public affair should be organized around the passport issue of Paul Robeson, that a big campaign involving Negro and white (cultural and professional groups, etc.) should be launched for his right to travel and hold concerts, here and abroad. It had been proposed on this point that the National Committee To Defend Negro Leadership should co-operate in such a movement. Here Miss Thelma Dale, representing a special committee to undertake such a campaign, explained the need of defining the area of cooperation. She called for a broad fight in defense of the passport rights of all those who had been victimized.

Miss Louise Jeffers, secretary of the "Ben Davis Freedom Committee", explained its work. She told of a recent delegation that went to intervene with the Department of Justice in behalf of amnesty for Ben Davis. The response of smaller groups throughout the country has been great. It was brought out that the NAACP could appear as a friend of the court in this case. The Committee is also working to abolish jim crow in Federal prisons, to which Ben Davis is also afflicted.

Various members took the floor to discuss the proposals and make other suggestions. Everyone agreed with the idea of getting out the pamphlet on the Smith Act victims.

The question of overlapping was mentioned, and it was pointed out that two or three committees might work together on some practical plan of attack for some specific proposal. Fund raising was discussed by the treasurer. Mr. Owen Middleton, who suggested that house parties could be organized by those present, as well as big affairs by the Committee itself could be held wherein large amounts of money could be raised to help carry on the work. It was proposed by Mr. Edward Grant that a local theatre could be rented for showing worthy films, like "The Salt of the Earth."

Mr. Eugene Gordon of the National Guardian mentioned the importance of keeping materials regarding the various activities of the Committee should be sent to the Guardian and other papers. Mr. George Murphy lauded the idea of the brochure on Negro Smith Act victims and mentioned that in the actual writing to keep in mind people who can ably present the material in easily-read language and who can give counter blows with the pen against the lies and ridiculous assertions of McCarthy.

Mr. Rudolph Christian of the Carpenters Union pointed out the terror against Negroes in trade unions as a result of Government loyalty oaths, and called for defense of Negro workers. He also indicated the need of involving more workers and trade unionists in the work of the Committee.

It was formally moved and seconded that the Resident Committee approve and adopt the reports of the representatives and also additional suggestions made from the floor during the discussion. The motion was carried as well as approval of Mr. Ford as Executive Secretary. Various persons offered to help the Committee's work. They were: Mr. Christian of the Carpenters Union, Miss Sylvia Neal, Mr. Murphy and Mr. and Mrs. Louis Cantor, Mrs. Beatrice Goodloe and others.

The meeting adjourned a little after 5:30 p.m.

Mary Middleton, Recorder

I must defend a Ben Davis. There are some who tell me that he is a Communist. In New York City more than 75,000 Negroes and whites elected him to the City Council on two occasions. They did not seem to question his politics. They knew that he was fighting for a better way of life for the Negro people and so they made him their leader. They did not ask permission as to whether they *could* or *could not* make him their leader.

In the struggle for full citizenship rights many different kinds of forces must unite for victory.

> *"In the shouting out times*
> *In the stand up and be counted days*
> *When the roll is called*
> *Where will you be?*
> *In the shouting out times*
> *In the stand up and be counted days*
> *Do you close your eyes?*
> *Do you turn your head?*
> *Are you afraid?"*

A note from Bishop W. J. Walls

"I do sanction what you are doing to keep leadership in the clear in this age of confusion and incrimination. . . ."

". . . certainly hope you will have a glorious hearing in the matter that is on the hearts mutually of defending Negro leadership. . . .

AS AN AMERICAN who believes in democracy, I support your program for defense of Negro leaders. I wish to cooperate with the Committee's work in the following ways: (Check one or more of the following)

.... 1. Please send me further information.

.... 2. Please list me as a member of the National Committee.

.... 3. I enclose $.................... to help finance the Committee's work.

Name (PRINT) ....

Address ....

City ....*Zone*...........*State*.................

Make checks payable to Mr. Owen Middleton, treasurer

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO
DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

1660 Fulton Street, Room 21
Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

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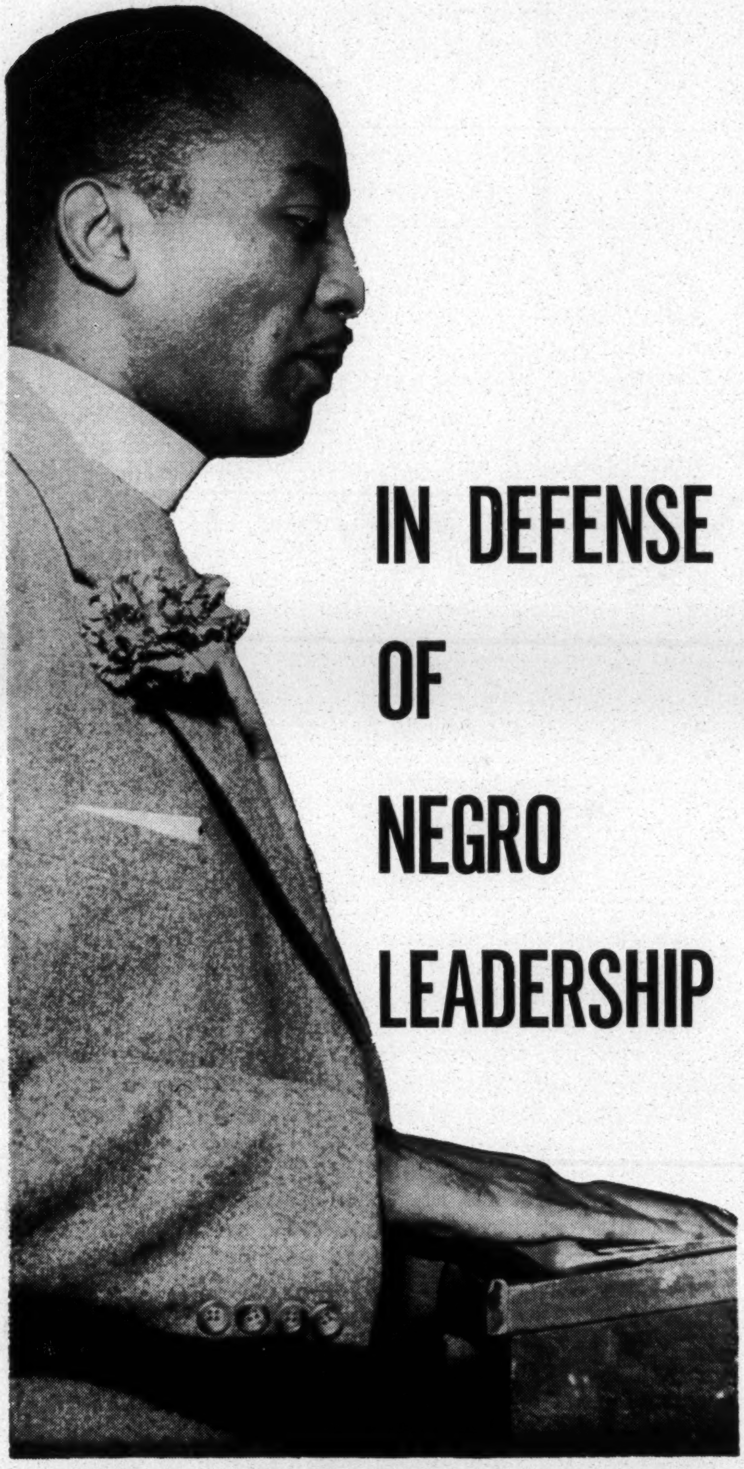


IN DEFENSE OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP

Address of Rev. Edward D. McGowan, Pastor,
Asbury Methodist Church, Frederick, Md.

In response to many requests, we are reprinting the address of the Rev. Edward D. McGowan of the National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership, delivered before the National Fraternal Council of Churches, U.S.A., Inc.,* on April 30, 1953, in Detroit.

ON BEHALF of the Committee to Defend Negro Leadership, I want to thank you for permitting me, its chairman, to present the urgent cause of that Committee to such a distinguished assembly—yes, to you who are the core of leadership as well as the makers of leaders for the Negro people. There are some among you who have been the victims of the forces of reaction and oppression. Attempts have been made to discredit your distinguished leadership by name-calling and other smear tactics—your abilities to think and to arrive at decisions and courses of action that result in a better way of life for your people have been slandered by such false accusations that other individuals or groups do your thinking for you—that you who are leaders because you do have these abilities are so weak that you can be easily "used" to "front" for other individuals or groups.

Halt Enemies of Negro Freedom

These attacks by the forces of reaction and enemies of the freedom of the Negro people have reached such alarming proportions that you and I must rise up in some concerted action to call a halt to these forces who would dictate to fifteen million American citizens who their leaders must be, how they must think and what they may speak.

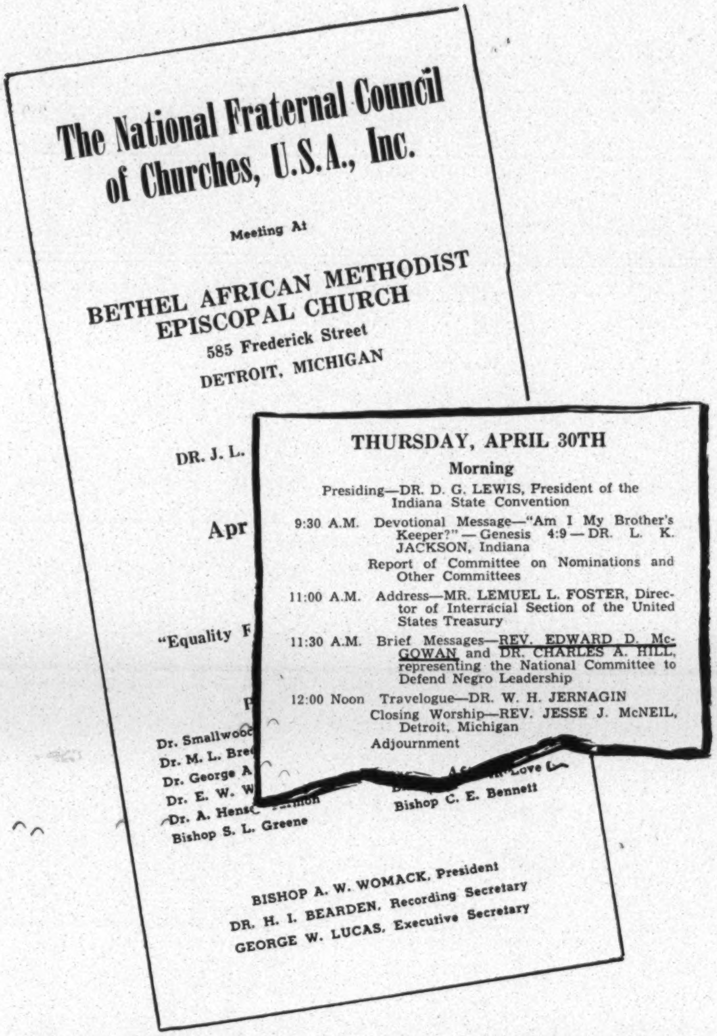
I stand here this evening—a representative and a product of three movements in religion that were champions of the rights of the individual to freedom of thought, speech and action.

Nearly 2,000 years ago the founder of the Christian Community gave his life for the right to think, to speak and to believe according to the dictates of his own conscience rather than be told by a religious hierarchy what he must think, speak, believe.

He believed that his sacrifice would vouchsafe that same freedom to generations following.

I would be a traitor to him and to thousands of martyrs and saints—traitor to a movement whose influence has made crooked lives straight—whose power has caused the blind to see and the lame to walk, made bad men good, made somebodies out of nobodies—a traitor indeed if I remained silent in my generation when these freedoms of the spirit were in jeopardy.

If at this crucial moment in history his ways are too hard for me I must renounce my claim to be a part of his movement.



The National Fraternal Council
of Churches, U.S.A., Inc.

Meeting At

BETHEL AFRICAN METHODIST
EPISCOPAL CHURCH
585 Frederick Street
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

DR. J. L.

Apr

"Equality F

P

Dr. Smallwoo
Dr. M. L. Bre
Dr. George A
Dr. E. W. W
Dr. A. Hens
Bishop S. L. Greene

Bishop C. E. Bennett

BISHOP A. W. WOMACK, President
DR. H. I. BEARDEN, Recording Secretary
GEORGE W. LUCAS, Executive Secretary

THURSDAY, APRIL 30TH

Morning

Presiding—DR. D. G. LEWIS, President of the Indiana State Convention

9:30 A.M. Devotional Message—"Am I My Brother's Keeper?"—Genesis 4:9—DR. L. K. JACKSON, Indiana

Report of Committee on Nominations and Other Committees

11:00 A.M. Address—MR. LEMUEL L. FOSTER, Director of Interracial Section of the United States Treasury

11:30 A.M. Brief Messages—REV. EDWARD D. McGOWAN and DR. CHARLES A. HILL, representing the National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership

12:00 Noon Travelogue—DR. W. H. JERNAGIN

Closing Worship—REV. JESSE J. McNEIL, Detroit, Michigan

Adjournment

Reproduced above is text of the program of the National Fraternal Council historic meeting at which the Rev. Edward D. McGowan delivered his address printed herein.

I am also a Protestant—a movement whose leader, Martin Luther, nearly four centuries ago made a bold stroke for the right of the individual Christian to freedom of conscience, thought, and speech, in the area of religion, rather than to be dictated to by a religious hierarchy.

As a good Protestant I must protest every act that threatens the gains made by a movement whose followers in these nearly 400 years have "wrought righteousness, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, and out of weakness were made strong."

I am a Methodist—a movement whose leader, John Wesley, exercised his freedom to think, speak and believe according to the dictates of his own conscience, rather than conform to the decadent religious atmosphere of his age.

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* Representing twelve denominations—seven million members.

As a representative and a product of three great religious movements that have championed freedom of conscience, thought and speech I must be vigilant lest these hard won gains of these 2,000 years be lost to this and succeeding generations.

I must with every ounce of my being vouchsafe these same freedoms to every individual and group in society. Even to those with whom I disagree—I must oppose every instrument that threatens these freedoms to *any group* because I know that that same instrument in the hands of those who disagree with me will deprive me of the freedoms which have nourished and sustained me these 38 years.

Racism at Home and Abroad

And so I must protest the attempt of the Un-American Activities Committee to impugn the leadership of Bishop W. J. Walls by calling this great leader of a great denomination a "subversive,"

—The insult and abuse to which Rev. Charles A. Hill of this city {Detroit} was subjected by this same committee,

—The attempt of the U.S. State Department to deny passport rights to the Rev. James H. Robinson of New York City because he insisted on voicing the Negro and colonial peoples' demands against racism as practiced at home and exported abroad.

The refusal of the neo-fascist Malan government in South Africa to permit Bishop Frederick Jordan and Bishop Primm to administer the work of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa. The reasons for this denial being that the A.M.E. Church has cooperated in the resistance of the African people to the unjust laws.

Drums of Freedom in Africa

The accusation against the A.M.E. Church is correct because the A.M.E. Church has been preaching the gospel—a gospel that emphasizes the dignity of the human personality and wherever the gospel is preached, men rise up to walk in freedom and in dignity.

The drums of freedom have begun to sound across Africa and it is the rhythm of justice, equal opportunity and a decent life for its millions who have known this land as home for many centuries. The rhythm of those drums will not be silenced.

And so, I too must protest—yes, find ways in which to make effective protest against the persecution of those leaders in South and East Africa—Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Z. K. Matthews, Jomo Kenyatta and the five other leaders who were sentenced to seven years hard labor—because they oppose the exclusion of the African people from the political and economic life in a country which belongs to them.

I refuse to be engulfed by the hysteria and fear of our times because I firmly believe that given a chance Democracy will stem the tide of this and every age. Only those who daily by their deeds try to retard the full flowering of the democratic way of life become hysterical in the face of the world situation.

I know too that every denial of freedom weakens democracy.

I say these things in the face of the fact that I too am a victim of attack in another form though for similar reasons. You and I must be alert for the more subtle forms of attack that would silence those who speak and act for a more abundant life for the people.

Though my voice is not especially loud or strong, it seems that when I have spoken in behalf of PEACE and first class status for fifteen million American citizens too many people could hear me (possibly the FBI also) when I would speak in New York. And so my superiors possibly feel that not so many people will hear me and it will be much safer down in Maryland to which I am being transferred as of May 24th.

If in hysteria and fear we continue the course we are on, we will awake on tomorrow to discover that the house of Democracy has fallen—not because of the attack of some enemy without—rather it will have fallen because of weakening from within by the denial of freedom.

—Freedom to *print and publish the truth* as was true of John H. McCray, Negro editor of the *Lighthouse* and *Informer* who was sentenced to sixty days on the chain gang because he championed the right of Negroes to vote in South Carolina.

—Freedom to *speak the truth* as in the case of Dr. J. Minor Sullivan who was indicted and is out on $1,000 bail because he dared give testimony in court showing that defendants in the Trenton Six case were drugged at the time of their so-called confessions.

Dignity and Full Citizenship

Negro Americans believe in our democratic way of life and their fight for first class status is motivated by the belief that when they really become first class citizens, democracy will be impregnable against every foe. They know also that the longer these rights and freedoms are delayed the weaker becomes the house of democracy—the greater becomes the despair and the hopelessness of millions who await some sure word of hope.

And so they are insisting that NOW is the time. *This* is the hour, not tomorrow or the day after. They are saying to America, "Let us *this* day make this a government *of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people. With liberty and justice, not only for whites, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists—but liberty and justice for *all* the people.

The attack against the leaders of the Negro people *by the forces of reaction is an attempt to curb the mounting struggle of our people for dignity and full citizenship.*

And so we must, by concerted action, foil the attempt of all those forces that would discredit the real leaders of the Negro people and substitute those who dare speak only as their masters please.

What could be more fitting than that I should be given the opportunity of presenting the cause of the Committee to Defend Negro Leadership to the National Fraternal Council of Churches. Bishop [A. W.] Womack—when you speak you represent four million Negroes and some thirteen denominations. *We* made you our leader. We did not ask anyone whether or not we *could* make you our leader. We made you our leader because we saw in you qualities that we liked. We believed that you would represent the aspirations of our people for dignity and first class status. And as the leader of the National Fraternal Council of Churches when you speak you not only represent four million church members but fifteen million Negro Americans. And we will protest with every ounce of our being any attempt by the forces of reaction to silence you.

Hopes and Aspirations

Dr. [W. H.] Jernigan, though there are thousands who do not know you personally, whenever your name is called a feeling of pride wells up in the breast of our people because we recognize you as our leader. We are grateful for the tremendous contribution which you have made in the interest of the Negro people and to the cause of religion in your 88 years. *We* have made you our leader and we did not consult anyone to find out if we *could* or *could not* make you our leader. And we will protest any effort to silence you when you speak in our interest. The Negro Church had its beginning at this point of the right of the individual to dignity and first class status. Believing that all men are equal at the foot of the cross, the Negro established a church in which he could worship God in dignity and with a healthy sense of self-respect and not as a servant. We remembered that Jesus said, "I have not called you servant but friend."

And to the Negro church has been entrusted the responsibility of translating the hopes and aspirations of the Negro for dignity and freedom into reality. When my grandparents sang the spiritual, "I am Going to Eat at the Welcome Table One of These Days," it is true that they meant eternity. But they also meant that they were looking forward to a day in time when they would no longer have to eat in the kitchen of white folks but would eat at a table of their own in their own dining room at which they could sit in freedom and with dignity.

Now and again you and I are privileged to catch a glimpse of eternity. We are privileged to see "the Lord, high and lifted up" and to hear the beautiful harmonies of the Cherubim and the Seraphim as they chant, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy glory." This Christ of God disturbs us. He will not let us be at ease until the music of the Cherubims and Seraphims gets translated from eternity to the lips of the men and women in the towns and cities where we serve.

Or again we are taken to some island of Patmos, where in the spirit on the Lord's day we catch a vision of a new heaven and a new earth coming down from God out of heaven to dwell among men. And this Christ of God disturbs us—will not let us be at ease until in Mississippi, Alabama, Detroit, Texas or New York there is at least some concrete or asphalt on which our people can walk.

In Defense of Negro Leadership

The Church must continue to translate into time the visions of eternity—must continue to translate into reality the hopes and aspirations of our people.

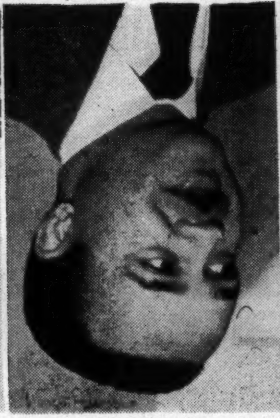
The Committee to Defend Leadership which represents such outstanding leaders of the Negro people as Bishop C. Alleyne, Bishop R. C. Ransom, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Rev. Charles A. Hill and Mr. Coleman A. Young of Detroit, Rev. Joseph Evans of Chicago, Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins of S. C., invites your cooperation and participation in its efforts in this direction.

We are convinced that we must come to the defense of all Negro leaders who are attacked. We will not succumb to the enemies of the Negro people who would divide us by name calling and smear tactics. For we know that a better life for our people will not be achieved by a divided people. And so I must defend a Paul Robeson, the greatest artist of this century. Paul Robeson has interpreted the classics for me in a way that no other person could. When he sings I am thrilled as no other person can thrill me. I know Paul Robeson personally and he has talked to me from the depths of his heart and I will come to my own conclusions about Paul Robeson—no one else can tell me what I must think or believe about this great leader of the Negro people.

"In the Shouting Out Times"

And so I must defend Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who when he speaks reveals a vast knowledge—a knowledge of the universe. Dr. Du Bois is the greatest scholar of this century; yet he has placed his vast knowledge and his skill as a scholar at the service of his people. He has spent more than 50 years in fighting for the dignity and first class status of 15 million Negro citizens and because of this the Negro people have made him their leader.

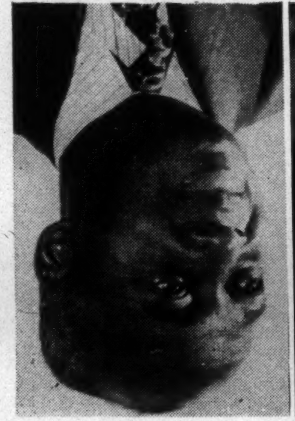
Paul Robeson


William R. Hood

Mary McLeod Bethune

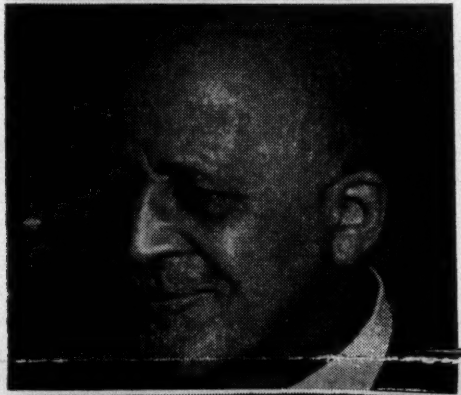
Roosevelt Ward

W. A. Hunton


Benjamin Careathers

An Appeal...

HARRY T.
MOORE
(deceased)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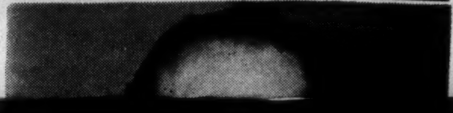


NEGRO LEADERSHIP

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

W. J. WALLS

CHARLOTTA BASS

GEORGE W. CROCKETT, JR.

The time has come to halt the growing attacks upon Negro leaders!

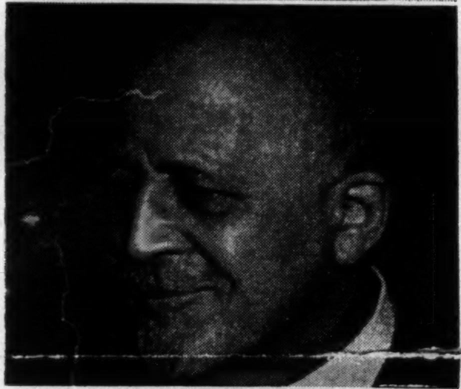
We, the undersigned Negro Americans, call upon our people everywhere to speak up in defense of all those Negro leaders being persecuted because they fight hard for our democratic rights.

We call upon the officers of federal, state and local governments to discharge their public trust by protecting the democratic rights of our leaders and the whole Negro people.

An Appeal...

IN DEFENSE OF

HARRY T.
MOORE
(deceased)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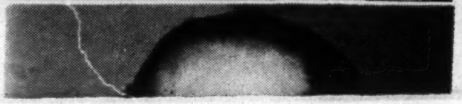
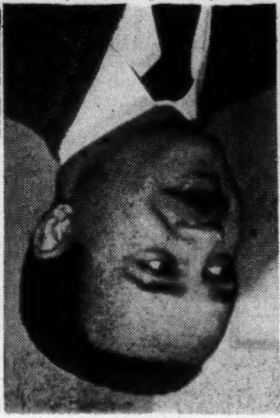


Paul Robeson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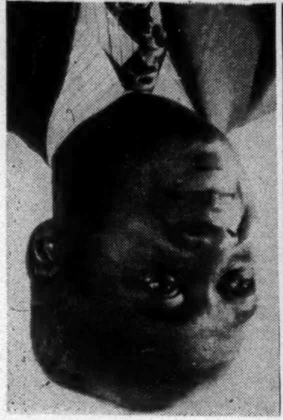
Benjamin Careathers

RECENT VICTIMS OF ATTACKS

BASS, CHARLOTTA—former publisher of CALIFORNIA EAGLE; President of National Council of Sojourners for Truth and Justice; Progressive Party candidate for Vice President of the U.S.; leader in peace movement; **denied passport rights for travel abroad.**

BETHUNE, DR. MARY McLEOD—founder of Bethune-Cookman College; President of National Council of Negro Women; former executive in National Youth Administration; leader in many civic enterprises; **called "subversive" by Un-American Activities Committee, barred from speaking in high school of Englewood, N. J.**

BROWN, DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS—President of Palmer Memorial Institute; eminent civic leader; **called "subversive" by Un-American Activities Committee.**

CAREATHERS, BENJAMIN—former organizer for CIO steel union; leader of unemployed movement during 1930's; community leader of Communist Party in Pittsburgh, Pa.; **indicted under Smith Act.**

CROCKETT, GEORGE W., JR.—outstanding Detroit attorney; former Chairman of F.E.P.C. Committee of United Automobile Workers-CIO; defense counsel in trial of national Communist leaders; **cited by judge for "contempt of court" for being "too zealous" in defense of clients; served 5-months term in prison.**

DAVIS, BENJAMIN J., JR.—son of renowned Republican leader of Georgia; defense lawyer in Herndon and other Negro-rights cases, twice elected to New York City Council; member National Committee of Communist Party and publisher of DAILY WORKER; **convicted under Smith Act, serving 5-year prison term.**

DU BOIS, DR. W. E. B.—world renowned scholar, author, lecturer, educator; Co-Chairman of Council on African Affairs and of American Peace Crusade; **prosecuted as "foreign agent" at age 83, acquitted; denied passport rights for travel abroad.**

FINGAL, DR. W. A.—President of N.A.A.C.P. in Cairo, Ill.; **arrested with others for encouraging parents to enroll children in "white" school which courts had declared must be opened to Negro pupils.**

GILBERT, LT. LEON—serving with U.S. Army in Korea; charged with "disobeying orders of a superior officer"; **sentenced to death by all-white court martial, later commuted to 20 years at hard labor and loss of all Army rights and privileges.**

HANNIBAL, J. J. — Chairman of Citizen's Committee fighting for non-segregated schools in Kinston, N. C.; **received anonymous threats of death, her home guarded by Negro neighbors.**

HILL, REV. CHARLES A.—outstanding minister and civic leader in Detroit; **called before Un-American Activities Committee and subjected to insult and abuse as a "subversive"; one son threatened with loss of commission as Captain in Air Corps and another son with loss of job at U.S. arsenal because of father's public activities.**

HOOD, WILLIAM R.—officer of United Automobile Workers-CIO; Chairman of National Negro Labor Council; **called before Un-American Activities Committee and subjected to abuse and slander as a "subversive"**

HUGHES, LANGSTON—**eminent poet of the Negro people, his works hailed throughout the world; barred from appearances before university and other audiences on grounds of "subversive activities."**

HUNTON, DR. W. ALPHAEUS—for many years on faculty of Howard University; Executive Secretary of Council on African Affairs; former Trustee of Civil Rights Bail Fund; **cited for "contempt of court" because he refused to reveal names of several thousand contributors to Bail Fund; served 5 months in prison.**

JACKSON, JAMES E., JR.—founder of Southern Negro Youth Congress; former organizer of tobacco workers union; World War II veteran; alternate member of National Committee of Communist Party and Southern Regional Director; **indicted under Smith Act, now a political refugee.**

JASON, WILLIAM C., JR.—postal employee in Philadelphia; Chairman of Welfare Committee of National Alliance of Postal Employees; **along with other postal employees, threatened again with loss of job unless they can prove loyalty, even though cleared of "subversive" charges some time ago by Loyalty Review Board.**

JONES, CLAUDIA—came to U.S. from Trinidad, B.W.I., at age of 9; former leader in Young Communist League; member of National Committee of Communist Party and Secretary of National Women's Commission; **denied citizenship on political grounds; now on trial under Smith Act.**

McCRAY, JOHN—editor of LIGHTHOUSE AND INFORMER; leader of right-to-vote movement in South Carolina; fighter for election of Negroes to public office; **arrested and imprisoned on a technical frame-up charge.**

LET US UNITE IN MILITANT DE

The "Subversive" Label

Things have reached such a state in our country that almost any Negro leader who dares to fight hard for Negro rights is headed for trouble with the law, with "public opinion," or with hoodlum assassins.

Hundreds of our most devoted and militant leaders are now being pilloried in the daily press, or barred from speaking in public halls, or arrested and beaten by the police for alleged "disorderly conduct" or some other trumped-up charge. They are being prosecuted in the courts, or "investigated" by the Un-American Activities Committee, or hounded by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Some have been forced to leave the country; others are barred from travel abroad; and more than a few have been murdered with impunity by hate-crazed enemies of Negro freedom.

No matter whether these leaders are Communists, non-Communist or anti-Communist, the "explanation" is most always the same. They are labeled "subversive" or "communistic," or "undesirable aliens," or "dangerous trouble-makers."

First, the Communists—Then . . .

Negro leaders active in the Communist Party are singled out for special persecution; but the attacks extend far beyond the Communists.

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and twice elected to the City Council of New York, is confined in a federal prison in Terre Haute, Indiana, and denied even the right to correspond with his friends.

Harry T. Moore, Florida State Co-ordinator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—together with his wife, *Mrs. Harriet Moore*—is DEAD.

Mr. Davis, long a powerful fighter for Negro rights on many fronts, was convicted for alleged violation of the Smith Act. His "crime" was *"conspiracy to teach and advocate"* the theoretical principles of the Communist Party. Mr. Moore, militant leader in the Negro's fight for the right to vote and for decent schools, was killed by the bomb of unknown assassins. Ku Klux Klan leader William Hendrix "explained" that the N.A.A.C.P. leader got *"involved in a communistic crowd."*

Communist leader Ben Davis and N.A.A.C.P. leader Harry Moore are symbolic of the widespread attacks now being directed against militant Negro leaders of *all* shades of opinion.

Just Think of It!

- To be charged by the Un-American Activities Committee with associating with so-called "subversive organizations" leads to the barring from a New Jersey high school of one of the most eminent educators and civic leaders of the United States, *Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.*
- To write and speak for Negro rights and for peace brings prosecution as a "foreign agent" and denial of passport rights to one of the greatest scholars this country ever produced, the 84-year-old *Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.*
- To argue vigorously in Federal Court against conviction of his clients, Communist leaders indicted under the Smith Act, brings a "contempt" citation and six months in prison to an outstanding Detroit attorney, *George W. Crockett, Jr.*
- To fight against segregated schools brings arrests for N.A.A.C.P. President *Dr. W. A. Fingal* and other leaders in Cairo, Illinois, and threats of death to *Mrs. J. J. Hannibal,* in Kingston, North Carolina.
- To lead the fight for the lives of Willie McGee, the "Martinsville Seven," the Trenton Six" and other victims of Jim Crow frame-ups brings two trials for alleged "contempt of Congress" for the Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, *William L. Patterson*—the charge growing out of a hearing at which Georgia's Representative Lanham called the C.R.C. leader a "G—d black s.o.b.," and tried to attack him physically.
- To support a Negro veteran moving into a lily-white neighborhood in Cicero, Illinois, brings mob destruction of the apartment house and police arrests for N.A.A.C.P. Attorney *George Leighton* and other leaders—for "conspiracy to lower property values"!
- To become an active leader of the Progressive Party brings discharge from his position to a professor of philosophy at the University of Minnesota, *Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins.*
- To fight hard for Negro rights, African freedom and peace brings public abuse, barring from concert halls and denial of the right to travel abroad to the great people's artist, *Paul Robeson.*

These are just a few examples of the mounting drive against hundreds of Negro leaders who defy the Jim Crow policies of our country and fight hard for the full citizenship rights of our people. There will be many hundreds more unless we put a stop—RIGHT NOW—to this unjust persecution of Negro leadership.

Real Target—The Whole Negro People

These growing attacks against Negro leaders are really directed against Negro citizens as a whole. They are designed to frighten off our leaders and curb the mounting struggles of the masses of our people against the rising tide of "white supremacy" during these years of war hysteria—especially since our country has been waging war against the colored peoples of China and Korea, and helping imperialist governments suppress the liberation struggles of other colored peoples in Asia and Africa.

For every Negro leader attacked there are thousands of rank and file Negro citizens beaten or killed by the police, "lynched" in the courts on frame-up charges, bombed in their homes, denied the right

WE DEMAND AN END TO THE PERSECU

(PARTIAL LIST O

Rev. Edward D. McGowan, N. Y.
Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, N. Y.
Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne, Pa.
Bishop Reverdy G. Ransom, Ohio
Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, D.C.
Rev. Charles A. Hill, Mich.
Atty. George A. Parker, D.C.
Rev. Joseph M. Evans, Ill.
Mr. Joseph Johnson, Jr., Cal.
Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, S.C.

Mr. G. L. Porter, Ill.
Archbishop David William Short, Iowa
Rev. J. Henry Patten, Pa.
Mr. Carlton Moss, Cal.
Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet, Cal.
Mr. Owen Middleton, N. Y.
Mr. Lee Morgan, Ohio
Mr. Bernard Lucas, Ohio
Dr. Ralph F. Hanley, Ind.

[redacted]
Mr. Leon Beverly, Ill.
Mr. Doxey A. Wilkerson, N. Y.
Mr. Ewart Guinier, N. Y.
Prof. H. D. Smith, S. C.
Prof. G. Murray Branch, Ga.
Miss Viola M. Brown, N. C.
Mr. Larkin Marshall, Ga.
Mr. Louis E. Burnham, N. Y.

Mrs. Esther Coo
Mr. Richard C.
Dr. W. Alphaeus
Mr. William L. P
Mr. Coleman A.
Rev. O. B. Smith,
Mr. Charles Colli
Mr. Joseph Bank
Mr. James Mallo

OF ATTACKS AGAINST NEGRO LEADERSHIP

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McPHAUL, ARTHUR—Executive Secretary of the Detroit Civil Rights Congress; **called before Un-American Activities Committee and subjected to abuse and slander as a "subversive," cited for alleged "contempt of Congress."**

MOORE, HARRY T. — Florida State Coordinator of N.A.A.C.P.; leader in the fight for the vote and for decent schools; **murdered, along with his wife, Mrs. Harriet Moore, by the bomb of assassins still at large.**

PATTERSON, WILLIAM L.—National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress; key leader in many campaigns for Negro rights; initiator of the U.N. petition, WE CHARGE GENOCIDE!; **called "subversive" by Un-American Activities Committee; twice tried (and acquitted) for "contempt of Congress"; called a "G——d black s.o.b." by Representative Lanham, of Georgia, who tried to attack him physically at a Congressional hearing.**

PERRY, PETTIS—community leader in Los Angeles, Calif.; received 65,000 votes in 1938 as candidate for State Equalization Board; candidate for Congress in 1940; member of National Committee of Communist Party, Secretary of National Negro Commission, and Chairman of National Farm Commission; **now on trial under Smith Act.**

ROBESON, PAUL—world renowned actor and singer; Co-Chairman of the Council on African Affairs; leader of the world peace movement; militant fighter for Negro rights and for freedom of colonial peoples; **called "subversive" by the Un-American Activities Committee; pilloried in the press; barred from leading concert halls in the U.S.; denied passport rights to travel abroad by the U.S. State Department because "he has been extremely active in behalf of independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. . . ."**

ROBINSON, THERESA—former public school teacher in Washington, D. C., and head of Women's Civil Rights Division, Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World; active in the world peace movement; **called "subversive" by the Un-American Activities Committee; denied passport right to travel abroad; hounded to death by attacks on her "loyalty.'**

SIMMONS, LE BRON—outstanding attorney and civic leader in Detroit; active in many struggles for Negro rights; **called before the Un-American Activities Committee and subjected to abuse and slander as a "subversive."**

SMITH, FERDINAND C.—native of Trinidad, B.W.I.; former National Secretary of the National Maritime Union-CIO; a founder of the National Negro Labor Council; **deported as an "undesirable alien."**

SMITH, MORANDA—South Atlantic Regional Director of CIO Food and Tobacco Workers; militant leader of strike against Reynolds Tobacco Co. (Camels cigarettes) in Winston-Salem, N. C.; **called "subversive," pilloried in the press, threatened by Ku Klux Klan just three days before she died of a stroke.**

TAYLOR, PAULINE—civic leader in Youngstown, Ohio; active in the peace movement; **denied passport rights for travel abroad on grounds of "subversive activities."**

WALLS, BISHOP W. J.—eminent leader of the A.M. Zion Church; active in the peace movement; **called "su versive" by the Un-American Activities Committee.**

HAROLD WARD—Financial Secretary, Local 108, U.E Farm Equipment Workers Union; **indicted for allege murder of strikebreaker, in chain of strikebreaki moves by International Harvester, only evidence bei testimony of "mystery" witness.**

WARD, ROOSEVELT—national leader of the Labor You League, residing temporarily in New York; active in t fight for Negro rights and for peace; **charged with tec nical failure to notify his New Orleans, La. draft board change of address, convicted and sentenced to prison although Government officials admit they were continual aware of his public activities and whereabouts.**

WIGGINS, DR. FORREST O.—formerly on the faculty Howard University; teacher of philosophy ah Minneso University; **fired because of his activities as a leader the Progressive Party.**

WINSTON, HENRY—former leader of Young Communi League; World War II veteran, cited for "conspicuous meritorious and outstanding performance of milita duty"; member National Committee of Communist Par and National Organizational Secretary; **convicted und Smith Act, now a political refugee.**

YOUNG, A. COLEMAN — outstanding labor leader Detroit; Executive Secretary of the National Negro Lab Council; **called before the Un-American Activities Co mittee and subjected to slander and abuse as a "su versive."**

T DEFENSE OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP!

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to vote, and forced into poverty by increasing job discrimination. Moreover, it is no accident that those Negro leaders singled out for attack are precisely the ones who fight hardest to establish the dignity and full citizenship of the masses of our people.

These efforts to intimidate and isolate militant Negro leaders are part and parcel of a growing campaign to suppress the whole broad struggle for Negro rights—to "keep the Negro in his place."

WE HERE DECLARE TO ALL ENEMIES OF NEGRO FREEDOM — WHETHER THEY BE OUTLAW HOODLUMS OR OFFICIALS OF GOVERNMENT: SIRS, YOUR EFFORTS WILL FAIL! THE NEGRO PEOPLE WILL KEEP ON FIGHTING FOR THEIR RIGHTS, EVER MORE POWERFULLY, UNTIL THE VERY LAST VESTIGE OF JIM CROW OPPRESSION HAS BEEN WIPED OFF THE FACE OF OUR LAND!

The Smith Act—Fountainhead of Oppression

The drive now under way against militant Negro leadership is greatly strengthened by a whole series of executive and legislative measures designed to silence all serious opposition from any quarter to basic foreign and domestic policies of the Federal Government.

The democratic rights of Negroes and all other Americans are being seriously undermined by the so-called *"Loyalty Oath"* purges of Federal employees and public school teachers; the curbing of trade union rights under the *Taft-Hartley Act* and other measures; the exercise of thought-control and the building of concentration camps under the *McCarran Act;* the wholesade round-up and *deportation of aliens;* the new restrictions on West Indians coming to this country under the *McCarran-Walter Act;* and especially the prosecution of Communist leaders for alleged violation of the *Smith Act.*

Among these and other repressive measures, by far the most immediate and serious threat to the democratic liberties of all citizens —indeed, the main fountainhead of current trends toward the suppression of free speech and free association—is the 1940 thought-control law sponsored by Howard W. Smith, poll-tax representative from Virginia for more than twenty-one years.

The Smith Act makes it "criminal conspiracy" to teach or advocate or circulate almost any ideas which hired stool-pigeons can testify imply "intent" to overthrow the government by force and violence—even though the indicted person is not charged with one single act or speech calling for such overthrow.

Referring to the eleven national leaders of the Communist Party convicted under this Act, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black declared: "These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the Government. . . . The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. . . . No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids." Mr. Justice William C. Douglas called these convictions "dangerous to the liberties of every citizen."

The Smith Act poses a very special threat to Negro citizens. W have got to "teach and advocate" changes in the many Jim Cro laws and practices of federal, state and local governmental agencie Thus we always run the risk that some paid "informer" will appe in court to testify that our *intent,* despite our words and deeds the contrary, is to "overthrow the Government by force and violence

This is why two eminent Negro attorneys—Richard E. Wes brooks and Earl B. Dickerson, of Chicago—urged the Supreme Cou to reconsider its decision upholding the conviction of the Comm nist leaders under the Smith Act. They argued: "In the first plac advocacy of fundamental changes in government so as to exte democratic protection to the Negro people might well be equat under the broad terms of the Court's decision, with advocacy of t violent overthrow of the Government. . . . The inevitable effect the decision is to undermine, if not destroy, effective protest wi regard to government practices and policies inimical to the w fare of Negroes."

Six Negro leaders of the Communist Party have already been v timized by the Smith Act. *Henry Winston,* National Organizati Secretary, was convicted along with *Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.* and ni other members of the National Committee. *Miss Claudia Jones,* S retary of the National Women's Commission, and *Pettis Perry,* Sec tary of the National Negro Commission, are now on trial in N York. *James E. Jackson,* Southern Regional Director, and *Benjam Careathers,* leader in the Negro community of Pittsburgh, are und indictment.

Henry Winston and James Jackson have been sought by Feder authorities since the summer of 1951—the first political refugees have had in this country since before the Civil War—since the da when Frederick Douglass was a "fugitive from justice" and a pri hung over the head of Harriet Tubman.

It is horribly unjust that these Communist leaders—or any oth Americans—should be prosecuted and imprisoned for nothing mo than their political beliefs. It is criminal that their wives, childre relatives, friends and neighbors are now being hounded a persecuted day and night by the F.B.I. It is sinister and alarmi that the "witch-hunt" hysteria whipped up around the Smith A trials is being used as a cover for wholesale attacks against Neg leadership by all the flag-waving, white-supremacist enemies democracy throughout our country.

The warning of Attorneys Westbrooks and Dickerson is tragica confirmed by the increasing number of unwarranted attacks agai Negro leaders during this period of Smith Act prosecutions. O "right of protest" is, indeed, being undermined; and without t right the Negro people can have no hope of winning full citize ship.

The spokesmen of our Government proclaim their fervent des to "extend democracy" everywhere throughout the world. Let th direct a little more of their democratic fervor toward the defense a extension of democracy here at home!

RSECUTION AND MURDER OF NEGRO LEADERS!

ARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS)

Mrs. Esther Cooper Jackson, N. Y.
Mr. Richard C. Henderson, Ind.
Dr. W. Alphaeus Hunton, N. Y.
Mr. William L. Patterson, N. Y.
Mr. Coleman A. Young, Mich.
Rev. O. B. Smith, Cal.
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Rev. Harold S. Williamson, N. Y.
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Mr. George Lee, Cal.
Mr. Lawrence Turner, Cal.
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Mr. Roger Boyd, Cal.
Mr. Sidney Moore, Cal.

Mrs. Marguerite Robinson, Cal.
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Mrs. Thelma Slappy, N. Y.
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Claudia Jones

Pettis Perry

William L. Patterson

Charles A. Hill

Moranda Smith (deceased)

Coleman A. Young

Our Appeal

We, whose names appear on the preceding page, speak as loyal American citizens who are eager to protect and strengthen the democratic principles and practices of the United States—for *all* people, regardless of race, creed, national origin or political belief.

We also speak as *Negro* Americans; and we especially insist upon the exercise of full democratic rights by the Negro citizens of our country. We will always insist upon this right. We will not be silenced by the epithets "subversive," or "communistic," or "troublemaker," or anything else.

We are genuinely alarmed at the mounting wave of attacks upon Negro leadership throughout our country; for we well understand the serious threat which these attacks pose for the liberties of our people as a whole.

We appeal to Negro Americans everywhere, regardless of political belief or affiliation, to unite in a sustained campaign of struggle to halt the increasing persecution of Negro leaders.

Specifically, we call for support in pressing the following demands upon the leaders of federal, state and local governments:

1. Stop hounding and persecuting Negro leaders who speak up and fight hard for Negro democratic rights.
2. Appoint a representative Citizens Committee to investigate the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, of Mims, Florida, and to recommend whatever steps are necessary to assure the arrest and prosecution of their assassins.
3. Make the Department of Justice and the Un-American Activities Committee investigate and prosecute vigorously all those individuals, organized groups, publications and agencies of government that seek actively to abridge or destroy the democratic rights of Negro citizens.
4. Grand amnesty to Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Henry Winston and their associates; and stop all prosecution for political teaching and advocacy under the Smith Act.
5. Restore the passport rights of Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson and all other Negro citizens now barred from travel abroad solely because of their militant fight for Negro rights and for peace.
6. Enact fair employment practice legislation, with effective enforcement provisions. Pass similar FEPC measures in all state legislatures and city councils.
7. Take all necessary executive and legislative steps to guarantee equal democratic rights to Negro citizens in voting, in appointment and election to public office, in the courts, in public education, in public health and housing, in the armed forces, and in freedom from physical attack and lynch terror.
8. Pass Representative Adolph Sabath's Bill to Repeal the Smith Act. (H.R. 7493). Repeal all other repressive legislation, especially the severe restrictions on immigration from the West Indies in the McCarran-Walter Act, the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, and the thought-control and concentration camp McCarran Act.

More than a century ago, in 1829, the militant abolitionist leader, David Walker, addressed his famous *Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, to those in the United States of America.* He admonished our forefathers: "Never make an attempt to gain our freedom or *natural rights* from under our cruel oppressors and murderers, until you see your way clear—WHEN THAT HOUR ARRIVES AND YOU MOVE, BE NOT AFRAID OR DISMAYED; for be you assured that Jesus Christ the King of heaven and of earth, who is the God of Justice and of armies, will surely go before you."

We have come a long way since the days when David Walker called upon our people to struggle against "those enemies who have for hundreds of years stolen our *rights*"; but the path to our freedom still lies ahead through struggle. AND WE SEE OUR WAY CLEAR, THE HOUR IS HERE WHEN WE HAVE GOT TO MOVE!

We appeal to Negro organizations and individuals throughout the country to speak up against the persecution of our leaders. We call upon all friends of the Negro people to support our demands.

(Please detach, fill out, and mail promptly.)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP
1660 Fulton Street • Room 21 • Brooklyn 13, New York (Phone: PResident 8-7057)

Dear Sirs:

As a Negro American who believes in democracy, I am in full agreement with your "Appeal in Defense of Negro Leadership." I wish to cooperate with the Committee's work in the following ways: (Check one or more of the following)

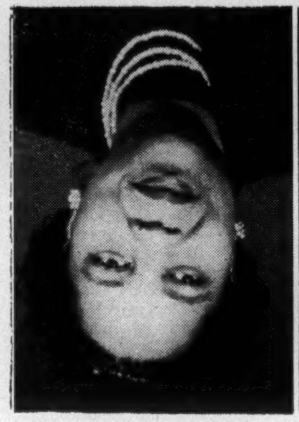
..........1. Please list me as an endorser of the "Appeal." Name (PRINT)..........

..........2. Please list me as a member of the National Committee. Address..........

..........3. I enclose $.......... to help finance the Committee's work. Post Office..........

Sponsored by
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP
1660 Fulton Street, Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

Coleman A. Young


Moranda Smith (deceased)

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Claudia Jones

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(Please detach, fill out, and mail promptly.)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP
1660 Fulton Street • Room 21 • Brooklyn 13, New York (Phone: PResident 8-2057)

Dear Sirs:

As a Negro American who believes in democracy, I am in full agreement with your "Appeal in Defense of Negro Leadership." I wish to cooperate with the Committee's work in the following ways: (Check one or more of the following)

..........1. Please list me as an endorser of the "Appeal."

..........2. Please list me as a member of the National Committee.

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Name (PRINT)..............................

Address..............................

Post Office..............................

Sponsored by
NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP
1660 Fulton Street, Brooklyn 13, N. Y.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS COMMITTEE TO WIN AMNISTY FOR THE SMITH ACT VICTIMS _ CORRESPONDENCE 1953-55 10/13

Trade Union Committee to Defend Louis Weinstock

80 EAST 11th STREET • Room 537 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

GRamercy 5-6555

ALEX SIROTA
Chairman

MORRIS SCHWARTZ
Co-Chairman

FRANK WEDL
Treasurer

PEARL LAWS
Secretary

March 26, 1953

Dear Paul:

I would appreciate it very much if you would accept these tickets and be able to attend as our guest, with Mrs. Robeson.

With best and fraternal greetings

Louis
Louis

Send message if unable to attend

Trade Union Com to Defend — —

I deeply regret that other committments make it impossible for me to join you in honoring my esteemed friend, that great ~~fighter~~ champion for the American working class and fighter for the rights of the Negro people, Louis Weinstock.

Each blow struck for amnesty and freedom for the political victims of the Smith Act is a blow for world peace and the preservation of our precious constitutional liberties.

I shall continue to fight to the limit of my strength and know that all who are gathered to honor Louis Weinstock will do so also – confident that the prize of peace security and equality will soon be the cherished possession of the people of this land –

Sincerely yours
Paul Robeson

April 29, 1953

Trade Union Dinner Committee
80 East 11 St.
New York City

Dear Brothers,

I deeply regret that other committments make it impossible for me to join you in honoring my esteemed friend, that great champion for the American working class and fighter for the rights of the Negro people, Louis Weinstock.

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Sincerely yours,

Declined
5/18/53

ROYAL W. FRANCE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
104 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MUrray Hill 6-0450

May 16, 1953

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Like many of our fellow Americans, we are alarmed by the growing menace of McCarthyism. At the same time we are heartened by signs of a new determination to combat this evil.

The struggle to defend the Bill of Rights from attacks launched against it by McCarthy, McCarran, Velde, Jenner, et al. has many facets. All are important. But it seems to us that a special role attaches to the effort to win amnesty for those convicted under the Smith Act.

The Smith Act is the prime legal instrument which gives license to the political persecution now darkening the lives of Americans in all walks of life and of the most varied political views.

On next June 4th it will be two years since the Supreme Court rendered its decision upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act. But since then world prospects for peace have begun to brighten, and we hope this means the speeding of the day foretold by Mr. Justice Black in his minority opinion. He expressed the hope "that in calmer times, when present passions and fears subside, this or some later Court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

As you know, in the past year there have been a number of appeals for amnesty, subscribed to by democratic minded persons like yourself.

We join in inviting you to meet with other supporters of these amnesty appeals for an informal discussion of how best to proceed from here, and especially of how to relate the effort to secure amnesty for those convicted under the Smith Act to other aspects of the defense of civil liberty.

Our gathering will be held on Wednesday, May 27th, 8:00 P.M., Parlor A, Hotel Commodore. It will not be publicized in any way. We propose simply to provide an opportunity for an informal exchange of views, without committing ourselves or other participants to the program of any organization.

We warmly urge your attendance and suggest that you use the enclosed card to send us your reply.

Very sincerely yours,

RWFrance
Royal W. France

Kenneth Ripley Forbes
Kenneth Ripley Forbes

Sponsors Committee
WE SPEAK FOR FREEDOM Dinner
Room 312, Hardt Building
Philadelphia 22, Penna.

March 8, 1954.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

On Monday, March 15th, the trial of nine of Pennsylvania's working class and Communist leaders will open in Philadelphia. Thus will begin the eleventh Smith Act trial since 1948. More than 100 fighters for peace and democratic liberties have, in this manner, been either indicted, are standing trial, or have been jailed.

The coming trial in Philadelphia, a city revered by true patriots as "the cradle of liberty" has aroused new and broad concern. There is a growing awareness that such arrests and prosecutions are a real menace to American democracy.

On Saturday evening, March 20th, we, the undersigned, are sponsoring a WE SPEAK FOR FREEDOM Dinner. It is intended to serve three main purposes:

1. To celebrate the victory for civil liberties flowing from the recent decision of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court reversing Steve Nelson's 20 year "sedition" sentence. At the same time, to honor Mr. Nelson for his personal and courageous contribution to that victory;
2. To help swell the growing demand for amnesty to the dozens of political prisoners in our land - imprisoned victims of McCarthyism;
3. To enlist additional support to halt the continued use of the fascist-like Smith Act and for a victory in the Philadelphia Smith Act trial.

Steve Nelson will be joined at the speakers table by Dr. Edward K. Barsky, noted surgeon and Chairman of the National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims.

We would be most appreciative if you would consider sending a message of greeting and support to be read at the dinner. If you would so agree, may we suggest that the message be in the form of a greeting to Mr. Nelson personally, or to Mr. Nelson together with the nine defendants as a group, or to any one of the Philadelphia defendants as listed below.

Your message should be sent to the above address.

With warmest regards, we remain,

Sincerely yours,
s/ Jules Abercauph, Henry Beitscher, P. Baum, S. Dobisch, I. Friedman, J. Holton, Rob't B. Logan, S. Rochester, S. Rotenberg, A. Sokolow, J.S. Zucker (Partial list)

Philadelphia Smith Act Defendants:

David Davis
Irwin Katz
Joseph Kuzma
Robert Klonsky
Sherman Labovitz
Walter Lowenfels
Thomas Nabried
Joseph Roberts
Benj. Weiss

THE BRONX COMMITTEE FOR THE FREEDOM OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

March 10, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson
Freedom Association
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

As part of the May-June Amnesty Campaign our Bronx Committee is planning a concert in tribute to Dr. Edward Barsky, Amnesty Chairman. The second week-end in May would be the most favorable time for us.

We hope that you will find it possible to participate in this event and thus help bring our message of freedom to a large audience.

If your answer is yes, would you kindly let us know whether May 7 or May 8 evening, or May 9 - Sunday afternoon would be convenient dates for you. Also please advise us as to the terms of your appearance.

With warmest greetings for the Committee

Bella Altshuler, Secretary

2731 Barker Avenue
New York 67, N. Y.

Telephone - OLinville 2 - 6854

National Committee

To Win Amnesty For The

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

EDWARD K. BARSKY
Chairman

CARL MARZANI
Treasurer

•

Sponsors

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Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Howard Fast
Clemens T. France
Hugo Gellert
Marcus I. Goldman
Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach
Robert Gwathmey
Rev. Albert J. Hallington
Dashiell Hammett
Judge Norval K. Harris
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Bertha C. Reynolds
Grace Hutchins
Alfonso Iannelli
John Adams Kingsbury
Ray Lev
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Dr. John Marsalka
Judge Stanley Moffatt
Prof. Philip Morrison
Stanley Nowak
William L. Patterson
Arthur Pollock
Anton Refregier
Earl Robinson
Halois Moorhead Robinson
Waldo Salt
Alexander Saxton
Arthur Schutzer
Jessica Smith
F. W. Stover
Leon Straus

March 10, 1954

Mr. John Grey
c/o Freedom
53 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Grey:

This is to confirm our recent telephone converstaion and to give you more details about the large meeting in the Bronx at which we hope so much that Mr. Robeson will appear.

The affair is being sponsored by the Bronx Political Prisoners Freedom Committee. It is to be in honor of Dr. Barsky and for the benefit of the Amnesty Committee.

We have talked with the committee's chairman who tells us the dates in early May (May second to May fifth are the dates you mentioned as possibilities) would be preferable. However, should those dates be impossible for Mr. Robeson the committee would hold its meeting the end of April--any night Mr. Robeson would give them.

I am sure I do not have to emphasize to you or Mr. Robeson what it would mean to the entire Amnesty campaign if Mr. Robeson would find it possible to fit this meeting into his schedule. And, of course, it would mean a great deal to Dr. Barsky personally.

Would you be kind enough to telephone me at TE 2-8620 as soon as you have had a chance to discuss this with Mr. Robeson. The Bronx Committee is waiting eagerly to engage the hall.

Thank you for your kindness.

Sincerely yours,

Mabel Pollock

Mabel Pollock, Secretary to Dr. Barsky.

National Committee
To Win Amnesty For The
SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

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Arthur Pollock
Anton Refregier
Earl Robinson
Halois Moorhead Robinson
Waldo Salt
Alexander Saxton
Arthur Schutzer
Jessica Smith
F. W. Stover
Leon Straus

June 1, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson
139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I have not written to you sooner about the June 10 rally of the National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims because I knew how taken up you were with preparations for the May 26th meeting. Incidentally, that was a thrilling affair, especially as a rousing send-off to a continuing campaign.

Knowing how deeply you feel about the imprisonment of Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis and their colleagues, I suggest you speak on what freedom for them would mean for all of us in America today. We are asking speakers to limit themselves to ten minutes, since there are a number of speakers. We hope that you will, in addition, sing whatever songs for peace and freedom you consider most appropriate for this occasion. In all, we have set aside thirty minutes on the program for you.

I should like to ask one special favor of you. The meeting is also in the nature of a tribute to Dr. Edward K. Barsky. Could you stay to the end of the meeting and sing one song in his honor - perhaps one of the songs of the Spanish struggle against Franco?

May I express for our entire Committee our appreciation of your appearance on June 10th in behalf of the cause we all consider so important?

Sincerely yours,

Celia L. Zitron

Celia L. Zitron
Executive Secretary.

209

National Committee

To Win Amnesty For The

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

June 4, 1954.

EDWARD K. BARSKY
Chairman
CARL MARZANI
Treasurer

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Rev. William T. Baird
Reuben W. Borough
John T. Bernard
James A. Dombrowski
Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Howard Fast
Clemens T. France
Hugo Gellert
Marcus I. Goldman
Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach
Robert Gwathmey
Rev. Albert J. Hallington
Dashiell Hammett
Judge Norval K. Harris
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Dr. W. A. Hunton
Bertha C. Reynolds
Grace Hutchins
Alfonso Iannelli
John Adams Kingsbury
Ray Lev
Albert Maltz
Dr. John Marsalka
Judge Stanley Moffatt
Prof. Philip Morrison
Stanley Nowak
William L. Patterson
Arthur Pollock
Anton Refregier
Earl Robinson
Halois Moorhead Robinson
Waldo Salt
Alexander Saxton
Arthur Schutzer
Jessica Smith
F. W. Stover
Leon Straus

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Associates
139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I am enclosing a copy of the schedule for the June 10th amnesty rally. At our committee meeting last night, every one again expressed the hope that you might be able to stay to the end and join in the tribute to Dr. Barsky. We thought this would end the meeting on a high note of enthusiasm.

If you can find the time, we would very much appreciate having your speech, or at least one or two excerpts from it, in advance. This would be very useful to us in our work.

Sincerely yours,

Celia L Zitron

Celia L. Zitron
Executive Secretary

Enc. (2)

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TIME SCHEDULE FOR JUNE 10TH AMNESTY RALLY

8:15 - 8:25	Jewish Young Peoples' Chorus
8:25 - 8:27	Celia Zitron introduces the chairman of the evening. John Abt
8:27 - 8:32	Chairman keynotes and introduces James Aronson
8:32 - 8:40	James Aronson
8:40 - 8:41	Chairman introduces Peggy Dennis
8:41 - 8:46	Peggy Dennis
8:46 - 8:47	Chairman introduces Paul Robeson
8:47 - 9:17	Paul Robeson
9:17 - 9:18	Chairman introduces Edith Marzani
9:18 - 9:48	Edith Marzani makes appeal
9:48 - 9:53	Chorus
9:53 - 9:58	Chairman reads telegram to President Eisenhower and introduces Angus Cameron
9:58 - 10:06	Angus Cameron
10:06 - 10:07	Chairman introduces Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
10:07 - 10:15	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
10:15 - 10:20	Chairman pays tribute to Dr. Edward K. Barsky
10:20 - 10:25	Dr. Barsky
10:25 - 10:30	Paul Robeson sings song for Dr. Barsky

2819 Barker Avenue
Bronx 67, New York
January 31, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Associates
139 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Larry Winston, the son of Henry Winston, a political refugee from the Smith Act, will celebrate his 8th birthday on February 14, 1955, which, as you know, is also the birthday of Frederick Douglass.

The Bronx Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners and Refugees is planning a celebration of Larry's birthday on Sunday, February 13, 1955, from 2:30 to 5:00 p.m., at the Co-op Auditorium, 2700 Bronx Park East. At the same time we wish to honor both Larry's father and Frederick Douglass.

All the Smith Act Families are invited to this affair, and we hope to have a program that will be enjoyed by both the children and their parents.

We would be especially pleased if you would be able to come to the affair if you are free, and we know that Larry could receive no finer birthday gift.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience? If you have any questions, I can be reached by telephone at TUlip 2-8623. Although I work during the day, my husband is usually at home until 2:00 P.M. and will be glad to take any message for me.

Sincerely yours,

Shirley N. Taylor
Shirley N. Taylor

Edna — Tu 2-4991
Tulip

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN AMNESTY
FOR SMITH ACT VICTIMS
667 Madison Ave.,
New York 21, NY

June 22, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom
139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I have been told that you have undertaken to try to see the Dean of Rutgers in connection with his recent statement on the Smith Act. Have you been able to arrange the interview?

I would like to see you to discuss this matter as soon as you can make the time. If you think it advisable for me to go too, I would be glad to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Celia L. Zitron

Celia L. Zitron
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN AMNESTY
FOR SMITH ACT VICTIMS
667 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

June 16, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Associates
139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Victims of the Smith Act asks me to thank you for your participation in the June 10th amnesty rally. I am sure that the response of the audience was a more eloquent testimonial than anything we could say to the tremendous effect of your words and your singing.

We want to thank you too for helping to make the tribute to Dr. Barsky so memorable and so moving.

We feel that the meeting was a step forward in the amnesty campaign, and we hope to make use of the speeches to reach and stir a wider audience.

Sincerely yours,

Celia L. Zitron

Celia L. Zitron
Executive Secretary.

MOST WORSHIPFUL PRINCE HALL GRAND LODGE

FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, JURISDICTION OF GEORGIA
JOHN WESLEY DOBBS, GRAND MASTER

X. L. NEAL, D. G. M.
1052 HARWELL ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GA.

L. P. BOHLER, S. G. W.
BOX 232
AUGUSTA, GA.

D. P. NESBITT, J. G. W.
BOX 1242
COLUMBUS, GA.

DONALD THOMAS, G. TREAS.
312 JEFFERSON ST.
SAVANNAH, GA.

OFFICE OF THE GRAND MASTER
JOHN WESLEY DOBBS
MASONIC TEMPLE
AUBURN AVE. AT HILLIARD ST.
PHONE: WALNUT 1358
ATLANTA, GA.

E. C. BLACKSHEAR, G. SECY.
514 E. ANDERSON ST.
SAVANNAH, GA.

A. McCLENDON
SEC.-TREAS. M. R. A.
330 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

R. W. GADSDEN, CHMN. COM. F. C.
608 W. 36TH STREET
SAVANNAH, GA.

August 17, 1955

(COPY)

Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr.
U. S. Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brownell:

My attention has been called to an American Legion Publication, "The Firing Line" for July 1st, in which Legionnaires are urged to write the Attorney-General of the United States asking him to petition the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the Southern Conference Educational Fund to register as a communist front.

As a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, I deeply resent this defamous story attack upon my organization.

The "Firing Line" Article is based upon the one-man hearings conducted in New Orleans, March 1954, by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, as a member of the Internal Security Sub-committee.

For Senator Eastland anyone, including a Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, opposed to segregation, is automatically judged to be a Communist, or under communist influence. His real target of course is not Communism but the opponents of segregation. As the Afro-American said in an editorial, April 3, 1954:

> "Senator Eastland, an apt student of Mc-Carthyism, sat in New Orleans as a one-man committee. He announced his intention was to ferret out communists, but it developed his true purpose was to brow-beat, harass and publicly slander, in the name of the U. S. Senate, officers of an organization which has delivered sledge-hammer blows against segregation."

At the time of the New Orleans hearings, thirty-two of the outstanding Negro leaders of 15 Southern states wrote an open letter to Senator Jenner, chairman of the Senate Sub-committee, condemning the attack of his committee upon the SCEF as " an attack upon the Negro community of this nation ".

The American Legion has now publicly identified itself with Senator Eastland in his efforts to destroy an organization which everyone knows has spearheaded the fight against segregation in the South. Negroes will regard this action of the Legion as an attack upon the Negro community itself.

Nine members of the SCEF Board of Directors were singled out by the " Firing Line " for a smear attack, five of them Negroes.

The Board of Directors of the SCEF consists of 61 persons, all living in the South, about equally divided between Negroes and whites. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune was a charter member of the Board. Shortly before her death she wrote of her "deep and abiding faith and interest in all that the Fund is doing"...The Board includes such outstanding Negroes as: Dr. James P. Brawley, President of Clark College; Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Founder and President-Emerita of Palmer Memorial Institute; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier and Dean Chas. H. Thompson of Howard University; Dean Charles G. Gomillion and Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman of Tuskegee; President M. L. Harris of Philander Smith College; President Wm. J. L. Wallace of West Virginia State College.

Also, Bishop S. L. Greene, Senior Bishop of the AME Church; Bishop Edgar A. Love of the Methodist Church; Bishop F. L. Lewis of the CME Church and Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw of the AME Zion Church; W. E. Hogan of Dallas; Dr. M. M. D. Perdue of Louisville; Franklin W. Thomas of Tulsa, Rudolph Moses of New Orleans.

Also, Dr. Herman H. Long of Nashville; L. C. Bates of Little Rock; L. E. Austin of Durham; Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma City; E. D. Nixon, Montgomery; Louis L. Redding, Wilmington; Hobart Taylor and Mrs. Lulu White of Houston; Mrs. Modjeska Simkins of Columbia, S. C.; Dr. H. Horne Huggins of Baton Rouge; Dr. Frederick Rhodes of New Orleans; Dr. O. B. Taylor of Knoxville; Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, II, of Washington; and Dr. H. T. Penn of Roanoke.

For the American Legion to brand these persons that I have named above, or an organization for whose policies and program they are responsible, as subversive, is tantamount to condemning much of the finest Negro leadership of the South. The mere suggestion of any such action by the Department of Justice should arouse the indignation and moral righteousness of the Negro population of the United States.

In addition to being a member of the board of the SCEF, I happen to be Vice-chairman of the Republican State Central Committee for the state of Georgia. Naturally, I have a concern for the future of the Republican Party in the South and in the nation. It should be obvious that if we are going to hold and expand the loyalties of Negroes, the Republican Party must associate itself vigorously in the efforts of the Negro to achieve full citizenship. We must defend and not harass organizations, such as the SCEF, which are doing so much to implement the Supreme Court decision and to win full democracy for the South and the nation.

I can think of nothing that would be more disastrous to the future of the Republican Party, so far as its influence with Negroes is concerned, than for a Republican administration to be an instrument in destroying such an organization as the SCEF by listing it as subversive.

May I suggest that a much more appropriate action on the part of the Department of Justice would be to send its ablest investigators into Senator Eastland's home state of Mississippi to investigate violations of civil rights. There a minister of the gospel recently was murdered on a public highway because he advocated the right of Negroes to vote; there the Constitution and the Supreme Court are openly flaunted by men in high places sworn to defend both; and there, in short, subversion to the point of open rebellion appears to be in the making.

Respectfully yours

John Wesley Dobbs

John Wesley Dobbs, Vice-Chr.

Republican State Central Committee
of Georgia

INITIATORS OF THE
PETITION TO UPHOLD JUSTICE

PPost Office Box 398
Madison Square Station
New York 10, N.Y.

Dear friends:

We are writing to enquire whether you still have any copies of the "petition to Uphold Justice", against the government's use of paid informers, which have been filled in completely or partially with signatures.

In the event that you have, we would appreciate your sending them in to us at the above address at once, together with any contributions which you have.

Thanking you in advance,

Sincerely yours,

Frances Damon
Secretary for the Initiators

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS COMMITTEE TO WIN AMNISTY FOR THE SMITH ACT VICTIMS – PRINTED MATTER 1950-55 10/14

News from:
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

MUrray Hill 4-6640

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
April 10, 1950

George Marshall, national chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, whose petition asking the Supreme Court to review his conviction was denied today, said:

"I shall file a petition asking the Court to reconsider its refusal to hear my case. Now that the Un-American Committee has spread its tentacles to threaten every people's organization, I am more firmly convinced than ever that the fight which my organization started 10 years ago against the Un-American Committee was and remains a fight to maintain our Bill of Rights.

"Neither the Un-American Committee nor any branch of government has the right to flagrantly violate the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution.

"If my conviction is allowed to stand, the House Un-American Committee will be free to demand membership lists and set up blacklists in an effort to destroy all other organizations which fight Jim Crow, Anti-Semitism and for the defense of the constitutional liberties of the American people. This would be a fundamental blow to basic American freedoms."

uopwa 16-47

CIVIL RIGHTS NEWS

New York State Civil Rights Congress

Vol. I, No. I | 23 West 26 Street, New York 10, N. Y. | APRIL, 1950

TRENTON SIX WAIT COURT DECISION ON RIGHT OF COUNSEL

Counsel for the Trenton Six have filed their appeal with the United States Court of Appeals, Third Circuit. This is an appeal from a federal district order upholding state court Judge Charles P. Hutchinson in his dismissal of counsel for the Six.

Hutchinson had his death penalty sentence of the Six reversed after Civil Rights Congress lawyers O. John Rogge, William L. Patterson and Emanuel Bloch secured a new trial from the New Jersey Supreme Court. Yet Hutchinson will again sit as trial judge.

In their suit to remain in the case as the attorneys chosen by the defendants, the attorneys quote from the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights:

> "It is essential that our rights be preserved against the tyrannical actions of public officers. . . . Where a society permits private and arbitrary violence to be done to its members, its own integrity is inevitably corrupted."

PUBLIC SUPPORT NEEDED

William Lawrence, N. Y. State CRC executive secretary, urged that there be no let-up of public pressure while the appeal is pending. "If we win our appeal" Lawrence said, "we will be right back there before Hutchinson. He is the judge who in the first trial sentenced the Six to death in the face of suppressed evidence, extorted confessions, and a picture of frame-up which caused the Supreme Court of New Jersey in its reversal to declare: 'The judgment is tainted with error. . . .' The Trenton Six were saved thus far not alone by our legal work, but by the protests of millions throughout America and all over the world."

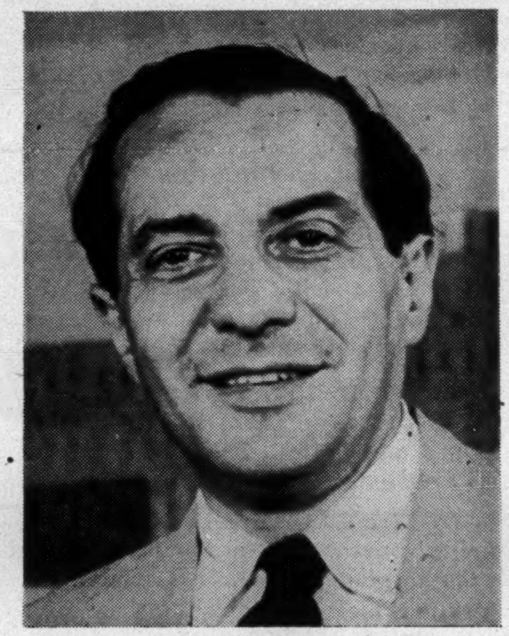
ACT NOW FOR THE SIX

Petitions addressed to New Jersey Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll urging him to take action can be secured for individuals and organizations from N. Y. CRC, 23 West 26 Street. Publicity material and leaflets for rallies can be secured at this address. Contributions urgently needed to continue the Committee's efforts to save the Six should be sent to CRC.

"Those who begin coercive elimination of dissent soon find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard."

Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson

Smith Act Repealer in Congress



Vito Marcantonio

ACT TO REPEAL THE SMITH ACT

1. As individuals and through mass organizations urge Rep. Emmanuel Celler to hold immediate hearings on H.R. 7383.
2. Organize in your CRC Chapter, your office, your trade union, a petition and letter-writing campaign to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath and President Truman asking repeal of the act. Demand that the case against Communist Party leaders be dropped.
3. Send resolutions on repealer bill to New York Congressmen urging them to support and vote for the bill.
4. Send copies of your letters and resolutions to trade union and metropolitan press.

BECAUSE

1. Under this Act Communist Party leaders were convicted for their exercise of free speech as members of a legal political party.
2. In the atmosphere of this conviction we have seen:

Reinstatement of the Ober Bill in Maryland.

Reinstatement of the Feinberg Bill in New York.

Court decisions against the foreign born.

Use of the Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners.

Introduction of the Mundt-Ferguson Bill.

A bill, H.R. 7383, to repeal the Smith Act introduced in Congress by Rep. Vito Marcantonio on Feb. 21st, is now in the hands of the House Committee on the Judiciary. Rep. Emanuel Celler, Brooklyn, Committee Chairman is in charge of the bill.

The Smith Act is the first American peace-time sedition law in nearly two hundred years. On its face the act punishes the mere expression of thought in the absence of any overt act or any danger to the community.

Stemming from the Smith Act's bid for thought control have been the police state measures to enforce it. Thus wire-tapping, informers, perjury and increased FBI appropriations have accompanied that statute, each with its attendant evils. Recently, J. Edgar Hoover, appearing before the House Committee on Appropriations said that the FBI workload in the field of internal security is "heavier than it was at the peak of World War II." He pointed to the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders as a justification for wire-tapping. We know too that the conviction of the 11 was followed swiftly by conviction of their lawyers for contempt, which in turn started a national wave of contempt proceedings against attorneys defending progressive causes.

The Smith Act has immeasurably strengthened the position of Hoover to whom subversive and progressive have always been synonymous. It must be repealed because it wipes out the First Amendment and in doing that directly affects the future of every American.

CIVIL RIGHTS NEWS
Published by
The N. Y. State Civil Rights Congress
23 W. 26th St., N. Y., ORchard 9-1657
Editor, JEAN BOUDIN
209

OUR FIRST ISSUE

This is the first issue of Civil Rights News, a monthly paper published by the New York State Civil Rights Congress.

We will report here our work in the struggle to defend civil rights, give the status of our legal cases, our work in the legislature and furnish proposals for action.

This paper will be distributed to all CRC chapters in the state as well as to many other organizations and individuals who can help in this fight throughout the state. We welcome as regular correspondents CRC chapter heads and urge that all other interested individuals who have personal knowledge of any invasion of civil rights send us material.

CRC needs your active support. Under the Smith Act reason has been jailed and the keys handed over to the FBI. Trial by perjury is the order of the day. Loyalty probers probe loyalty probers. A Carl Marzani is imprisoned and the letters of the Bill of Rights are being effectively erased.

It takes courage to join the fight for civil rights today, courage and understanding that no one is safe who does not fight against a police state in the making. We ask you to have the courage; the Civil Rights News will print the facts.

Civil Rights and Wrongs

MEMO TO NBC: Said Paul Robeson, "The cancellation is obviously part of the conspiracy to hide the sorry record of broken promises on civil rights issues, of which both have been guilty in the 80th and 81st Congresses and for the past 74 years."

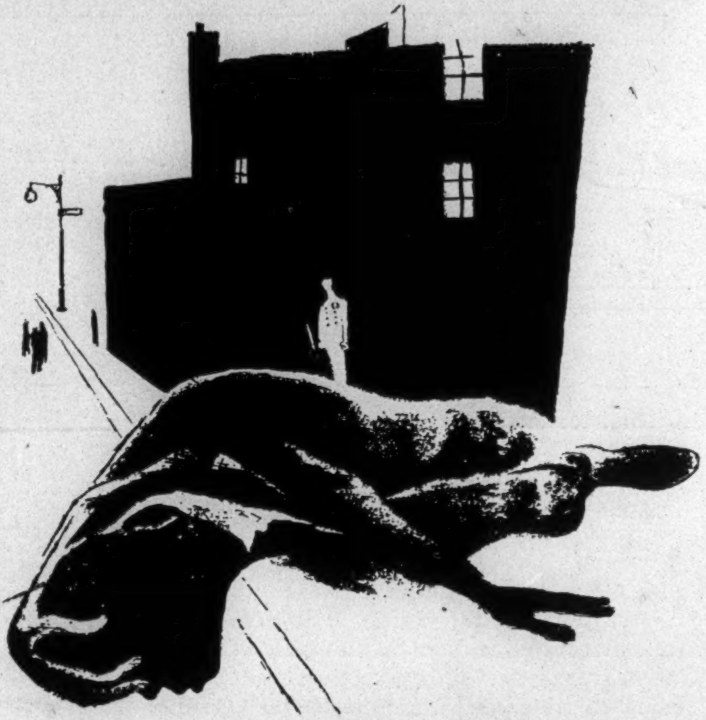
RAPS RAIDERS: "We have become janitors of police stations instead of protectors of the civil liberties of the people." Special Sessions Justice Frank Oliver said this in New York in a comment on police carrying out searches without a warrant and confronting judges with the accomplished fact.

SILVER LINING DEPT.: Judge Henry W. Edgerton in a dissent to the U. S. Court of Appeals OK of "loyalty" firings found: "The appellant was dismissed for thinking prohibited thoughts. A Constitution that forbids speech control does not permit thought control. We cannot preserve our liberties by sacrificing them."

FROM OUR FILES

IN BROOKLYN on October 31, 1948, Anthony Hardison, 25-year-old veteran, was severely beaten, arrested and jailed, held for 27 days without bail.

IN HARLEM on New Year's Eve, 1950, George West, Negro, aged 29, was shot without provocation by Patrolman James Beaman, off duty. West died in the hospital several hours later.



IN MANHATTAN on December 8, 1949, Edward Newland, Negro, on his way to visit some friends, was picked up by police, jailed. He was held on a charge of "mugging." When the victims of the "mugging" completely exonerated him, police exhibited him before victims of robberies.

AT ROCKAWAY BEACH, on May 7, 1949, James O'Neal was roughly dragged to the police station by two policemen. He was beaten, kept overnight in jail, charged with being a policy player. Case dismissed for lack of evidence.

IN BROOKLYN, on August 24, 1949, Paul Davis stopped and protested when he saw six policemen beating two Negro youths. He was arrested, beaten, charged with inciting to riot.

IN THE BRONX, on January 16, 1949, a police office, in the home of Charles Pheifer's mother and in her presence, shot her son. Charles died the following day in the hospital. The cop was exonerated.

IN HARLEM, on October 7, 1949, John Oliver was, without provocation, severely beaten up by police. When he went to report this to the police station he was punched in the stomach, booked on disorderly conduct, and advised to plead guilty before Magistrate's Court. When Oliver refused he was told he would be "fixed."

IN JAMAICA, on October 1, 1949, Howard Green, church choral leader, stopped to take the number of a policeman beating a man. He was clubbed by the policeman, threatened with a gun, booked on a charge of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest.

IN BROOKLYN, on May 30, two men each driving cars got into a dispute over the merits of their driving. One driver, Donald Mullen, shot the other driver, Herman Newton, three times and killed him. The killer turned out to be a cop off duty, the dead man was a Negro.

This is a brief sampling of CRC files. It is an even briefer one of the daily incidents in the network of police brutality stretching over the great city of New York, that never reach CRC offices, that never even reach the police blotter, that never reach the press. The policeman's stick, his gun, his abuse, is directed against the minority groups, the underprivileged. In Harlem the incidence of brutality in proportion to the rest of the city is as Harlem's T.B. rate and death rate is to the rest of the city.

Yet Mayor O'Dwyer could erase this shameful picture. But he has refused to meet with delegations who were ready to submit to him facts on police brutality.

It is under O'Dwyer's administration that these beatings take place at police headquarters, that witnesses are intimidated, that judges sentence the victims and set their persecutors free.

CRC action to indict the policeman who shot and killed George Westray is restraining the trigger finger of others.

Our attorneys fight these cases daily in the courts. We maintain a bail fund and prisoners' relief fund for victims of injustice. We put out leaflets and pamphlets so that people may know the facts. Our work is making cracks in an iceberg of official terror which can and must be melted away.

Policeman Who Shot Westray Still On Force

INVESTIGATION ON, SAYS DEWEY'S OFFICE

George M. Shapiro, Assistant Counsel to Governor Dewey, told a delegation to Albany that investigation has been started in the Westray case and will be continued. Meeting with Shapiro were, Mrs. Minnie Westray, CRC Exec. Sec'y William L. Patterson and Arthur Schutzer from the ALP.

No answer was made to a demand by the delegation that a special investigator be appointed to supersede the Bronx District Attorney whose inaction in the 8-month old case is tantamount to quashing it. Nor was any time set when a report from the Grand Jury might be expected.

Patterson called for public pressure on the Governor to keep the investigation from being still-born. "It is CRC's continued efforts that have won this tortoise-paced victory of an investigation started. The tortoise must not be allowed to get back into the shell of silence so long imposed by the D.A.'s office."

A completely documented account of the case has been filed with the Bronx Grand Jury by CRC attorney Julian C. Trupin, in an application for the indictment of Patrolman Daniel McEnery. McEnery shot and killed Westray in the Lincoln Hospital on August 10, 1949.

The request for an indictment charges that early on the day of the murder, a Negro truck driver, George Westray had asked for medical aid at Lincoln Hospital complaining of severe headaches. After a fast examination he was turned back into the streets. Sick and staggering Westray received a glass of water from a woman. When he asked for a glass of water from another woman he was grabbed by the police.

Claiming that the sick and very thin Westray attacked them, police savagely and brutally clubbed him. A protesting crowd gathered. Bleeding from the mouth, head and eyes, Westray was taken to a treatment room in Lincoln Hospital. When he staggered to his feet from a chair in the treatment room, policeman McEnery fired two bullets into his body which killed him.

Only known action taken by the District Attorney was to threaten two witnesses against McEnery with jail. The D.A. did this when the witnesses insisted on having Trupin present when they gave their evidence.

WHAT TO DO IF ARRESTED

1. Admit no police officer into your home unless he has an arrest or search warrant.

2. He may not search your home without a search warrant even if he arrests you.

3. Get his name and number, ask him why he is arresting you, and remember what he says. Find out where he is taking you.

4. Demand the right to call your lawyer, family or trade union, before you leave the house.

5. Sign nothing and say nothing (except, if you wish, your name and address).

6. If in court, before your attorney arrives, do not sign anything or testify or discuss the case. Do not plead guilty or not guilty. Ask for a postponement until you get a lawyer.

7. You have a right to (a) a lawyer, (b) a reasonable adjournment before trial, (c) release on parole or bail.

8. If suppoenaed as a witness before a grand jury or judge consult an attorney on your rights.

9. If you have no lawyer, telephone CRC.

10. The police have no right to threaten or harm you.

OLD STORY, NEW VICTIM

Marion Watkins, a Negro, father of three children, grandfather of one, a worker with no record of any previous misdemeanor or crime, will be tried April 18 for assault of an officer. Watkins was a peaceful participant in a Harlem parade Nov. 3 to welcome Benjamin J. Davis, then ALP candidate for City Council. He was carrying with him an unlit torch which along with others was to be lit at the point of meeting with Davis. That point was never reached. The parade was broken up by mounted police with a brutality and violence that broke through the commercial press at the time. Scores of innocent paraders and bystanders were clubbed.

Watkins was grabbed and told he had burned an officer. He was beaten up, charged with assault. His case comes up April 18, at Court of Special Sessions. Mr. Watkins will be represented by CRC attorney Moses Weinman.

ORDER PAMPHLETS

You can order from CRC at cost one or many of the following pamphlets: DEADLY PARALLEL, a dramatically presented parallel through photographs and text of the abrogation of civil rights under the Nazis and the counterpart in the United States. WHOEVER YOU ARE, a beautifully photographed account of the work of CRC. BEATEN, KILLED BY POLICE, a factual and movingly illustrated report of the killing of George Westray. Order today from N. Y. CRC, 23 W. 26th St., for yourself, your friends and for distribution in mass organizations.

S. Carolina Chain Gang Still Minus James Wilson

The legal battle to save James Wilson from a South Carolina chain gang is now scheduled before the United States District Court, Southern district, for April 4. Abraham Unger, Civil Rights attorney for Wilson will argue before the court.

Wilson was sentenced, after a South Carolina jury trial, to life imprisonment on a chain gang for having killed a man in self defense and in defense of his wife, who had been beaten, molested and threatened with death. After almost eight years of torture on the chain gang, Wilson despite the presence of armed guards escaped into the woods and made his way to New York where he was arrested on May 9, 1949.

Mute witness to the cruel and inhuman treatment he endured are the welts and lash marks on his back and chain sores on his ankles.

Wilson had no counsel at the time of his original conviction.

Unger took the case to the Supreme Court, Bronx County in Nov. 1949, appealed to the Supreme Court, Appellate Division, First Department which affirmed without opinion on Jan. 16, 1950, the lower court decision remanding Wilson to South Carolina. Application for leave to appeal was denied by the state Court of Appeals on Jan. 24, 1950.

A delegation to the governor's office asking that he rescind the extradition order has as yet had no response. But there is legal precedent as well as moral justification for withdrawal of the order.

CRC has kept James Wilson from his angered jailors for almost a year. The legal work and delegations will continue, but public support is needed. Write and wire Governor Dewey to rescind the extradition order.

DEFEAT MUNDT BILL— WARNS PATTERSON

William L. Patterson, Executive Secretary of Civil Rights Congress, attacked the Mundt-Ferguson Bill as morally and legally delinquent. He warned that its glaring Constitutional violations were not enough to save it from being passed by Congress.

"An understanding of the Bill will give people a most effective weapon to fight it with," Patterson said. "Last year it was the Mundt-Nixon bill. This year it is the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston bill, entitled 'Subversive Activities Control Act, 1949.' There is no difference between the one that failed, and the latest attempt; each is subversive of our American tradition and institution, and each as written literally bring fascism here.

Progressive is Subversive

"The Bill has many serious defects. It draws up two classifications of organizations to be punished: the 'Communist political organization' and the 'Communist front organization.' Both must register with the Attorney General, naming their officers and giving a financial accounting; in addition, the political organization must name *its entire membership*. An individual member must register if his organization fails to do so. A special 'Subversive Activities Control Board' determines which organizations fall into one or the other category, and it is difficult to think of a progressive organization that will escape.

"The disabilities are severe. Members of the Communist Party required to register by Board order are barred from non-elective federal employment, from running for federal elective office without disclosing their 'subversive' membership, and from using passports. Both the Communist Party and *any organization labeled 'fronts'* would be required to label their mailings and broadcasts as sponsored by a 'Communist organization.' Both are denied federal income tax exemption and contributions to them are made non-deductible.

"We must remember that past success in defeating ripper legislation of this sort is no guarantee of the future."

Write CRC for petitions, leaflets and further information on what you can do to defeat the Mundt-Ferguson Bill.

IRMA SUELL artist, craftsman, shown here making jewelry in her studio, is not safe from hoodlum racist attacks. Her window was smashed four times within two weeks. Greenwich Village has formed a Good Neighbor Committee to protect Miss Suell. Village CRC is active on the Committee.

CRC Spring Bazaar Success

Only winter accent at the Civil Rights Congress Spring Bazaar was the auctioning of a fireplace. Cheerful crowds filled up Bazaar quarters at Teachers Center, 206 West 16th St., for the three-day event which ran March 17, 18 and 19th.

Following the advice of Bazaar Chairman Dr. Harry Cohen, hundreds came to protect their pocketbooks and civil rights. Customers left delighted with the money they had saved on Easter shopping and knowing that the money they spent went to CRC's drive to protect civil rights on all fronts.

Hundreds of names went down on a petition to defeat the Mundt-Ferguson Bill and on one asking Pres. Truman for a pardon of Carl Marzani. Marzani, war hero, and political prisoner, was denied a parole without any explanation after having served one year of his three year sentence. The Bazaar launched CRC's petition drive for a pardon.

The Committee is using this Bulletin to thank all of those who gave so generously of their time, energies, and merchandise to make the Bazaar the success that it was.

The Second Christoffel Case

Harold Christoffel, former UAWA leader, was again convicted in a Washington District Court and again sentenced to 2-6 years in prison for alleged perjury before the House Labor Committee when he testified against the Taft-Hartley bill. Bail was refused him, despite his pending appeal involving important questions of law.

He can win again if he has help. The first problem is to secure his release on bail; requests for this should be made to the Attorney General. Next, funds for his appeal are required; contributions should be sent to the Harold Christoffel Defense Committee, c/o C.R.C.

Who's Guilty of What?

The Bridges prosecution used convicts as witnesses; the Coplon prosecutors did illegal wire-tapping of conversations between attorney and client; Hiss was confronted with an admitted perjurer. We appear ready for another Wickersham Commission to investigate lawlessness among government officials.

Double Standard

Carl Marzani, war department hero, whose conviction was upheld by a 4-4 Supreme Court vote has just been denied parole. D. C. Stephenson, a Ku Klux Klan leader who got life imprisonment for rape and murder in Indiana was granted a parole.

New York State Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.
I want more information about CRC..........
I want to become a member of CRC..........
Enclosed is my contribution to help CRC fight police brutality..........
NAME.......... Telephone..........
ADDRESS.......... CITY..........

News from:
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

MUrray Hill 4-6640

April 10, 1950
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CRC LEADER OF LONG FIGHT AGAINST JIM CROW FACING JAIL;

SUPREME COURT REFUSED TO REVIEW HIS CONTEMPT CONVICTION

George Marshall, Civil Rights Congress National Chairman, Led Oust-Bilbo Drive, Defied Rankin in Appearance Before Un-American Committee

George Marshall, national chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, which has led the fight to free the Trenton Six as well as hundreds of Negro victims of frame-ups, is facing a three-month jail sentence as a result of the Supreme Court's recent refusal to review his 'contempt' conviction by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the CRC reports.

Marshall, who has led campaigns during the last twelve years for anti-lynch, anti-poll tax and FEPC legislation, as well as the drive two years ago to oust Senator Bilbo from his Senate seat, was cited for contempt when he refused to turn over lists of Negro and white members of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, predecessor of the Civil Rights Congress.

In a statement issued after hearing of the Supreme Court's refusal to consider his case, Mr. Marshall said, "I shall file another petition asking the court to consider my case....If my conviction is allowed to stand, the House Un-American Activities Committee will be free to demand membership lists and set up blacklists in an effort to destroy all other organizations which fight Jim Crow."

William L. Patterson, Negro leader and co-worker of Mr. Marshall in CRC, declared,"The attempt to imprison George Marshall, one of the outstanding leaders in the fight against Jim Crow, constitutes a direct threat to those organizations militantly carrying on in the battle to pass FEPC and other civil rights legislation, to outlaw the Klan and to put an end to police brutality and frame-ups which have become a characteristic feature of police tactics against the Negro people in every city of the United States."

The demand from the Un-American Committee for Mr. Marshall to turn over the membership lists of the NFCL was made just after the organigation had entered the defense of Willie McGee, Mississippi Negro, who subsequently was three times convicted of a rape frame-up. NFCL, and its successor, the Civil Rights Congress, won two reversals. A third appeal is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

In refusing to turn over membership lists, Mr. Marshall maintained that the House Un-American Activities Committee had no right to violate the 1st and 4th Amendments.

Rankin, at the time, referred to Marshall as "the most contemptuous person ever to appear before the Un-American Committee."

Marshall declared, "I am proud of the fact that I have won the enmity of Rankin and the poll-taxers. The Civil Rights Congress and its thousands of Negro and white members will continue to fight Jim Crow and all its manifestations until the Negro people have won their full civil and human rights."

uopwa 16-47

JUNE 10, 1954

TIME SCHEDULE FOR JUNE 10TH AMNESTY RALLY

	8:15 - 8:25	Jewish Young Peoples' Chorus
8:45	8:25 - 8:27	Celia Zitron introduces the chairman of the evening, John Abt
	8:27 - 8:32	Chairman keynotes and introduces James Aronson
	8:32 - 8:40	James Aronson
	8:40 - 8:41	Chairman introduces Peggy Dennis
	8:41 - 8:46	Peggy Dennis
	8:46 - 8:47	Chairman introduces Paul Robeson
9:07	8:47 - 9:17	Paul Robeson
	9:17 - 9:18 9:37	Chairman introduces Edith Marzani
	9:18 - 9:48	Edith Marzani makes appeal
	9:48 - 9:53	Chorus
	9:53 - 9:58	Chairman reads telegram to President Eisenhower and introduces Angus Cameron
	9:58 - 10:06	Angus Cameron
	10:06 - 10:07	Chairman introduces Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
	10:07 - 10:15	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
	10:15 - 10:20	Chairman pays tribute to Dr. Edward K. Barsky
	10:20 - 10:25	Dr. Barsky
	10:25 - 10:30	Paul Robeson sings song for Dr. Barsky

Daily worker 3/7/55 1.

The release of the courageous leaders of the American People is a cause for deep rejoicing. As with the ali~~en~~ + Sedition Acts of ~~Q~~ Jefferson's Times = as with the 'separate-but equal' ruling of the Supreme Court, ~~Segregation Cases~~ = the Smith Act must and will be Repealed. The ~~de~~ wisdom ~~[illegible]~~ of a Justice Black, as with ~~will~~ ~~Justice~~ Justice Harlan will become the Law of this democratic land.

The struggle of ~~these~~ ~~[illegible]~~ brave representatives of the masses of our land and the struggle of their associates = is the ~~heroic~~ ~~struggle~~ fight of every decent thinking American. They measure the state of Civil liberties in our nation.

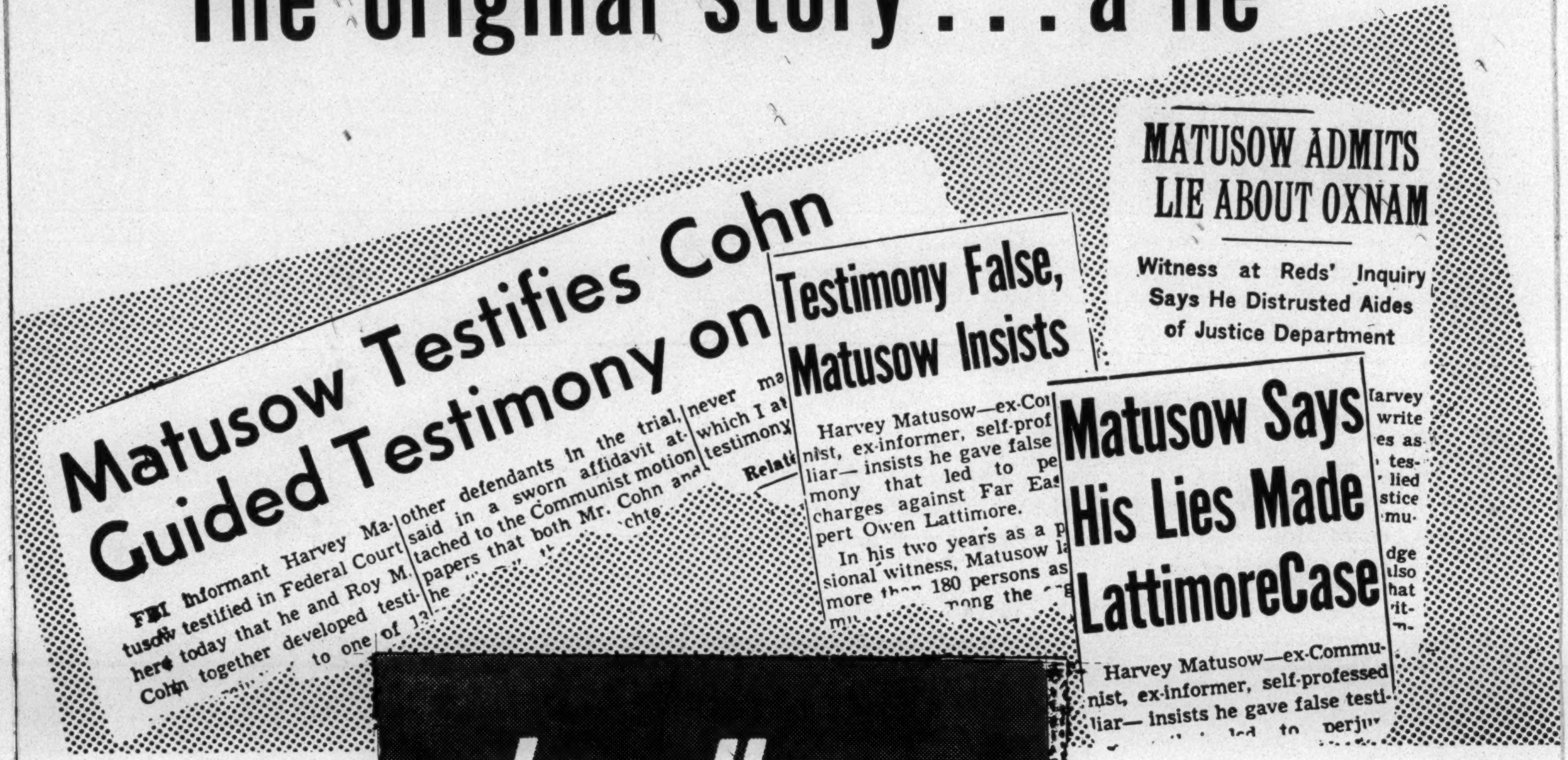
So ~~they~~ a tremendous fight must be waged to see that

There will be no double jeopardy -
to see that the decision in the Claude
Lightfoot case is reversed and to see ~~to guarantee~~ ~~that~~
Freedom of opinion & Ideas is still
a part of our heritage.
It has been my privilege to appear
on many platforms in the defense of the Smith ~~our~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~and~~
Act defendants ~~friends~~ = to sing for their families, —
~~[illegible]~~ ~~to~~ after. So their release ~~[illegible]~~
bring great personal happiness. May we soon
have an opportunity to ~~shake them by the~~
~~hand~~ greet these friends not only of
progressive America but of all America and of
all the world.

Paul Robeson

THE JUDGE CALLED

"The original story . . . a lie"



Matusow Testifies Cohn Guided Testimony on

FBI informant Harvey Matusow testified in Federal Court here today that he and Roy M. Cohn together developed testi- to one of 13 other defendants in the trial, said in a sworn affidavit attached to the Communist motion papers that both Mr. Cohn and he

never ma which I at testimony

Relat

Testimony False, Matusow Insists

Harvey Matusow—ex-Co nist, ex-informer, self-prof liar— insists he gave false mony that led to pe charges against Far Eas pert Owen Lattimore.

In his two years as a p sional witness, Matusow la more than 180 persons as mong the

MATUSOW ADMITS LIE ABOUT OXNAM

Witness at Reds' Inquiry Says He Distrusted Aides of Justice Department

Matusow Says His Lies Made LattimoreCase

Harvey Matusow—ex-Communist, ex-informer, self-professed liar— insists he gave false testi- led to perju

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why allow Brownell's paid informers to lie again?

Many Americans were shocked when Harvey Matusow revealed his paid perjury. Many applauded when Judge Dimock freed two men, George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg, convicted because Matusow bore false witness in the second New York Smith Act trial.

→

WE HAVE SEEN a flood of revelations from other paid political informers in Attorney General Brownell's stable: Mrs. Marie Natvig, Lowell Watson and David Brown.

America began to take a long second look at the Department of Justice informers who had been used in political trials, Congressional investigations and immigration hearings. Many newspapers began to wonder out loud at these circuit-riding witnesses-for-money—Louis Budenz, John Lautner, Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson, Mary Markward and the rest of the Brownell brood.

Paid informers lied about Communists like Charney and Trachtenberg. They lied about non-Communists like scholar Owen Lattimore, diplomat Ralph Bunche and businessman Edward Lamb. So the question naturally arises:

Why allow Brownell's paid informers to lie again?

Why should Charney and Trachtenberg, who have already served four months in prison because Harvey Matusow bore false witness, have to stand trial again?

Isn't this placing them in double jeopardy, contrary to all fair play?

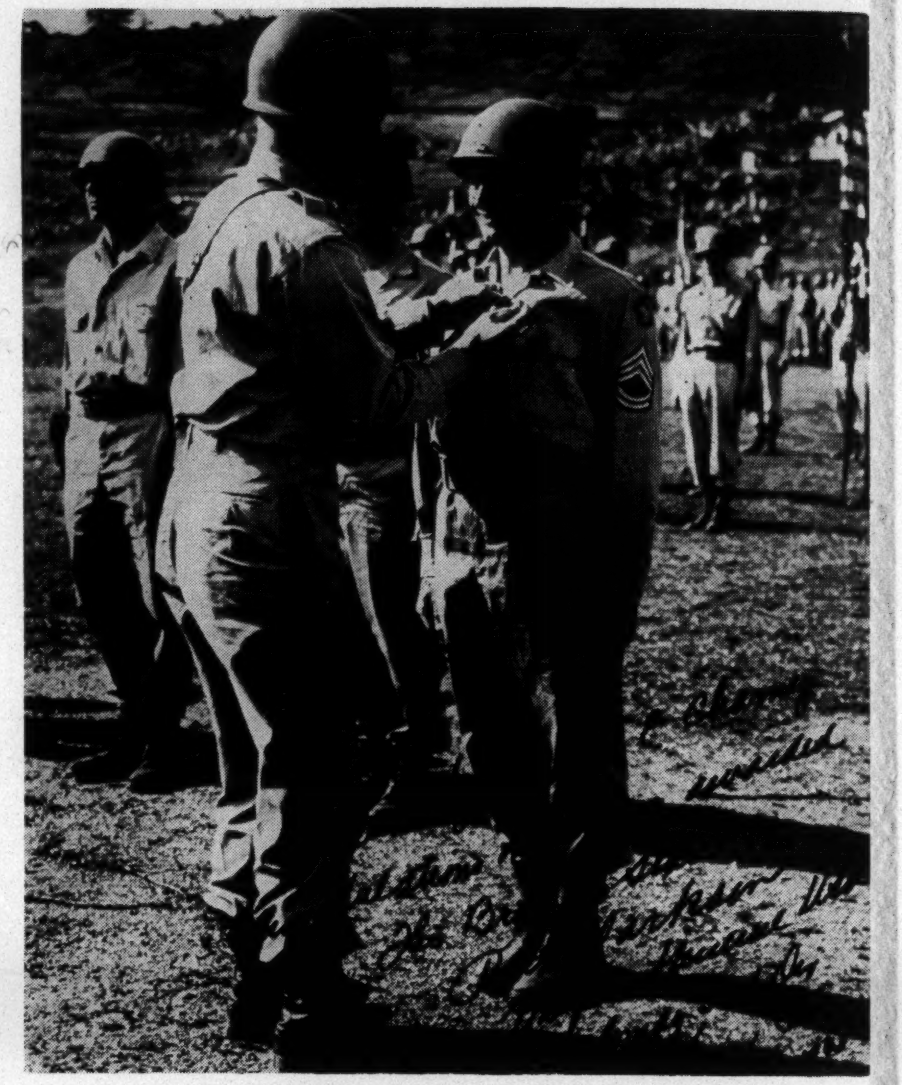
Why? Is it because Brownell fears that his whole informer racket will come tumbling down? Does he fear that without his paid informers he can't hold any more cold war political trials? Does he fear that without political trials he wont be able to defeat his political opponents? Does he fear that without political trials he won't be able to terrorize people into silence about the great issues of the day—about peace, civil liberties, equality, jobs and inflation?

Does Brownell, like Joe McCarthy, fear that after Geneva with its lessening of cold war tensions the fires of the domestic witch hunt will die down?

Evidently Brownell is battling frenziedly against what Walter Lippmann describes (*N.Y. Herald Tribune,* Aug. 25, 1955):

> **"We are in the early stages of a great popular reaction against the hysteria and the demagoguery, the lawlessness and the cruel injustices which we call quite rightly the era of McCarthyism."**

Yes, Brownell is fighting a rear-guard action against what Lippmann terms "this great change in the tide of American opinion."



George Blake Charney, infantry sergeant, receiving the Bronze Star from Major General Clarkson, in the Philippines, in May, 1945.

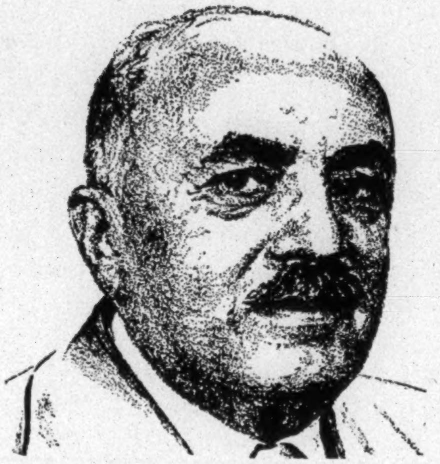
Let's look at the record.

Charney and Trachtenberg went to trial under the Smith Act charged with "conspiring to teach and advocate" their Communist political views, with 15 others. The Department of Justice brought Matusow in to testify—which he did falsely—many months later. Charney and Trachtenberg were convicted because of his false testimony.

Matusow recanted in 1955—after Charney and Trachtenberg were in Federal prisons.

This is what Judge Dimock said in his opinion ordering a new trial for Charney and Trachtenberg:

> **"Matusow is a completely irresponsible witness. . . . The internal evidence all points to the original story as a lie. . . .**



Alexander Trachtenberg, 70-year-old publisher and author, is a veteran of the Socialist and Communist movements in the U.S. He is head of the world famous International Publishers.

Mrs. Marian Bachrach's severance from the trial was asked by 180 well known Americans. They told Attorney General Brownell "in the name of common humanity" to sever the case.

Sidney Stein was an active trade unionist. He is now serving a three year sentence as "an accessory after the fact" to a Smith Act "crime." His bail has been prohibitively set at $125,000.

> **"The . . . history of . . . his testimony furnishes internal evidence that perjury was committed. The internal evidence of perjury and my belief that Matusow had no scruples against it compel me to find that all of his testimony which attributed to the Communist Party or to any of the defendants an intent that the Government be overthrown by force and violence was false. . . ."**

* * *

In the face of that Court's opinion, what did Brownell do? Did he drop trial proceedings and offer profound apologies to the victims? Did he ask that not only Charney and Trachtenberg, but also Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry and all other victims of the political informer system be freed?

Nothing of the sort.

He and his aides alibied all over America for their paid stool-pigeon system. And now they've put together in frantic haste a new package trial of Charney, Trachtenberg, Mrs. Marion Bachrach and Sidney Stein.

(And what a synthetic package! Mrs. Bachrach, a co-defendant of Charney and Trachtenberg, was severed from the original trial by Court order after Court doctors confirmed that she had cancer. Now the Department of Justice, after three years, with barbarous disregard for ordinary humanity, has brought this cancer-torn woman into their package trial.)

(Sid Stein was a political refugee from the same indictment. Given a three-year sentence, which he is now serving, he has also been dragged into the current case in order to make up the Brownell trial package.)

And now Brownell is off hunting new Matusows as well as rehearsing his old informers. The Brownell scheme was well described by the *New York Post* columnist Murray Kempton (June 30, 1955):

> **"Dimock's opinion was a horror study in the fashion in which our government gets Smith Act convictions. . . .**
>
> **"The government indicted them and then went hunting witnesses. . . .**
>
> **"With this history, Charney and Trachtenberg have been re-indicted. That fact alone conjures up the vision of a desperate government search for some new Harvey Matusow to erase the damage of the old."**

Should Brownell be allowed to dredge up some new Matusow to bear false witness? Should he be allowed to trot out again Budenz, Lautner, Markward and the rest to poison the clean new post-Geneva air?

That's the question before all Americans, no matter what their politics.

For there is more involved in this case than the liberties of the 50-year-old decorated ex-GI, George Charney, and the distinguished 70-year-old publisher Alexander Trachtenberg, the cancer victim Marion Bachrach and trade unionist Sidney Stein.

The whole democratic process is involved. Informers can lie away the liberties of Communists. They can and do threaten the liberties of liberals, trade unionists, New Deal Democrats, liberal Republicans—men and women of all walks of life whose sole crime is that they think independently and won't conform to the Brownell line.

No one is safe under conditions of an informer system.

That is why all Americans should unite to demand an end to this despicable, un-American system. That is why all Americans should take a second look at the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Taft-Hartley law, the Walter-McCarran law and all other laws that, as the CIO convention said, are directed solely against thoughts and advocacy.

If you agree that the informer system should go, you should agree that this shameful trial should never be.

Write President Eisenhower and the Department of Justice urging that they call off this shameful informer-tainted proceeding. Speak up against the informer system and thought control trials in your union, lodge or civic organization. Give this fight for basic American rights your support.

Remember—the rights you save may be your own!

CHARNEY-TRACHTENBERG SELF-DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Room 810 - 11 Park Place - New York 7

CHARNEY-TRACHTENBERG SELF-DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Room 810 - 11 Park Place - New York 7, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find $................ as my contribution to your legal defense and the fight against the un-American political informer system.

Please send me material issued by your committee.

NAME..

ADDRESS..

CITY..ZONE..............STATE..................

Charney-Trachtenberg Self-Defense Committee
Room 810 - 11 Park Place - New York 7, N. Y.

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DW
10-13-49

Plan Protest to UN On Frameup of 11

By Louise Mitchell

A delegation of prominent Americans to be headed by Paul Robeson is planning to place before the United Nations Human Rights Committee a protest against the unfair trial of the Communists and sentences of their counsel, it was disclosed yesterday at a press conference of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Communist leaders.

Speaking out in sharpest terms against the verdict were Robeson, Howard Fast and O. John Roggee. The two-hour press parley outlined the next steps in defense of American civil liberties. Fast, terasurer of the committee, stressed the importance of raising sufficient bail to enable the release of the Communists. Another delegation to meet with Attorney General Howard McGrath "to extract a profession of faith on American civil liberties" is also planned, he said.

Yesterday's afternoon press tried to smear the press conference by reporting that two photographers were ejected. What actually happened was that Robeson asked the photographers to wait until he had finished talking. The reporters then left, giving the newspapers their scare headlines without having to report what happened at the parley.

"I don't want my picture taken while I'm talking," was what Robeson had told the **Journal-American** pic man.

Robeson told the press conference it was important that large sections of the "American people see that what is happening to the Communists will also happen to them" unless the atmosphere of hysteria which brought on the trial and convictions is dispersed.

ACT OF FASCISM

The conviction, he said, was the act of fascism at work in this country. This pattern was evident in Peekskill, in the loyalty oaths and in the persecution of progressives.

"I see these attacks on the people," Robeson asserted," against a pattern of struggle in the world with the people who suffer against the people who have the wealth."

American fascism "was moving in to do Hitler's work in taking over the world as was evident in the devaluation of the pound, the domination of Western Europe and the plan to enslave Africa, he explained. But the monopolists will not succeed in Africa or Asia, despite Nehru's aid, Robeson explained.

"American fascism plans to beat the brains out of the American people," he declared, "because it can't do much against the entire world."

The Negro leader stressed the importance of the election of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis to the City Council and Rep. Vito Marcantonio as Mayor on the

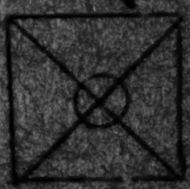
(Continued on Page 9)

PAUL ROBESON is cheered by 5,000 in Rockland Palace in Harlem as he pledges to devote every moment to the struggle to free the Communist leaders. —Photo by Peter

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

CLAUDE
LIGHTFOOT
IS ON TRIAL

YOU ARE
ON A
SPOT



On May 14, 1954, a Federal Grand Jury in Chicago secretly voted a Smith Act indictment against Claude Lightfoot. This indictment is totally different from the 107 others handed down under this Act in a six year period.

The indictment against Mr. Lightfoot contains two infamous, and clearly unconstitutional doctrines. First, it is a bill of attainders; second, it establishes guilt by association.

With no proof offered, it asserts a whole organization (the Communist Party) to be dangerous and declares it to be illegal. Then it says that an individual (Claude Lightfoot) is a member and therefore a criminal, punishable by up to 10 years in prison.

The United States Supreme Court has stated in the case of Garner v. Board of Public Works:".... legislative acts ... that apply either to named individuals or ... members of a group ... to inflict punishment on them without a judicial trial are bills of attainder prohibited by the Constitution."

The allegations against the Communist Party in the Smith Act given as the basis for outlawing it have never been tested in the courts. In every Smith Act case thus far, the judge in his charge to the jury has made it clear that the Communist Party is a legal party.

In the case of Bridges v. Nixon the United States Supreme Court stated: "the doctrine of personal guilt is one of the most fundamental principles of our jurisprudence. It partakes of the very essence of the concept of freedom and due process of law ... it prevents the persecution of the innocent for the beliefs and actions of others..." Yet the Smith Act declares Claude Lightfoot to be guilty merely by reason of "membership", association with others.

In every Smith Act case thus far, the judge, in his charge to the jury has made it clear that membership in the Communist Party is not a crime and that membership has nothing to do with the matter of guilt.

In the Claude Lightfoot case, the government is trying to establish its right to outlaw whole organizations. It is trying to establish that a man may be imprisoned without charging him with overt acts, or of conspiring to commit such acts.

This case contains a series of new and fundamental constitutional tests. If the government is permitted to succeed, the American tradition of Constitutional Liberties would be wrecked, the American way of life would be crippled.

An official of the Department of Justice, speaking in Minnesota has stated that this is "the most important case" being handled by the Department. Yet the government does not want it to be publicized. The press and radio have "blacked out" practically all the facts. Clearly, it is a "hot potato". If the people find out what the government is up to, it will be unable to carry through its plan to undermine the Constitution.

WE ARE ALL ON TRIAL WITH CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT If your organization is on record for demands that the Communist Party includes in its program, the Lightfoot case is a danger signal. If you belong to a trade union or a fraternal society, or a P.T.A. or any other organization that speaks for F.E.P.C., higher wages, better working conditions, better housing, civil liberties or peace, or anything else that the Com. Party includes in its program, you are in danger because of the Lightfoot case. It contains the simple premise upon which your organization may be labeled "subversive" and you, as a member, a "criminal".

Now is the time to call a halt to the government's attempts to destroy the Bill of Rights. The rights and privileges enjoyed by the American people were won through long and bitter struggles. No American can remain passive in the face of the threat to destroy all that this country has achieved and stands for.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. Write or wire today: Robert Tieken, U.S. Attorney, Federal Building, Chicago, Ill.
   DEMAND: Reasonable bail for Claude Lightfoot.

2. Write or wire the Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, Washington, D.C.
   DEMAND: His office quash the indictment.

3. Let Mr. Lightfoot know of your opposition to this attack upon our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

4. Send contributions to the Claude Lightfoot Defense Committee, Attention: John Bernard, Chairman, Room 510, 6 E. Lake Street, Chicago, Illinois.

For additional information, write or phone....

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS OF ILLINOIS
6 E. Lake Street, Room 510
Tel...ST-2-8357.

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PROTEST

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JEWISH-AMER. CULTURAL **TRIBUTE**

with

PAUL ROBESON

Jewish Chorus
under Morris Rauch

Dramatic Dance
directed by Edith Segal

Concertina Classics
by Leon Malamut

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OCT. 19 — 8 P.M.

to

- Rep. Vito MARCANTONIO
- Councilman BEN DAVIS
- ADA JACKSON
- LEO ISACSON
- EWART GUINIER
- PAUL ROSS

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10/18/49

The Baptist Minister's Conference
of Washington, D. C. and Vicinity

and

The Baptist Minister's Conference
of Baltimore, Maryland and Vicinity

... JOINT CONFERENCE ...

AT ENON BAPTIST CHURCH

Edmondson Ave. and Schroeder St.
Reverend Arthur Jerome Payne, A.B., D.D. Minister

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31st, 1955 - 12 NOON

"Wretched, indeed, and probably deservedly wretched, is the man who has no friends." - - - C. Kingsley

"Whosoever is delighted only in solitude is either a wild beast or a god. Choose friends, not for their usefulness, but for their goodness; not for their worth to us, but for their worth in themselves, and choose, if possible, people superior to ourselves." - - - Kingsley

"Friendsip works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in half." - - - Bacon's Essays.

PROGRAM

Rev. N. H Wicks, President, Baptist Minister's Conference,
Baltimore, Presiding

Devotionals_______Revs. H. L. Long and James A. Garfield

Welcome Address________________________Rev. E. D. Meade

Presentation of President of Baptist Minister's Conference
of Washington, D. C.____Rev. N. H Wicks, President
Baptist Minister's Conference, Baltimore, Md.

Rev. Henry Houston, President, Baptist Minister's
Conference, Washington, D. C., Presiding

Response to Welcome Address _________Rev. Ernest Gibbs

Music — --
Minutes of Joint Conference at Washington, D. C.
Rev. John H. Robinson, Secretary
Baptist Minister's Conference, D. C.

Current News Reporter___Rev. J. L. S. Holomon, A.B., D.D.

Sunday School Lesson_________Rev. G. Ellington Stevenson

Music — --

Introduction of Visitors______________Courtesy Committee
Minister's Conferences Washington and Baltimore

Music — --

Sermon _________________________Rev. Leamon W. White

Music — --

Offering Announcements Benedictions

FULL COURSE TURKEY DINNER AND DESSERT

Presidents: Rev| N. H. Wicks, Minister's Conf. of Baltimore
Rev. Henry Houston, Minister's Conference,
Washington, D. C.

Secretaries: Rev. Marcus Wood, Minister's Conf. of Balto.
Rev. John H. Robinson, Minister's Conference
District of Columbia

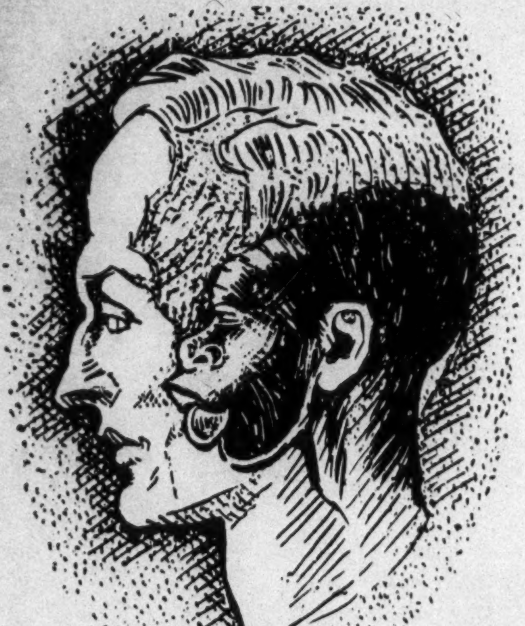
Chairman, Entertainment Committee---Rev Luke Reynolds

Song Leader --------------------- Rev. Luke G. Reynolds

Pianist------------------------------- Rev. W. W. Payne

Wells Printers, 601-03 Dolphin Street, VErnon 7-6618

Communist



Equality?

(over)

Equality

See dictionary

"All men are created equal," is a Communist statement. No two objects in nature are alike. The more alike the lower the form. Likeness is a sign of abasement.

Negroes and Asiatics are very similar. All lower races are. They consequently have very little culture.

Variation indicates where God is working and choosing. The white race built civilization because it has variety and is able to reflect the infinite creative spirit of God.

Negroes and Asiatics are catalytic. You cannot raise them — but they will lower you. They have destroyed many white civilizations by breeding into them.

Communists spend millions of dollars in the United States to make you think Negroes and Asiatics are the equal of whites.

This sort of propaganda will destroy the civilized world.

The lower human forms are unable to reflect the infinite capacities of the civilized mind. If form meant nothing the dog would be as smart as a man.

Variety of form and variety of races is God's way — not equality of races.

What the lower races have, the white man gave them.

Do you protect your white child from the Communist lie that all races are equal?

—Gullipen

National
Citizens Protective Association
P. O. Box 156 St. Louis 3, Mo.

"Truth in Retrospect"

Are you irked and confused? Are you over-taxed and under-paid? Are you brain-washed with hogwash? Do you know Eleanor, the great mongrelizer? What part-Jew president told us not to take our constitution seriously? Has taxation become a blight? Does one party, with two names, make it easy for our invisible mongrelizing government to rule? Does a carp fertilize the eggs of a bass? A chicken and an eagle are both birds, but are they equal? Does a raccoon and a possum mate? Why then should us bipeds race-mix? God's law is variety, not equality.

Why does the nine senile, wornout politicians in Washington blindly ignore the violation of the entire constitution, except for the fourteenth amendment? Can they tell a stumbling block from a stepping stone?

Has this become a government by appointment? Let us determine the causes and culprits!

Do politicians commit treason, when levying taxes to support foreign nations and the U. N.?

Psalms 2:2-4. "The rulers take council together, against the Lord (and the people). The Lord shall laugh and have them in derision."

Proverbs 21:13. "He who stops his ears to the cry of the poor (the taxed), he also, shall cry, but shall not be heard."

Does the press, radio, TV, or movies tell the truth?

Jeremiah 8:9. "The pen of the scribes is in vain, wise men (politicians, judges, lawyers, generals) are dismayed, ashamed and taken (in) and what wisdom is in them?"

Can we depend on lawyers, judges or courts?

Isaiah 40:23. "God makes the judges of the earth as vanity."

Luke 11:46. "Woe unto you lawyers! You laden men with grievous burdens and you yourselves touch not the burdens with one finger."

Luke 11:52. "You lawyers have taken away the key of knowledge; you entered not yourself and hindered others from entering."

Whom does our clergy really serve?

Luke 16:13-15. "You cannot serve God and Mammon." "That which is highly esteemed among men is abomination to God."

Matthew 23:24. "You blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel (mongrelization)."

Rev. 17:5-6. "Upon her forehead a name. Mystery, Babylon the Great (modern Christendom), the mother of Harlots (many sects) and abomination (mongrel races, U. N. etc.) of the earth; drunken with the blood of saints (the righteous) and of martyrs (war and vice victims) of Jesus."

Do working mothers and selfish fathers seeking the Jew God Mammon, ignore the truth, the resulting child delinquency?

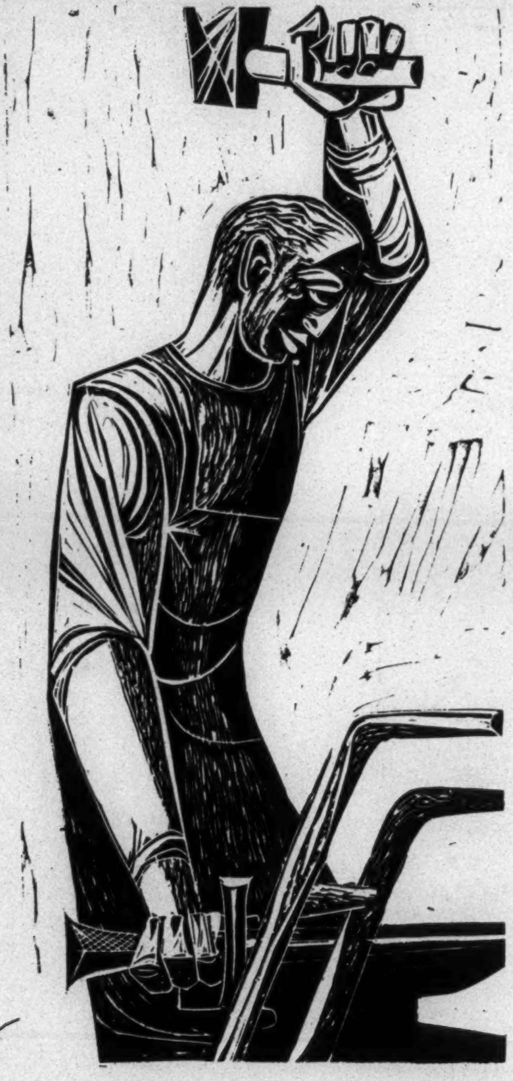
II Timothy 3: 1 to 6. "For men shall love themselves, boasters, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, without natural affection, Godless, etc."

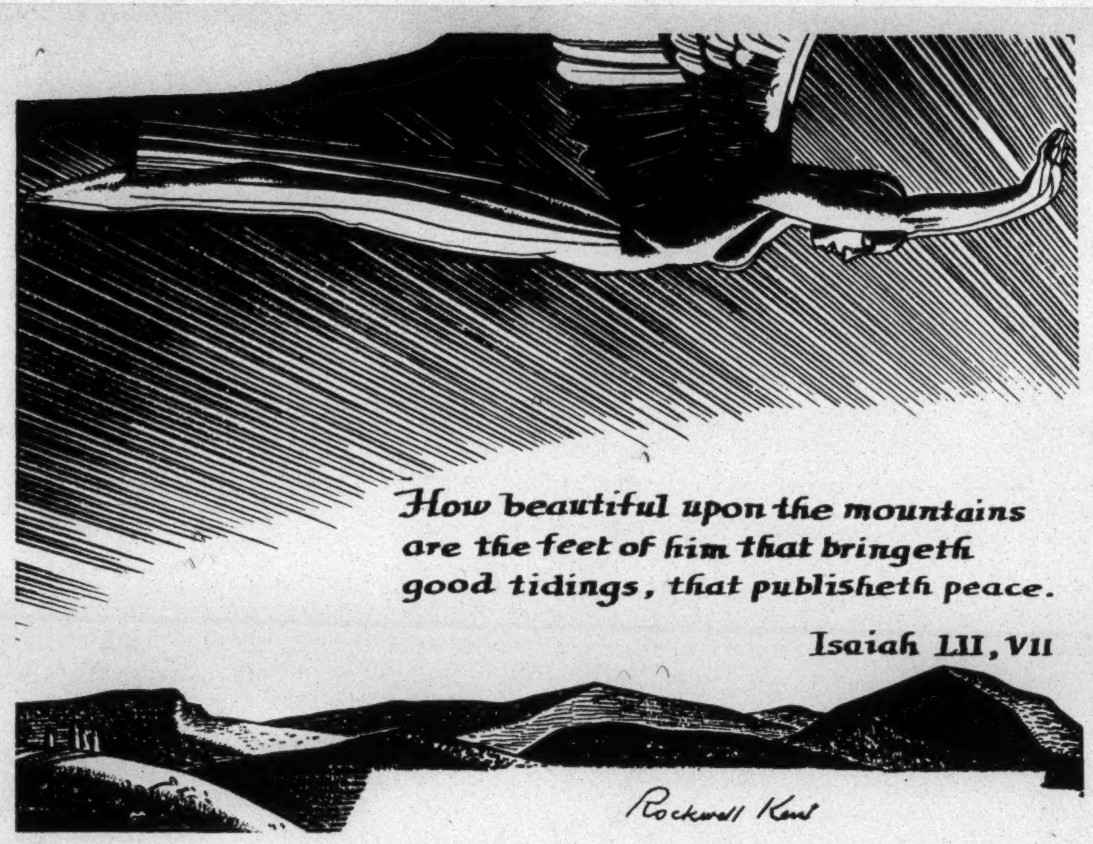
Will educators and diplomats save us?

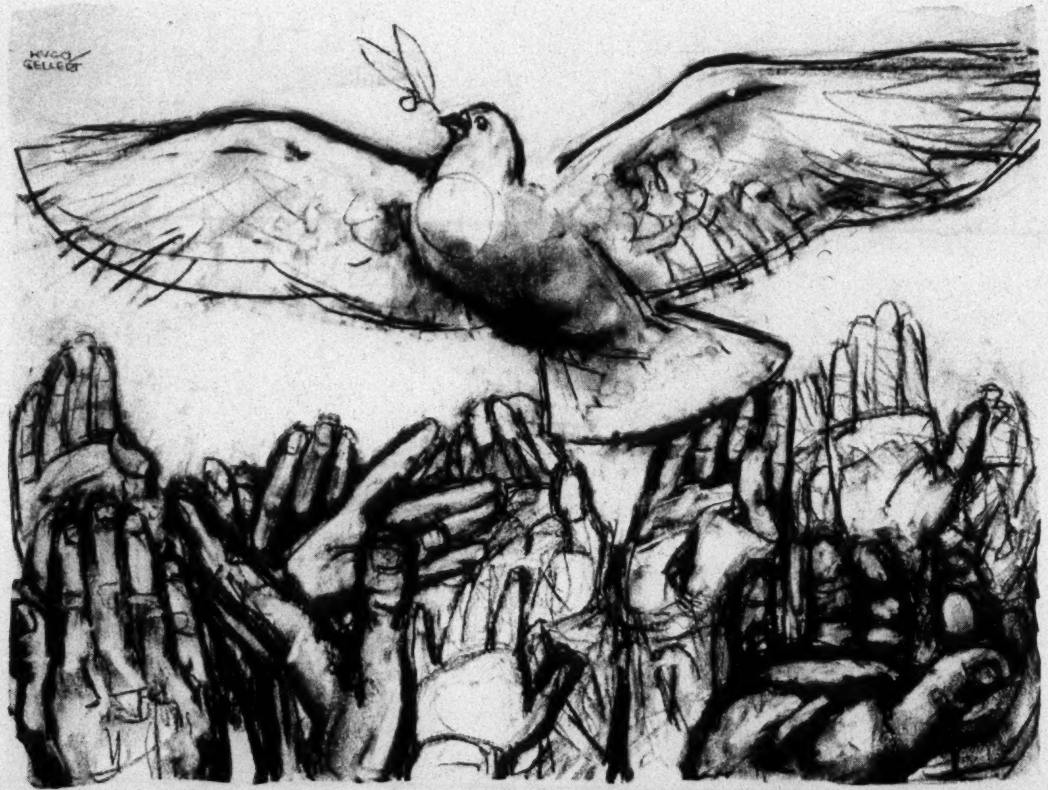
Hosea 4:6. "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge; you reject knowledge. I also reject you, you forget the law of God, I will forget your children." because of race-mixing!

Decision now or national suicide tomorrow!

Retrospectfully yours,




How beautiful upon the mountains
are the feet of him that bringeth
good tidings, that publisheth peace.
Isaiah LII, VII
Rockwell Kent


HUGO
GELLERT

These cards were expecially done for this Committee by some of America's greatest artists to help defray the enormous legal expense contingent upon the Supreme Court hearings and the allied costs. In addition to the cards displayed here, others by equally prominent artists will be included.

I enclose $________ for ________ sets of SEASON GREETING CARDS from the Committee to End Sedition Laws.

Set of Five (5) Cards........ $1.00

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SIX-YEAR RETROGRESSION TOWARD A POLICE-STATE

Civil and Human Rights in the United States of North America, from the Pact of Bogota to the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela

The government of the United States of America joined other American states at Bogota, Colombia, on March 30 to May 2, 1948, in re-affirming an "American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man." This historic document emphasized the "dignity of the individual" and declared that "protection of the rights of man should be the supreme guide of an evolving American law." Among a man's rights, the document said, are "life, liberty, and the security of his person," equality before the law "without distinction as to race," "freedom...of opinion, and of the expression and dissemination of thought," "basic civil rights." The document further declared that these rights included the right "to follow his vocation freely," "to move about freely within...the state of which he is a national," "the right to the nationality to which he is entitled by law," "the right to associate with others to promote, exercise, and protect his legitimate interests of a political, economic, religious, social, cultural, professional, trade union, or other nature," to be "presumed innocent until proved guilty," and "to seek and receive asylum in foreign territory, in case of pursuit not resulting from common law crimes."

How has the government of the United States adhered to this "American Declaration" in the six years since it was solemnly signed?

The documented historic facts of this short period reveal the development of a climate of political opinion which is the exact opposite of the high ideals of the "American Declaration" in the Pact of Bogota. This political climate, referred to generally as McCarthyism, has led to evil laws, repressions, regimentation, political fear and hysteria, denial of jobs and ousting from lifetime professions, restrictions on travel here and abroad, denial of freedom of speech and thought, a heyday for spies and informers, imprisonment for unorthodox political opinion, executions of the innocent.

The United States, in concert with democratic countries in the Americas and in the Eastern Hemisphere, helped to defeat fascism and nazism in World War II and to establish, in the name of Peace and Democracy, the United Nations. The United Nations declares in its charter that it reaffirms faith "in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

The United Nations, furthermore, on December 10, 1948, formally adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document of historic significance for the whole world.

The U. N. Declaration of Human Rights and the American Declaration of the Rights of Man represent in our opinion the highest ethical point reached to date by international diplomacy.

Yet, as we have said, there has been a retreat from this high level within the United States. There has taken place a series of reactionary moves, sponsored by the Government of the United States, which tend to weaken and in fact reverse democratic trends, and to further strengthen the monopolist, pro-fascist forces.

We put before the Conference here at Caracas, Venezuela, many of the facts of this development.

SIX YEARS OF REACTION

I. "Loyalty" Purges.

President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9835, on March 21, 1947, providing for tests of federal employees on the basis of "loyalty." This was on the eve of the Bogota meeting, and he did not withdraw it after the Pact of Bogota was signed. On the contrary he continued to enforce this regulation, obliging hundreds of government employees to resign, or firing them outright, for alleged "disloyalty," on charges made secretly by anonymous informants to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, shortly after his election, re-issued a similar regulation as Executive Order 10450. Hundreds more were dismissed as "security risks," though never told the crimes they were supposed to be guilty of, never given a chance to confront their accusers.

Of the 570 who lost jobs under Truman, and the 1,456 fired in the first four months of the Eisenhower Administration, Dorothy Bailey was one who tried, but without success, to win justice in the courts. Judge Henry White Edgerton of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, who dissented on March 22, 1950, from the opinion of the U. S. Circuit Court affirming her discharge, said the following about her case: /1

> "Without trial by jury, without evidence, and without even being allowed to confront her accusers or to know their identity, a citizen of the United States has been found disloyal to the government of the United States.
>
> "For her supposed disloyal thoughts she has been punished by dismissal from a wholly nonsensitive position in which her efficiency rating was high."

Judge Edgerton noted, too, the ostracism -- social and business -- that is bound to follow such a verdict, even though the discharged person is not, of course, sent to prison. The public, he said, regards "a finding of disloyalty" as "closely skin to a finding of treason."

The evil spread far beyond employment in the federal government. Beginning in California, loyalty oaths began to be required of teachers, and "security" investigations and blacklists and star chamber board-of-education "trials" spread to a score of other states. More than 1,000 persons were fired from school and college jobs in California alone. The Feinberg Law of New York State provided that membership of a teacher in any disapproved organization was prima facie evidence of disqualification for employment in the public schools, and other regulations stated that if a teacher under interrogation refused to answer questions under the right guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment of the U. S. Constitution, he could be fired. /2 As a result, hundreds of teachers have been dismissed from school and college jobs in New York.

"A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking the college campuses in many parts of the country," said the New York Times, May 10, 1951, "limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for free exploration of knowledge and truth."

In the case of Adler et al. v. Board of Education of the City of New York, United States Justice Hugo D. Black, who dissented from a decision affirming the loss of jobs by many teachers, said on March 3, 1952, about the Feinberg law: /3

> "This is another of those rapidly multiplying legislative enactments which make it dangerous -- this time for school teachers -- to think or say anything except what a transient majority happen to approve at the moment. Basically these ideas rest on the belief that government should supervise and limit the flow of ideas into the minds of men. The tendency of such governmental policy is to mould people into a common intellectual pattern. Quite a different governmental policy rests on the belief that government should leave the mind and spirit of man absolutely free. This policy of freedom is in my judgment embodied in the First Amendment and made applicable to the state by the Fourteenth. Because of this policy public officials cannot be constitutionally vested with powers to select the ideas people can think about, censor the public views they can express, or choose the persons or groups people can as-

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/1. Bailey v. Richardson et al., 182 F. 2nd 46.

/2. College teachers, too, even in privately endowed institutions: Dr. Dirk Struik, distinguished mathematician, was suspended from teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology because he espoused Marxist ideas; Dr. Ralph Spitzer, professor of chemistry at the University of Oregon, was "discharged for merely asserting that serious study should be made of the Soviet scientist Lysenko's indictment of the Weissman-Mendelian theory of heredity." For citing the 5th Amendment in resisting a congressional committee's inquisition, Dr. Edwin Berry Burgum, Associate Professor of English at New York University for a quarter-century, was dismissed.

/3. Adler et al v. Board of Education of the City of New York, 342 U. S. 485. Note: At the present time the genuine democratic tradition is officially represented by the judges who dissent from the ruling opinion rather than by that ruling opinion itself. This is why in this document dissenting judicial opinions accompany the unpopular views of social reformers and the protests of minorities.

sociate with. Public officials with such powers are not public servants; they...are public masters."

Said U. S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter of New York's Feinberg Law, which the majority of the Supreme Court upheld: "What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state....This system of spying and surveillance cannot go hand in hand with academic freedom."

The loyalty purge hysteria spread to the movies and the theatre, and close to a thousand of the finest artists in the entertainment field have been blacklisted. Other walks of life are being invaded by the "loyalty" and "security risk" purge persecutions.

II. The Listing of "Subversive" Organizations.

The first list of allegedly subversive organizations was drawn up on December 5, 1947, by Democratic Attorney-General Tom Clark, to furnish a basis for carrying out President Truman's "loyalty" order. Membership of a federal employee in any one of the listed organizations was regarded as sufficient ground for dismissal.

Not only was this list not cancelled in 1948, when the "American Declaration of Rights" was signed, but it was reaffirmed and extended. On May 28, 1948, Clark added 32 more to the original 90 on the list. The organizations thus branded "subversive" included chiefly the Communist Party and progressive and liberal groups, although at first a few openly nazi and fascist organizations were put in to give a balanced effect. Democratic Attorney General J. Howard McGrath added more names in 1950 and 1951. It is significant that the fascist, anti-semitic and anti-Negro organizations, notably the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Bund or their members, have never been prosecuted or interfered with.

On April 29, 1953, Republican Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., issued again the subversive list, and on July 15 added 62 names.

The nature of what is thought "subversive" is apparent from the kind of organizations listed:

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the American Peace Crusade; the United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization; the School of Jewish Studies; the Committee for the Negro in the Arts; the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners; and so on.

The Attorney General explained, when protests were made to him, that the act of publishing the lists was to help inform members that they should disassociate themselves from such proscribed organizations: In other words, the organizations were smeared as "disloyal" and "subversive" and their members blackmailed into withdrawing their support./4.

It is instructive to note how carefully the Government included practically every peace organization as "disloyal"; the American Peace Mobilization, the American Peace Crusade, the American Poles for Peace, the American Women for Peace, and so on. Instructive, too, to note the number of Negro and the number of Jewish organizations so listed: The Committee for the Negro in the Arts, the National Negro Labor Council, the United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization, the George Washington Carver School, the Council on African Affairs; and the Jewish Cultural Society, the American Jewish Labor Council, the School for Jewish Studies. It is interesting indeed to note that when labor and radical leaders are being persecuted in the courts, the very committees formed to defend them are likewise dubbed subversive! Witness this sampling: the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Dennis Defense Committee, the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee, the Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six, the Political Prisoners Welfare Committee, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, the Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee, and even the Families of the Smith Act Victims!

It is also worth noting, in view of the fact that the Pact of Bogota includes a section declaring that every citizen "has the right to take part in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to participate in the benefits that result from intellectual progress" -- it is, we repeat, worth noting that an unusual number of schools are included in the lists of "disloyal" and "subversive"

/4. While the original purpose of the blacklists of organizations was to serve as a device for dismissing supposedly "disloyal" employees, it developed into something even more sinister. When the McCarran Act (See Section V) was passed in 1950, providing for the registration of "Communist Front" organizations, the allegedly "subversive" list was used in selecting the allegedly "Front" groups.

organizations: the Jefferson School of Social Science, the School of Jewish Studies, the George Washington Carver School, the Boston School for Marxist Studies, the California Labor School, the Tom Paine School of Social Science in Philadelphia, the Walt Whitman School of Social Science in Newark, N. J., the Seattle Labor School, the Samuel Adams School of Boston -- and the Chopin Cultural Center of Pittsburgh, the Washington Bookshop Association of New York, and the Yiddischer Kultur Farband.

III. The Taft-Hartley Law

It was on June 23, 1947, that the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Law was passed by Congress over President Harry S. Truman's veto. This law was reaction's reply to the pro-labor Wagner Labor Relations Act, one of the most important social measures of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration.

The Taft-Hartley Law was condemned by every trade union and every responsible trade union leader. Both the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor denounced it.

While President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, he used it to halt strikes after it became law. President Eisenhower pledged to revise the law in labor's favor, but has not carried out his promise.

Main provisions of the Taft-Hartley law are that it illegalizes the closed shop; requires a 60-day cooling-off period before a strike; condemns mass picketing as an "unfair labor practice"; outlaws jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts; bans contributions by unions for political purposes; requires each union official to file a non-communist oath. It also grants the employer the right to use injunctions against the unions, and permits law suits against unions for damages resulting from alleged "unfair labor practices." The law explicitly gives precedence to any state law which happens to be more restrictive than Taft-Hartley itself. It also grants an employer the right to petition for a collective bargaining election, on behalf of a company union he has himself organized.

Observers agree that the Taft-Hartley Law is a sharp threat to organized labor and to working people individually, and that it is a part of the current accelerated anti-democratic drive against the people.

IV. Implementing the Smith Act.

In the very year that the American Declaration of Rights was signed, the United States Government began to implement the Smith Act as a thought-control measure and a means of gradually outlawing left-wing political organizations. The Smith Act was adopted by Congress in 1940 as a war measure, aimed at those who allegedly sought to "overthrow the government by force and violence," or allegedly advocated so doing, or allegedly "conspired" to advocate it. There was an attempt to use it against Nazi saboteurs toward the end of World War II, but the saboteurs were not convicted.

Then the law lay dormant until resurrected in 1948 to use in peacetime, first of all, against the leaders of the Communist Party. Eleven Communists -- Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party; Benjamin J. Davis, a Negro lawyer, twice elected to the New York City Council; Robert G. Thompson, hero of World War II; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker; and seven others -- were convicted for their political views and for nothing else, and have already served two years in prison. Later Smith Act convictions included the publisher, Alexander Trachtenberg; the poet and editor, V. J. Jerome; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and other women leaders; and several labor journalists in Michigan, Pennsylvania, California, and elsewhere.

"At the outset," said Justice Hugo L. Black, in his famous dissent, to the conviction of the eleven Communists in 1948, /5 "I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is, and what it is not. These petitioners were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the Government. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date: The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the Government. No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids."

Since the first Smith Act trial, there have been in all ninety-four indict-

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/5. Dennis et al. v. United States, 342 U. S. 842.

ments of Communists for alleged violations of the Smith Act -- not for doing anything but for supposedly conspiring to advocate certain alleged ideas. These include 33 in New York, 15 in California, 15 in Pennsylvania, 7 in Washington, 7 in Hawaii, 6 in Maryland, 6 in Michigan, and 5 in Missouri.

The real police state aims of these prosecutions and jailings, aside from the autocratic methods used -- the holding without bail, then the setting of exorbitant bail, and the revoking of Civil Rights Congress bail and insistence on new bail from approved sources, the selecting of "blue ribbon" juries, the rulings of judges who appear to have decided their verdicts in advance, the heavy sentences meted out after the convictions have been won -- aside from these undemocratic methods, the real police state aim is seen in the continuing prosecutions which seem designed to silence and indeed crush all political opposition. As early as January 12, 1950, Raymond P. Whearty, Assistant Attorney General, revealed that the Department of Justice plans to arrest and try 21,105 persons. Recently Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has indicated his intention of prosecuting more and more "Communists," and others whom we may class roughly as non-Republicans. /6

"The disfranchisement of a political party," said the New York Times two years ago, when the first trial was on, "is not an easy price for Americans to pay for any sort of internal security." /7 About the same time the St. Louis Post-Dispatch /8 condemned the majority decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which sent the eleven Communists to prison, in an editorial entitled, "Six Men Amend the Constitution." The six justices amended the Constitution, the editorial insisted, by taking away "the right to hold free opinions and to express them without fear of reprisal by those in authority." In upholding the Smith Act convictions of the Communists, continued the Post-Dispatch, the six justices

> "...cite no overt acts of force.
> "They present no record of violence.
> "They find no danger both clear and present through teaching and advocacy alone.
> "Never before has such a restriction been placed on the right to hold opinions and to express them in the United States of America."

The Publishers Weekly had the following to say: /9

> "The Supreme Court decision and the subsequent arrests have set off in a number of media a debate over the wisdom of the Smith Act -- whether it will do more damage to civil liberties than to the Communists."

The New York Post editorialized as follows: /10

> "In affirming the conviction of the Communist leaders a majority of the Supreme Court has upheld the infamous Smith Act. We believe the bold dissenting opinions of Justices Douglas and Black will be reverently remembered long after the tortured phrases of Chief Justice Vinson (and the uneasy, agoned concurrences of Justices Frankfurter and Jackson) have been repudiated and forgotten."

The Smith Act is a threat to more than minority parties. It is a threat, and a serious one, to labor and to national minorities, to any minority whose ideas and principles may be a challenge to the ruling clique. Over 300 union officials have denounced the Smith Act as dangerous to trade unions. The CIO National Convention in 1951 declared that the Supreme Court upholding of the Act was a "grave blow to America's precious heritage of freedom of speech."

V. The McCarran Act and Its Subversive Activities Control Board.

In writing of the McCarran Act, formally known as the Internal Security Act

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/6. "Blue Ribbon" juries are those selected so as to include chiefly well-to-do business and professional men, and few or no working people. "Blue Ribbon" juries seldom include Negroes, or Puerto Ricans, or Mexicans.

/7. New York Times, June 8, 1951.

/8. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, June 5, 1951.

/9. The Publishers Weekly, June 30, 1951.

/10. The New York Post, June 5, 1951.

of 1950, in a recent issue of The Nation, /11 Laurent B. Frantz, a recognized expert on law and jurisprudence, captioned his article, "Tooling Up for Mass Repression." He was referring to the section of the Act which provides for the registration of "Communist Action" and "Communist Front" organizations, under the supervision and subject to the punishment of an extra-judicial Board which nevertheless can exercise broad judicial functions -- the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The Act was passed by Congress on September 23, 1950, over President Harry S. Truman's veto.

The McCarran Act was, says Frantz, "an omnibus measure, produced when the Eighty-first Congress, puzzled by the relative merits of several rival schemes for the curtailment of liberty, resolved the matter by combining them all into one. (The part of the Act which sets up the Board is taken from the Mundt-Nixon Bill which was defeated by popular protest in 1948. Note that one of the authors of that Bill is now Vice-President of the United States.)

The way the McCarran Act works is like this: The offending organization is ordered to register under one or the other of these two classifications, "Communist Action" or "Communist Front," and, when registering, to list officers and sources of funds. If an organization does not register, each officer is subject to a $10,000 fine and ten years in prison. "Communist Action" organizations are defined in the Act as acting under foreign control, and "Communist Front" groups are defined as acting for such a foreign-controlled organization. The real purpose of the law is to outlaw all organizations brought before it, even though it does not set this as the aim. "The registration provisions," says Frantz, "are merely a 'legislative device' for accomplishing one thing while pretending to do another." /12

It is true that each organization is given a "trial," with their own attorneys, witnesses, and so on. But the law and the accusation are already half-equivalent to conviction, and the make-up of the Board, which before Senate approval had to satisfy Senator Pat McCarran (Dem., Utah), is a sure guarantee of conviction. As chairman of the committee which had the job of confirming the President's appointments to the Board, McCarran withheld approval for nearly a year, while the trial of the Communist Party, which refused to register, was going on. Finally those members he disapproved resigned, and McCarran secured a perfect SACB -- one that would find all defendants guilty. The Communist Party was found "guilty."

Charles M. LaFollette, an appointee whom McCarran did not approve and who finally resigned, said the following of Peter Campbell Brown who is now head of the Board:

> "We will have speedier hearings, I am sure, because the panel member, Mr. Brown, whom I have asked to preside from now on, has already evidenced the remarkable capacity to make speedy rulings upon all objections....The fact that they almost uniformly amount to a sustaining of any position taken by the petitioner /the Attorney General/ and a rejection of any position taken by the respondent /the Communist Party/ is purely coincidental, I am sure."

Next to be "tried" before this tribunal, which has all the powers of a court without the disabilities, will be the twelve "Communist Front" organizations cited on April 22, 1953 in Attorney-General Brownell's order to register. Almost all the twelve were previously listed as "subversive," and publicized as "disloyal."

When President Truman vetoed the McCarran Act, he denounced it as "the greatest danger to our freedom of speech, press and assembly since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798....it would put the Government of the U.S. in the thought-control business. (Our emphasis.)

All the 12 alleged "Communist Front" organizations are appealing their cases from the Subversive Activities Control Board to the Courts, and challenging the constitutionality of the McCarran Law.

The Jefferson School of Social Science, one of the twelve accused, says the McCarran law is not a "registration" act but a suppression act. The Jefferson School of Social Science insists: "It is a democratic right of the American people to teach and learn Marxism if they want to."

/11 The Nation, Dec. 12, 1953.

/12 The quoted phrase is from Richard M. Nixon, when he was a senator, explaining the way the Mundt-Nixon bill was intended to work.

The National Lawyers Guild, another of the twelve, points out that the Guild was given no prior notice of the Government's action, and no hearing. It reveals that "the chief law officer of the land has made charges in public speeches, which he is to hear as judge, announcing his sentence in advance."

The Council on African Affairs, also one of the twelve, declares: "The Council on African Affairs is a non-partisan organization; it is not dominated by nor does it owe allegiance to any political party....The single and consistent purpose for which the Council on African Affairs has existed, and which has been the basis determining all its activities, has been to provide accurate information on the conditions and struggles of the peoples of Africa and to promote and support their welfare and efforts toward liberation."

The Civil Rights Congress is another of the twelve cited groups. In 1951 it presented a petition to the United Nations (We Charge Genocide), placing the responsibility for second-class citizenship of Negroes, segregation, and legal and extra-legal lynching squarely at the door of the U. S. Government. The CRC points out that the sole criterion for labelling an organization a "Communist Front" is the accident that its position on any issue coincides with the position of the Communist Party. "That the views expressed have merit and are in the interests of the people is considered immaterial," the CRC says.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was formed as a result of the Spanish Civil War to care for the victims of Franco fascism. It was one of the earliest cited as subversive, and is now listed among the twelve required to register. It seems to us not irrelevant to note that the author of the Act, Senator McCarran, has been decorated by General Francisco Franco, and has supported loans to Franco.

VI. Concentration Camps

Six "detention" camps have been prepared for McCarran Law violators, and if the expected convictions for failure to register as "Communist Action" and "Communist Front" organizations are secured as planned, the six camps will soon be filled with alleged Communists and sympathizers. The scheme was first revealed by the Daily Compass, a New York newspaper, on January 20, 1952 and admitted officially three months later on March 26, in a letter to the Labor Research Association of New York by James V. Bennett, chief of the U. S. prison system.

The camps are at Florence, Arizona; Wickenburg, Arizona; Avon Park, Florida; Allenwood, Pennsylvania; El Reno, Oklahoma; and Tule Lake, California. Provision for the camps was made by Congress in the same McCarran Law whose enforcement is expected to provide the inmates. The camps are intended to be an adjunct of the federal prison system.

All that is needed now is an alleged "emergency" to start a round-up of alleged radicals. By announcing an "internal security emergency," the President, under the McCarran Act, can throw thousands into prisons or concentration camps. He can declare such an "emergency" in case of either (1) invasion of the United States or its possessions; (2) declaration of war by Congress; or (3) insurrection. A widespread strike or even a peace demonstration in a public square might, we can imagine, be styled an "insurrection" if the President wished to silence dissent or discontent.

VII. The Walter-McCarran Law.

Latest of the undemocratic legislative moves of the rulers of America is the Walter-McCarran Alien Registration Law of December 24, 1952. It not only climaxes the Taft-Hartley-Smith-McCarran laws directed at labor and liberal thought, but prepares the way for further steps toward a police state.

The Walter-McCarran law is aimed chiefly at the foreign-born. As Abner Green, head of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign-Born, pointed out in the National Guardian, /13 this law combines the worst features of previous anti-alien laws with new repressions. The propaganda of nationalism and chauvinism which is often mistaken for patriotism tends to excuse cruelties to the foreign-born. It is easy for the newspaper-reading public to suppose that the Bill of Rights was not meant for those who were not born in the country. The American Declaration, however, says that "every human being" has the elementary rights of life, liberty and security, that "all persons" are equal before the law, that "every person" has the right of opinion.

There are 14,000,000 foreign-born persons in the United States, and 3,000,000 of them are non-citizens who must carry Alien Registration cards. Thus the Walter-

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/13. National Guardian, a news weekly, Dec. 11, 1952.

McCarran Law forces the non-citizens to live all their lives in virtual protective custody. In addition, the millions of naturalized citizens live under the constant threat of de-naturalization and renewed alien status.

The Walter-McCarran law also sets up discriminatory, racist barriers against immigrants who seek to enter the U. S. The effect of the law is largely to exclude, on a quota basis, the colored races, and to restrict the entry of the Latin peoples. Immigration from the British West Indies, for example, is "not to exceed 100 persons annually," the law says.

More than 300 non-citizens in the U. S. have been arrested for deportation, many of whom have already been expelled from the country; and 12,000 others, according to public statements, are likely to be next. In addition, and without the formality of court action, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans have been summarily rounded up and deported across the Rio Grande.

In deporting non-citizens (and denaturalized foreign-born citizens) no attention is paid by the Department of Justice to the fact that an alien may have a native-born wife or husband, and native-born children, that deportation of a parent tears the family asunder; and that in many cases a deported liberal or radical may be executed as soon as he reaches the land of his birth. A so-called deportable alien may be denied bail if the Attorney General wishes. Worst of all, the legal privilege to deport aliens is in many cases used as a weapon against labor. The Government particularly pursues Mexicans who have become leaders in the Mine, Mill, amd Smelter Workers Union and the United Packinghouse Workers.

Other cases in point are the efforts being made to deport John Steuben, former CIO organizer and now editor of the labor publication March of Labor; former Michigan state senator Stanley Nowak, noted for his legislative battles on behalf of workers -- minimum wages, more liberal compensation for injured workmen, larger benefits for the unemployed; and Cedric Belfrage, editor of the pro-labor National Guardian.

The American Committee for Protection of the Foreign-Born has compiled case histories of deportation cruelties, and we quote a few:

1) "An editor is to be sent to Greece, where he would be put to death as an anti-fascist.
2) "A 68-year-old grandmother, who has spent a half-century here, is told to get out and start life anew in some foreign land.
3) "The father of nine American-born children -- ranging in age from 2 to 16 -- is to be deported, his children left fatherless and facing starvation."
4) "The father of a dead war hero, who gave his life in defense of the U. S. during World War II, is to be sent away from the land where his young son lies buried."

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas said, in dissenting from a decision which authorized the deportation of Peter Harisiades: "Those guarantees of liberty and livelihood are the essence of the freedom which this country from the beginning has offered the people of all lands. If those rights, great as they are, have constitutional protection, I think the more important one -- the right to remain here -- has a like dignity." [14]

VIII. Martyrization of Negroes through the Administration of "Justice"

No danger sign of fascization is more ominous than the stark cruelty of the executions of Negro defendants, members of a minority national group, in the past few years.

This aspect of the official administration of justice takes place against a background of barbarous jimcrow and segregation which has no parallel in any other civilized country of the Americas, or of Europe or Asia.

As a part of the oppression of the Negro people, and as background for the outrageous "rape" trials and executions in the South, the racist laws in many of the states, including laws prohibiting the intermarriage of whites and Negroes, should be noted. Thirty of the 48 states of the U. S. prohibit such intermarriage by law.

Consider the official killings in this partial list of executions for "rape":

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[14] Harisiades v. Shaughnessy, 342 U. S. 580.

Edward Honeycutt, Louisiana, executed in 1951.
Willie McGee, Mississippi, executed in 1951.
The Matinsville Seven, Virginia, all seven executed in 1951.
Ocie Jugger and Paul Washington, Louisiana, both executed in 1952.
Clyde Brown, North Carolina, executed in 1953.
Raleigh Speller, North Carolina, executed in 1953.

These "rape" trials are fake trials. They are legal lynchings, as has been shown time and again. White men are as a rule not executed for the crime of rape.

In 1952, 91.6% of all executions for rape in the U. S. were of Negro men, though Negroes constitute only 10 per cent of the whole population of the country.

The executions for alleged murder also reveal a grossly unequal judicial system. A few examples only: Milton Harold Wilson, electrocuted in Louisiana in 1951, had been beaten into a confession which he repudiated; he was innocent, but he was put to death. The Daniels Cousins, two South Carolina boys in their teens, were certainly innocent, but they died in the gas chamber last summer. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons were sentenced to death for murder, and only public protest, which won a commutation of sentence, prevented their execution. There was also the attempt to legally lynch the Trenton Six, who were likewise sentenced to death, but saved and eventually freed (except for Collis English, suffering from heart disease, who died during the long months in jail). Wesley Robert Wells, now in San Quentin Prison in California, is even now awaiting execution for throwing a cuspidor at a prison guard.

There were more executions of Negroes for murder in 1952 than of whites, though the Negro people are but a tenth of the total population.

Killings of Negroes by white police are almost always recorded as "justifiable homicide," regardless of the circumstances. Here are a few wxamples: Roy Cyril Brooks of Louisiana, a worker, shot dead by a patrolman in 1948 for no cause at all; John Derrick of New York, a veteran, shot dead by a policeman in 1950, for no ascertainable reason; John Lester Mitchell of Louisiana, shot dead by a sheriff after he tried to register for the election in 1951; Samuel Shepherd of Florida, a handcuffed prisoner in a sheriff's custody, shot dead by the sheriff in cold blood after the Supreme Court had ordered that he be given a new trial.

The most shocking bomb-lynching of recent years was the dynamite-murder of Harry T. Moore and his wife Harriet in Florida on Christmas eve, 1951. No one has been punished or even indicted for that crime.

We submit that the facts here given are not consistent with the American Declaration, which insists on equal rights and equal justice for all regardless of race or nationality.

IX. Oppression of Mexicans and United States Citizens of Mexican Descent.

The special oppression of Mexicans and their descendants in the United States was dramatically high-lighted last summer with the deportation of the Mexican movie actress, Rosaura Revueltas, who was a part of the cast of Salt of the Earth, an independently produced film, using as actors chiefly working men and women of Mexican descent. The film describes many of the oppressive conditions under which such workers are obliged to labor in the Southwest.

Besides deporting the movie's star actress -- a most discourteous and ungenerous governmental act toward an artist of a sister nation -- mobs were permitted to burn down the union hall, and Clinton Jencks, an official of International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, was indicted for allegedly swearing falsely under the Taft-Hartley Act that he is not a Communist, and sentenced to five years. The appeal on his case is still pending.

The basis of the oppression of Mexican workers is their use by United States corporations and plantation-farmers as cheap labor. They are actually invited across the Rio Grande with promises of "high" wages, then kept in segregated living quarters and wretchedly underpaid while they toil. At the end of the season, when they are no longer needed, they are deported -- and not infrequently United States-born citizens of Mexican descent are deported along with Mexican nationals.

In the past there has been some kind of international agreement between the governments of the United States and Mexico on the employment of Mexican nationals in the United States, but an attempt to negotiate a new agreement failed last summer. The United States has simply gone ahead to handle such employment matters unilaterally, without treaty arrangements.

To keep the Mexican workers as a source of cheap labor, slanders are spread about their criminality, and the police, in practice, are virtually licensed to arrest and even kill them at the slightest provocation.

Carey McWilliams tells in his book, North from Mexico (1949), of the police brutality used in California to keep Mexicans and United States citizens of Mexican descent in a state of social suppression. Councilman Eddie Roybal of Los Angeles, an elected official descended from Mexican settlers, charged in 1950 that there were 50 cases of police brutality in three months time.

In Texas a newspaperman, Hart Stillwell, declared in 1946 that if an Anglo-American had in the previous 25 years served a single day in prison for killing a Mexican, he "had not heard of it."

The case of the police killing of Arthur and Edward Vega, who were shot and killed in 1952 in Texas merely for an alleged misdemeanor, emphasizes the police attitude toward all persons of Mexican descent, whether United States citizens or not. The two men were returned war veterans, and, as it happens, were brothers of the chairman of the local "G. I. Forum."

Among the literally hundreds of thousands deported to Mexico from the United States in recent years, many are Mexicans who have lived in this country for years and have United States-born children. Their crime? They fought for equal rights for Mexicans through the trade unions they joined.

Among them may be listed the following: Refugio Ramon Martinez, member of the United Packinghouse Workers, in the United States since 1924, had two American-born children, was deported in 1953, suffered a heart attack on the train, and died shortly after reaching Mexico. Genero Carcia, finally won bail, committed suicide while deportation order was being fought.

Many U. S. army veterans of Mexican descent came home after fighting in Korea to find parents or other relatives deported to Mexico. One such soldier wrote from the front lines in Korea begging that he be not deported when he got back to the States!

The treatment of Mexicans and their descendants violates the U. S. Constitution, the American Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, as well as common humanity.

V. Oppression of the Puerto Rican Minority in New York City

The Puerto Ricans, like the Mexicans, are Spanish-speaking, but their sufferings as immigrants to the United States are complicated by the fact that they are United States "citizens." The country they come from is not an independent nation, and not a colony either, but, as alleged, has since July 25, 1952, been a "self-governing" "commonwealth."

We shall not now take up this somewhat academic question, which has recently been discussed before the United Nations Trusteeship Council, /15 except to point out that the presence of a large population of Puerto Ricans in New York City is due to the existence of very bad social and economic conditions in the "self-governing" United-States ruled island of Puerto Rico. There are more than 405,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City at this time. This is only a little less than one-fifth of Puerto Rico's total population.

In Puerto Rico itself we may observe that United States sugar corporations own or control 51.4% of the farm land; that Puerto Rico's peasants are almost completely landless; that the working people there spend more than half of their income (50.8%) for food alone; that 57% of Puerto Rican families receive less than $300 annually; and that 19.1% of the labor force is officially admitted (as of January, 1952) to be unemployed. /16

/15 The New York Times, Dec. 12, 1953 (p. 14, Col. 1).

/16 For confirmation, see the following: Julius William Pratt, America's Colonial Experiment, 1950; United States report on Puerto Rico to United Nations Trusteeship Council in 1948; Facts for Businessmen, a mimeographed brochure issued April 29, 1946, by the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company; the Puerto Rico Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment and Unemployment in Puerto Rico," Quarterly Report, January, 1952.

These Puerto Ricans now residing in New York migrated here to better their conditions. Most of them arrived here (or were born) after 1940. In New York, however, they are discriminated against in living conditions and in the schools, discriminated against in employment and in city services, and brutalized by the police.

They are openly insulted in the press. Albert Q. Maisel in Look magazine, October 25, 1951, describes the Puerto Ricans as arriving "begging to our doorstep"; Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer in U. S. A. Confidential (1952) vilify the Puerto Ricans as "the most vicious element in New York life." Even the innocent children are portrayed in Board of Education reports as full of "restlessness, shyness, tantrums, and behaviour characteristics" and for that reason a school "problem."

Insult is followed by injury. Rent-gouging and overcrowding are engaged in by landlords to make extra profit, without hindrance from the housing authorities. Rev. George W. Webber, a church minister in East Harlem, New York City, reported in 1952 that "4,000 persons were found living in one block and twenty-seven in four cellar bins." El Diario de Nueva York reported on Jan. 30, 1952, that 106 Puerto Rican tenants paid a landlord a total of $53,686 or $506 each, and the New York Times reported on July 1, 1952, that 99 Puerto Rican tenants paid a total of $60,952 or $544 each.

The apartments thus rented are in general rat-infested, vermin-ridden and in need of repair, and in addition are fire traps. In the single month of June, 1952, as shown by incomplete newspaper files, five fires resulted in one Puerto Rican death, six Puerto Ricans poisoned by smoke, and 180 Puerto Rican families left homeless. In August, 1953, a survey in which questionnaires were filled out by 1,000 families showed that 788 families lack adequate heating, 728 have defective wiring, 626 have defective plumbing. Of the 1,000, as many as 725 had filed complaints with the Housing Authority, but with no results.

Killings of Puerto Ricans by New York police have been numerous, as indicated by the following partial list:

Sergio Rodriguez, killed in Lower Harlem, Fall, 1950;
Cesar Flores, 25, killed in the Bronx, Dec. 17, 1952;
Jose Rafael Ramirez, killed in the Bronx, 1952;
King Gonzales, 16, killed in the Bronx, 1952;
Mario Lopez, killed at Suffolk Street, New York, Spring, 1953.

Police beatings of Puerto Ricans are a daily occurrence. Notorious was the beating of Rafael Perez and Jesus Donato, who were assaulted by police in August, 1952, when Donato, 19, tried to call an ambulance for his sister who was about to give birth. Rafael Bonet was beaten up on the East Side during the same month. Mrs. Rosa Viruet, mother of 8 children, at 307 West 48 Street, was beaten by several policemen in 1952. Others beaten up by police were Rafael Sanchez, 16; Herman Ramirez, 22; Victor Hernandez; Pedro Montvalvo; and Eduardo Moreiga.

XI. Denial of Passports to American Citizens

The year 1950 saw the arbitrary denial of passports to United States citizens who wished to travel abroad. In each instance the victim was one whose visits were not in all respects agreeable to the State Department. Corliss Lamont, lecturer and writer and member of the faculty of Columbia University, applied for a passport in 1951 for travel in Europe, and was denied one. He was Progressive Party candidate for Senator in 1952 and has for years been an advocate of American-Soviet friendship.

Paul Robeson, internationally famous singer and actor, was denied a passport to travel to Europe on August 4, 1950. The State Department announced on that date that Mr. Robeson's passport was canceled, and that all U. S. border officials had been instructed to detain him should he attempt to leave the country. At that time Mr. Robeson had concert engagements in England, Italy, France, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of Europe, and also in Israel and India. The U. S. District Court upheld the violation of Mr. Robeson's rights by claiming it had "no jurisdiction." Thus far there has been no Supreme Court action on the case.

At the time of the last Olympic games, in the late summer of 1952, Lester Rodney, sports reporter of the Daily Worker, applied for a passport to attend the games and report them for his paper. His request was denied as being "contrary to the interest of the United States," as Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, chief of the State Department Passport Division, stated in a telegram.

Early last year, according to the New York Times, the Rev. John W. Darr, Jr., Congregational clergyman, had his passport taken away by U. S. authorities when he returned after attending a meeting of the World Peace Council in Berlin.

These are only four examples. Among others who have been denied passports, or had them revoked, are the following: John E. Fairbanks, Yale University Professor of History; Mrs. Charlotta Bass, candidate of the Progressive Party for vice-president in the last national elections; Howard Fast, novelist; Albert Kahn, writer; Rev. Richard Morford, peace leader. When William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress , returned from Europe in 1951, after presenting the petition, We Charge Genocide, to the Paris meeting of the U. N. General Assembly, the State Department lifted his passport.

The State Department admits denying "at least 95 requests for passports in eleven months through May, 1952, and recalling an equal number." /17 It also announced that it was "hunting for 251 American citizens then traveling abroad," because they were attending peace conferences abroad, such as the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions in Peking.

This denial of passports to persons who have committed no offense whatsoever, and against whom no court proceeding is attempted, is a violation of both the U. S. Constitution and the Declaration of Rights. /18

It is worth noting that along with the denial of passports to American citizens has gone the refusal of visas to prominent persons from other countries who wished to come to the U.S. A visa request from Louis Dolivet, former editor of the United Nations World and a French citizen, who wished to go to Paris to attend his son's funeral and then return to the U.S., was refused. /19 Dr. Ernest B. Chain, British citizen, Nobel prize-winner and co-discoverer of penicillin, was refused a visa to come here to attend the World Health Organization, of whose antibiotic committee he was chairman.

When the International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry opened in New York in September, 1951, a dozen of the world's leading scientists were absent because they were not granted visas by the U. S. government. One of them was Professor L. Ruzicka, a distinguished Swiss chemist and winner of a Nobel award. Dr. J. D. Bernal, noted British crystallographer, was denied a visa in 1952. More recent world congresses in the fields of art and science have had to take into account this current State Department practice, and in order to have full representation they tend to schedule their meetings in some other country.

XII. Perjury Frame-Ups

A special feature of the growing anti-democratic repressions in the United States has been the harassment and persecution of liberals under the charge that they are also Communists. The imprisonment of Communists for their opinions under the Smith Act is supplemented by the imprisonment of non--Communists for their opinions -- using the device of charging them with perjury.

Carl Marzani was a soldier assigned to the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, and he rendered high services to his country -- but after the war he produced a motion picture for the United Electrical Workers Union which criticized Wall Street and the State Department. As a result, on the basis of perjured testimony, he was charged with concealing former membership in the Communist Party, i.e., with making a false statement. Marzani went to prison in 1947 and served three years.

Alger Hiss, a man who rose high in the government and rendered great services to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and to the nation, was charged and imprisoned for denying that he had transmitted secret information to Whittaker Chambers, who was the witness against him, and for denying that he had seen Chambers after January 1, 1937. The Hiss case attracted attention abroad, where it is widely believed that he is innocent. But Hiss, convicted in 1949, is in prison at this moment.

In Britain, the Earl Jowitt of Stevenage, who some three years ago was Lord Chancellor of England, wrote an extensive study under the title, The Strange Case of Alger Hiss, and concludes that Hiss's guilt was not proven.

/17 The New York Times, July 19, 1952.

/18 The American Declaration of Rights, besides guaranteeing freedom of speech and opinion, also declares the "right to the protection of his moral and material interests as regards...artistic works"(Article XIII); the right "to follow his vocation freely." (Article XIV)

/19 The Daily Compass, Sept. 22, 1952.

William W. Remington, a former official of the U. S. Commerce Department, was likewise charged and imprisoned for denying that he had delivered information to a self-proclaimed "Soviet spy," and Elizabeth Bentley, and denying that he knew of the existence of a Young Communist League at Dartmouth College when he was a student there 20 years before. Remington's conviction was upheld last summer. Miss Bentley's unsupported word has been the chief basis for charges of "espionage" against former officials of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

When the U. S. Supreme Court denied a review of the Remington case, Justice Hugo Black was so outraged that he broke a court precedent by putting on record a statement of dissent (written dissent is not customary when certiorari, i.e., court review, is denied): /20

> "Government conduct here charged," he declared, "is abhorrent to a fair administration of justice....For this reason I have felt constrained to...give reasoms for my vote to grant certiorari in this case."

As pointed out by Black, the foreman, Brunini, of the grand jury which indicted Remington was a literary collaborator of Elizabeth Bentley, the witness against him; and the government prosecutor, who knew this, concealed it from the defense attorney. But Remington is still in prison for perjury.

These three notorious cases could be amplified by others, such as that of Professor Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University, who has been indicted but not yet tried, as a result of testimony by the professional ex-Communist, Louis F. Budenz, whose word has on other occasions been found to have little acquaintance with the truth. The offense of perjury is used as a device to secure conviction of liberals against whom there is no real evidence, and the charge is "proved" by the testimony of paid witnesses -- witnesses who are employees of the Department of Justice, and who in sober truth are themselves the real perjurers.

Thus a reactionary Administration rids itself of liberal political opponents, and, more important, it smears the opposing political party with implications of treason. The McCarthyite politicians in power are revenging themselves on Franklin Delano Roosevelt and trying to make it difficult for a similarly progressive regime to get back into office.

XIII. The Persecution of Lawyers for the Defense

A special device of repression has been developed to put attorneys who defend Communists and other progressives into prison: contempt of court.

The old United States Constitution viewpoint was that an accused person was entitled "to have the assistance of counsel for his defense," /21 but the new scheme is to jail the lawyers as well as the defendants, and exclude those lawyers from further legal right to practice their profession. /22

Harry Sacher, Abraham J. Isserman, Richard Gladstein, George W. Crockett, Jr., and Louis McCabe, the five lawyers who defended the eleven Communists in the Smith Act trial of 1948-49, were sentenced by Judge Harold R. Medina to jail for from one to six months. The sentences were affirmed by the U. S. Supreme Court, and on top of that, two of the lawyers were disbarred from the practice of law: Sacher from the Federal Courts for life, and Isserman from all courts for life. (The threat of disbarment hangs over the heads of other lawyers, too. Emanuel Bloch, who defended the Rosenbergs, was threatened with disbarment until a heart attack ended his life.)

Justices Hugo L. Black, Felix Frankfurter and William O. Douglas differed from the other Supreme Court Justices on affirming the Medina-imposed contempt of court charge against the five lawyers. /23

Said Mr. Justice Frankfurter:

> "The judge acted as the prosecuting witness: he thought of himself as

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/20 Remington v. United States, 343 U. S. Court 907. Cert. denied. Justice William O. Douglas concurred in the above dissent by Justice Black.

/21 U. S. Constitution, Article VI, Amendments.

/22 American Declaration, Article XIV.

/23 Sacher et al. v. United States, 343 U. S. 1.

> such. His self-concern pervades the record; it could not humanly have been excluded from his judgment of contempt."

Said Mr. Justice Douglas:

> "...one who reads this record will have difficulty in determing whether members of the bar conspired to drive a judge from the bench or whether the judge used the authority of the bench to whipsaw the lawyers, to taunt and tempt them, and to create for himself the role of the persecuted."

Said Mr. Justice Black:

> "I cannot reconcile this summary blasting of legal careers with a fair system of justice. Such a procedure constitutes an overhanging menace to the security of every courtroom advocate in America."

In an article in the New York Times Magazine, /24 entitled "The Black Silence of Fear," Justice Douglas wrote:

> "Fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar. Those accused of illegal Communist activity -- all presumed innocent, of course, until found guilty -- have difficulty getting reputable lawyers to defend them....This is a dark tragedy."

The St. Louis American, /25 a prominent Negro newspaper, had the following significant comment to make on the jailing and disbarring of the five lawyers:

> "Today...every American lawyer is under this nationwide bludgeon, this powerful dare against representing a red or a fifth cousin of a red....
> "The next step will be to dare and cow all lawyers who would prosecute to its end American jimcrow, who would defend Americans from segregation insults and from white supremacist injustice."

XIV. The Execution of the Rosenbergs

When Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed on June 19, 1953, and Morton Sobell was put into prison for 30 years, for alleged conspiracy to betray atomic secrets to a foreign power, the United States Government took its most downward step to date. The whole world was shocked and saddened by the outrage.

The carrying out of the sentence of death against these two youthful parents of young children on the flimsy evidence against them was protested by millions throughout the world, and by the best and noblest men and women.

The Vatican twice interceded with the United States Government, asking clemency, and in the final week before the execution French Cardinal Maurice Feltin and his fellow Cardinals added their pleas -- in vain.

The Rosenbergs were never given a Supreme Court review, as Justice Hugo Black pointed out, despite official declarations to the contrary. Justice William O. Douglas, who granted a last minute stay which in unprecedented fashion was overruled by the Court majority at the request of the Administration, said there were serious doubts whether justice had been done. The execution date was advanced by the Department of Justice in its impatience to hasten the death of these two people.

The Rosenbergs were the first in the history of the United States to get the death penalty in peacetime for espionage. Other accused persons who were admitted spies and traitors received sentences of a few years in prison. The Rosenbergs steadfastly maintained their innocence to the end.

The Columbia Law Review, February, 1954, declares in a careful study that the Rosenbergs did not get full legal consideration in the final stage of their case. The article calls the Rosenberg case "the outstanding political trial of this generation."

/24 New York Times Magazine, Jan. 13, 1952.

/25 The St. Louis American, Aug. 20, 1951.

THE RISE OF McCARTHYISM

The name that has been given to the political reaction now dominant in the United States is "McCarthyism," named after Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (Republican, Wisconsin).

Senator McCarthy has for the sake of political advancement seized upon the device of "investigating" and charging un-Americanism. McCarthy is chairman of a permanent Senate sub-committee whose purpose originally was to look into government expenditures, and he used it as a committee to investigate alleged disloyalty, subversion, communism. For him, the investigating business was an opportunity for political gambling and self-glorification.

McCarthy and his followers and collaborators, including Senator William E. Jenner (Republican, Indiana), chairman of a Senate sub-committee to investigate the administration of the Internal Security Act, and Representative Harold H. Velde (Republican, Illinois), chairman of the old House Un-American Activities Committee, have together a whole phalanx of such congressional "investigative" committees which have stirred up an extreme spy and witch-hunt hysteria. These committees have overstepped their powers. They are prosecuting dissenters, and sending them to prison.

Referring to the inquisitions carried on by these bodies, Dr. Albert Einstein said in 1953:

> "The problem with which the intellectuals of this country are faced is very serious. The reactionary politicians have managed to instil suspicion of all intellectual efforts into the public by dangling before their eyes a danger from without. Having succeeded so far, they are now proceeding to suppress the freedom of teaching and to deprive of their positions those who do not prove submissive, i.e., to starve them."

It is these inquisitorial congressional committees, coming as an aftermath of the loyalty purges, the blacklists, and the Smith, Taft-Hartley, McCarran and Walter-McCarran laws, that have brought about what Justice William O. Douglas calls "The Black Silence of Fear." /26

In my opinion, said Judge Henry White Edgerton of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals (D.C.), in dissenting in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (Dr. Edward K. Barsky and others), /27 "the House Committee's investigation abridges freedom of speech and inflicts punishment without trial."

The same could be said of all the Congressional inquisitorial bodies, in both Senate and House.

The rise of McCarthyism has been accompanied by a campaign for informers. "The Committee," wrote Alan Barth of the Washington Post, in his book, The Loyalty of Free Men, "has elevated him /the informer/ to the status of a national hero and transformed his role into a profession." Thus we now have a special class of paid informers -- Elizabeth Bentley, Herbert Philbrick, Whittaker Chambers, Louis Budenz, Benjamin Gitlow, Matt Cvetic, and others -- who are called in by the Government to testify whenever evidence is needed to convict of perjury or conspiracy a political dissident.

Along with the hysteria and the informers we have the bookburners, hot and cold. Newspaper readers were startled last year at the admission that overseas library agencies of the State Department had actually burned about a dozen books by authors who had been blacklisted by the McCarthy Committee. /28 But the "cold burnings" have been far greater. Several hundred books by more 40 authors, said the New York Times last year, /29 had been removed from the shelves of U. S. libraries abroad in response to at least six confidential State Department directives between February 19 and June 21, 1953. Among the blacklisted authors were Corliss Lamont, Albert Einstein, Walter White, Dashiell Hammett, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Louis Adamic, Howard Fast, Geoffrey Chaucer (edition of The Canterbury Tales illustrated by Rockwell Kent), Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Albert Maltz,

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/26. New York Times Magazine, January 13, 1952.

/27. Barsky et al v. United States, 167 F. 2nd 241.

/28. New York Times, July 9, 1953.

/29. New York Times, June 22, 1953.

Sigmund Freud, Lillian Hellman, Langston Hughes, Ernest Hemingway, Alfred Kreymborg, Thomas Mann, Harvey O'Connor, Upton Sinclair, Lillian Smith, Mark Twain (A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court), Louis Untermeyer, Mark Van Doren, Ethel Waters, Gene Weltfish, Dorothy Parker, John Reed, and, of course, many others.

The blacklisting of books has been accompanied by censorship in Hollywood. The gamut of cultural strait-jacketing has gotten well under way.

Said Senator McCarthy, speaking of Dr. Doxey Wilkerson's Special Problems of Negro Education in one of his committee book-and-spy-hunt inquisitions: "Frankly, I don't care what they do with this book. They can burn it if they want to."

Contrast with Senator McCarthy's attitude the sane, courageous statement by the American Library Association and American Book Publishers' Council, June, 1953:

> "The freedom to read is essential to our democracy. It is under attack. Private groups and public authorities in various parts of the country are working to remove books from sale, to censor textbooks, to label 'controversial' books, to distribute lists of 'objectionable' books or authors, and to purge libraries....
> "We believe that free communication is essential to the preservation of a free society and a creative culture. We believe that these pressures toward conformity present the danger of limiting the range and variety of inquiry and expression on which our democracy and our culture depend. We believe that every American community must jealously guard the freedom to publish and to circulate, in order to preserve its own freedom to read."
> "We believe that publishers and librarians have a profound responsibility to give validity to that freedom to read by making it possible for the reading public to choose freely from a variety of offerings."

Hitler held his great book-burning on May 10, 1933. McCarthyism seeks to hurry us backward toward a repetition of that terrible time.

The burning of books and the defaming of the dead -- these are natural activities for McCarthyism. Franklin D. Roosevelt, loved by all the world, is the special target of the McCarthyites. This is why they shout so insanely about "Twenty Years of Treason" (the title of a series of talks at Lincoln Day dinners in February, 1954, in which Senator McCarthy attacked the Roosevelt and Truman administrations).

This is how they can take such ghoulish pleasure in attacking the reputation of Harry Dexter White, who is in his grave and cannot reply. As a matter of fact, White, a high U. S. Treasury official, had been accused of "unreliability" in 1947, and the charges were investigated and found insufficient for the indictment. The revival after White's death of the baseless charges against him, and the new unsupported accusation that White was a Soviet spy, have an old Hitler smell.

It is in support of the "Twenty Years of Treason" slander that Attorney General Brownell and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover can openly assault the reputation of ex-president Harry S. Truman, virtually charging him with assisting spies and traitors.

Under the dominance of McCarthyism, assaults on racial minorities intensify. Resistance to demands by the Negro people for equal citizenship is crystallizing into such political deals as bi-partisan support for states' rights and the notorious movement led by Senator John W. Bricker (Republican, Ohio) to block any effort to secure American ratification of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the Genocide Convention. Evidently Senator Bricker also fears United States adherence to the American declaration. /30

Anti-Semitism is sharpening, as indicated by the fact that the vast majority of teachers fired under McCarthyite pressure have been Jews, and most of the allegedly "disloyal" federal employees smeared by the investigating committees have been Jews.

/30 The U. S. News and World Report, Jan. 22, 1954, frankly confesses on page 37 that Bricker's bi-partisan group fears American ratification of the Genocide Convention and the proposed Covenant on Human Rights.

The oppression of Mexicans in the Southwest (discussed above), the ill-treatment of Puerto Ricans in New York and elsewhere -- these are symptoms of McCarthyite reaction.

Topping off the whole McCarthyite "mess" is the building up of a monopoly-backed machine headed by Senator McCarthy. Current news articles have shown that reactionary oil-millionaires in Texas and racist politicians North and South are supporting McCarthy and pushing his fascist-like program.

Implicit in the McCarthyite movement, we must remember, is the threat of a new world war. The attempted suppression of liberal and peace opinion is designed to prepare the home front -- just as increased big business domination of the western hemisphere is to prepare the rear -- for a third world conflict.

In the light of these facts, the demand by President Dwight D. Eisenhower for a law removing the citizenship of "convicted Communists" indicates the road toward fascism is to be followed further. The President does not consider as at all important the fact that the U. S. Constitution specifically states that all persons born in the U. S. are citizens; nor that the American Declaration insists on the individual's right to his nationality.

More degrading to labor and to liberty than the Taft-Hartley law is the new anti-labor Butler Bill, introduced by Senator John M. Butler of Maryland, whose election in 1950 was masterminded by Senator McCarthy himself. Butler's proposed law, which is backed by the National Association of Manufacturers, would put trade unions out of business, according to President George Meany of the A. F. of L. The bill provides that if an employer charges that a union is "Communist-dominated," the union's collective bargaining rights can be suspended and it can be denied a place on election ballots.

Similar to the Butler Bill is the Goldwater-Rhodes Bill, which also is before Congress for action.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has his proposals for Congress to act on too. He advocates a law to legalize wire-tapping, and another designed to remove the protection of the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination. /31

The U. S. Post Office Department, meanwhile, is harassing progressive publications and threatening to deprive them of mailing privileges granted to other publications.

Freedom is beset on all sides.

The people of the United States are concerned, too, at the threat of new undeclared wars. If one president can start a "police action" in Asia, what is to hinder another president from starting a "police action" in some country of the Western hemisphere?

THE PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE MOUNTS

The people of the United States have fought back against McCarthyism from the very first, and as more and more levels become awakened to what is happening, their protest and anger are rising.

Only the other day (February 21) in Albany, N. Y., the workers of Geneeal Electric booed and jeered Senator McCarthy as he tried to extend his spy-hunt among the workers of the General Electric Corporation. A Negro hand welder, Arthur L. Owens, a worker in the steam turbine generator department, told McCarthy, in the public hearing:

> "Go down South and subpoena Governor Byrnes and Governor Talmadge. Yes, subpoena those enemies of my people, of America. Why don't you investigate subversion by GE, of the jimcrow system, of the profits taken from the sweat of my people? You fascist bum, why don't you investigate that!"

The Senator fumed, but the crowd applauded. This was one place where the people had lost their fear of the spy-hunting Senator. /32

Every defendant in the political trials that have taken place has put up a courageous defense: the Communist defendants, Eugene Dennis and his fellows, car-

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/31 I. F. Stone's Weekly, July 18, 1953.

/32 New York Daily Worker, Feb. 22, 1954.

ried their case to the Supreme Court. So did the victims of the loyalty purges, in the person of Dorothy Bailey, and so didDr. Edward K. Barsky of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the Hollywood Ten, and the liberals, Alger Hiss and William W. Remington, and labor leaders like Harry Bridges.

Today the liberals, Corliss Lamont and Harvey O'Connor, and labor leaders like Ben Gold, President of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, Julius Emspak, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio, anl Machine Workers, and Hugh Bryson, President of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union, are similarly fighting back in the courts, and the support of the public is growing.

As the American Library Association said (June 25, 1953), in direct reply to the bookburners:

> "It is in the public interest for publishers and librarians to make available the widest diversity of views and expressions, including those which are unorthodox or unpopular with the majority. Creative thought is by definition new, and what is new is different. The bearer of every new idea is a rebel until his idea is refined and tested. (Emphasis ours)

The General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the United States issued to its members a warning against the weakening of civil and human rights that threatened in this country. Said the Presbyterian Letter:

> "Under the plea that the structure of American societyis in imminent peril of being shattered by a satanic conspiracy, dangerous developments are taking place today in our national life. Favored by an atmosphere of intense disquiet and suspicion, a subtle but potent assault upon basic human rights is now in progress. Some Congressional inquiries have revealed a distinct tendency to become inquisitions. These inquisitions, which find their historic pattern in medieval Spain and in the tribunals of modern totalitarian states, begin to constitute a threat to freedom of thought in this country.
> "Treason and dissent are being confused. The shrine of conscience and private judgment, which God alone has a right to enter, is being invaded. Un-American attitudes toward ideas and books are becoming current. Attacks are being made upon citizens of integrity and social passion which are utterly alien to our democratic tradition....
> "As a result of this there is growing up over against communism a fanatical negativism. Totally devoid of a constructive program of action, this negativism is in danger of leading the American mind into a spiritual vacuum. Our national house, cleansed of one demon, would invite by its very emptiness, the entrance of seven others. In the case of a national crisis this emptiness could, in the high-sounding name of security, be occupied with ease by a fascist tyranny."

Similarly the American Jewish Congress at its national convention last November /33 deplored the growing use of violence against members of national minorities. Dr. David W. Petegorsky, executive director of the Congress, said:

> "The use of violence against members of various racial and religious groups has assumed serious proportions....Bombings and other forms of violence have been employed both to vent racial and religious hatreds and to intimidate groups that have been most vigorous in demanding equality of rights for all Americans."
> "This resort to terror is one of the most dangerous phenomena to emerge on the American scene."

J. R. Wiggins, vice president and managing editor of the Washington Post, in an address at the same convention on "Freedom of the Press," said the secret proceedings of Congressional investigating committees were "A standing and growing threat to freedom of the press and the people's right to know about their government." Out of 659 meetings, he said, 217 were closed to the public.

Liberal organizations throughout the country have independently taken a position against the products of McCarthyism. Americans for Democratic Action, which usually supports the more liberal leaders of the Democratic Party, declared: "We oppose the Smith Act because it proposes to prosecute people for what they think or say rather than what they do."

The American Civil Liberties Union, an anti-Communist legal defense group, stated, after the Supreme Court had upheld the conviction of the Eleven Commun-

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/33 Held in New York, Nov. 9, 1953.

ists in 1951:

> "The Union is convinced that the decision which upholds the Smith Act and affirms the conviction of the Communist leaders threatens the fundamental liberties of all of us in several unconstitutional ways....The ACLU will seek an overruling of the June 4 decision. ...in further Smith Act cases when they reach the Supreme Court."

Writing of the demand made by the Department of Justice that twelve reform groups -- the Civil Rights Congress, the Council on African Affairs, and so on -- register as "Communist Fronts," a Protestant magazine, The Churchman, /34 had this to say:

> "The extension of the McCarran Act to these twelve organizations is a challenge not merely directed at communists and communist-sympathizers; it is also directed at humanitarian and Christian social advocacy....
> "No liberal or humanitarian organization, no church, or Protestant publication, can consider itself immune from the possible application of this dangerous anti-American device."

Luther H. Evans, formerly librarian of Congress (1945-1953) and now director-general of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, wrote the following: /35

> "It is not a theoretical danger, this danger against which I am speaking. It is a real danger and it has caused many librarians throughout this land to chisel a bit on the doctrines by which they have lived in the past. The amount of that chiseling can never be known, because so much of the evidence is locked in the inner consciousness of frightened librarians. This book, that book, this pamphlet, that pamphlet, this motion-picture, that motion-picture is excluded from the selection process because it is feared that some group in the community suffering from this virus, suffering from this illness of the American spirit, may be ready to pounce upon the librarian for choosing it....
> "The experts in vituperation, the sadists of freedom, are abroad in the land, and they have a hey-day of it."

Judge Hubert T. Delany, a leading Negro jurist, in an address, February 24, 1952, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y., said the following:

> "We are losing our rights faster than I care to admit....
> "There is a McCarran Act on the books today. Do you know what that legalizes? In the event of a state of emergency the American government can put into concentration camps any alleged subversive without trial. That can mean anyone who questions the status quo....
> "We are not going to get away with things like the Smith Act. People abroad see it precisely for what it is. Why are people afraid to speak out against it? If I say I am against it, they say I am a communist because communists are against it. Justice Black and Justice Douglas /of the United States Supreme Court/ are against it, too, and does that make them communists?"

Says Chester Bowles, former U. S. ambassador to India, in the New York Times Magazine, /36 speaking of the Negro in the United States:

> "....surely it is not unreasonable to think that 100 years is time enough to see that American Negroes receive the full rights and dignity to which every man is entitled under a democratic government. If 100 years is not long enough, then what will it take?"

When Ernest T. Weir, wealthy American steel industrialist, returned home from a thoughtful trip through Europe, where he talked earnestly with many people, he was amazed, he said, "That there are some people who actually seem afraid of peace." In a brochure entitled, "Notes on the Foreign Situation Based on a Trip Abroad," he concluded:

/34 The Churchman, July, 1953.

/35 From the Appendix to the Library of Congress Information Bulletin.

/36 New York Times Magazine, Feb. 7, 1954.

> "The plain fact is that war production is economic waste. Progress is not built on waste. All the great advances in human history have come in times of peace....
> "Peace is the great fundamental issue."

Said Joseph D. Keenan, secretary of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, at the A F L Convention, San Francisco, September 24, 1951:

> "I'm not afraid of communism in this country, but I am afraid of those rightists who will sneak into power on us. These rightists are fooling around with fascism like a doctor fooling around with dope, hoping they can control it."

Said Frank Rosenblum, national vice-president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, at the New York State CIO Convention in September, 1951:

> "Our civil rights are insidiously being impaired, restricted and curbed. A wave of legislation, beginning with the Taft-Hartley and the Smith Act, and embracing the McCarran Act and similar measures, has created in effect a parallel legal system superseding the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and our traditional body of law. This is a dangerous movement toward fascism, representing a real threat to labor and liberal elements in the community. This reactionary movement is deliberate, and is being engineered by those who would substitute fascism for democracy, even though it is being directed against the Communists."

Professor Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University, writing in the New York Times Magazine, November 8, 1953, deplored the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations as based on an illegal and illogical theory of "guilt by association." He wrote:

> "Our great tradition of voluntary democracy is now in peril. For the logical consequence of the doctrine of guilt by association is of course that men will cease to join new organizations and will drop away from old ones. Already ordinary men and women are timid about joining -- and who can blame them? Already college students refrain from political or reform activity -- and who can blame them? You never know which organizations may be found subversive twenty years from now.
> "Nor need we delude ourselves that it is only the lunatic fringe, the expendable, organizations that will suffer. We are all of us members of many societies, and we may say with John Bonne that when the principle of association is attacked we ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for us."

Ex-President Harry S. Truman issued a call for struggle against McCarthyism in his radio-television speech of November 16, 1953.. He said that McCarthyism

> "...is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of 'due process of law.' It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society.
> "This is not a partisan matter. This horrible cancer is eating at the vitals of America and it can destroy the great edifice of freedom."

We have only to glance at current news stories to discover that McCarthyism is attacking even mildly liberal sections of the Republican Party itself, and that the latter, here and there, are beginning to resist. The New York Times, on February 26, 1954, editorially denounced the Stevens-Eisenhower "Surrender to McCarthy." More fight-nack can be anticipated, from more than one quarter.

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PLEA TO THE CARACAS CONFERENCE

Delegates: We urge you, at the very least, to discuss the documented facts presented in this historical account of the past six years in the USA, to reaffirm at this meeting the high principles of the American Declaration of the Rights of Man, and to condemn all violations of those principles.

William L. Patterson

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, National Executive Secretary

Submitted for the Civil
Rights Congress

THE NEGRO PEOPLE versus THE SMITH ACT

Negro Victims:

The recent indictment of Benjamin L. Careathers, distinguished leader in the Negro community of Pittsburgh, was the sixth such action taken against Negroes under the infamous Smith Act. Previously victimized were Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Henry Winston, Claudia Jones, Pettis Perry, and Dr. James E. Jackson. Another outstanding leader, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Executive Secretary of the Council on African Affairs, has been jailed in a legal action resulting from Smith Act indictments.

It is for the "crime" of advocacy of ideas that former Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, is now serving a 5 year prison term in Terra Haute penitentiary. It is for defense of his right to advocate such ideas that Attorney George W. Crockett faces a 4 month prison term, and other Negro leaders are indicted and faces imprisonment.

Meaning of the Smith Act:

Victimization of these Negro leaders is a direct result of the 6-2 decision of the Supreme Court last June 4, 1951. In that decision six judges wiped off the books, the First Amendment to the Constitution--cornerstone of the Bill of Rights--which guarantees all Americans their freedom of speech, press and religion.

Only two justices, Justice Hugo Black and Justice William O. Douglass, had the courage to dissent from the majority opinion of the Court, which ruled on the case of the 11 Communist leaders. Their judicial opinions make clear that this ruling of the Supreme Court does not merely affect the Communists, rather it destroys in one sweeping blow the constitutional liberties and human rights of all Americans regardless of political belief. Excerpts of the opinions of Justices Black and Douglass follows:

". . . let us assume, contrary to all constitutional ideas of fair criminal procedure, that the petitioners although not indicted for the crime of actual advocacy, may be punished for it. Even on this radical assumption, the other opinions in this case show that the only way to affirm these convictions is to repudiate directly or indirectly the established "clear and present danger" rule. This the Court does in a way which greatly restricts the protections afforded by the First Amendment. The opinions for affirmance indicate that the chief reason for jettisoning the rule is the expressed fear that advocacy of Communist doctrine endangers the safety of the Republic. Undoubtedly, a governmental policy of unfettered communication of ideas does entail dangers. To the Founders of this Nation, however, the benefits derived from free expression were worth the risk. They embodied this philosophy in the First Amendment's command that Congress "shall make no law abridging . . the freedom of speech, or of the press. ." I have always believed that the freedoms it guarantees provide the best insurance against destruction of all freedom....." ------------Justice Hugo Black

"The vice of treating speech as the equivalent of overt acts of a treasonable character is emphasized by a concurring opinion, which by invoking the law of conspiracy to make speeches do service for deeds which are dangerous to society. The doctrine of conspiracy has served divers and oppressive purposes and in its broad reach can be made to do great evil. But never until today has anyone seriously thought that the ancient law of conspiracy would constitutionally be used to turn speech into seditious conduct. Yet that is precisely what is suggested. I repeat that we deal here with speech alone, not with speech plus acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment. To make a lawful speech unlawful because two men conceive it is to raise the law of conspiracy to appalling proportions. That course is to make a radical break with the past and to violate one of the cardinal principles of our constitutional scheme." ------ Justice William O. Douglas

NEGRO PROTEST

Important spokesmen of the Negro people have sharply denounced the action of the Supreme Court majority, and have warned against the new dangers facing the Negro people as a result of this "legal" overthrow of the First Amendment. United in this protest are individuals, newspapers and organizations of many varying political and religious view points. A representative sampling of Negro protest follows.

Petitioning the President to urge a review of the Courts decision, a group of prominent Philadelphia ministers and laymen declared: "The struggle to preserve the First Amendment of the Constitution is inseparable from our fight for full citizenship. We agree with Walter White when he says, "When Ben Davis goes to jail, a piece of me goes with him'" Among the signers were: Bishop C. C. Alleyne, AME Zion Church; Rev. W. C. Williamson, White Rock Baptist Church; Rev. David L. Miller, CME Zion Church; Rev. R. Register, Rev. E. G. Busbin, Sterling Rochester, board member of Int'l Union of Fur and Leather Workers; Edward W. Robinson, Jr., insurance manager.

Rev. Edward D. McGowan, Epworth Methodist Church, Bronx, at the Restore Free Speech Rally in Carnegie Hall, July 24, 1951: "If I remained silent while freedom is in jeopardy, I would be a traitor to Christ. For the Negro people, and, indeed, for any Christian, now must be the time and this must be the hour of protest."

The Oklahoma Black Dispatch: "Reaction has reached a point in this country where it can effectively block constitutional changes whenever our Supreme Court takes the position it can water down the Constitution to a point where it can wash out the First Amendment. This is what the Supreme Court did when it upheld the conviction of the 11 Communists."

The well known Negro journalists, Marvel Cooke, Constance Curtis and Carl D. Lawrence were among the signers of a statement by the New York Newspaper Guild (CIO): "Never before has such a restriction been placed on the right to hold opinions and express them in the United States of America."

The St. Louis American pointed out that racists and hate-mongers were being coddled: "All fascists, native and foreign, are now acceptable under the guise of fighting reds."

The Baltimore Afro-American declared that Benjamin J. Davis, Henry Winston and Dr. James E. Jackson were moved by "a common revulsion to race prejudice and a militant drive to do something about it." The Communists, the editor said, "have mastered a technique which America is loath to accept--complete integration... to howl that everything about Communism should be suppressed for its own sake is nonsense."

The Philadelphia Tribune editorialized that the Court majority's opinion "strikes at one of the cardinal principles of democracy -- freedom of speech.

Tear it down, destroy it, and democracy is no more." The paper denounced the "great wave of hysteria" and endorsed the dissenting opinion of Justice Hugo L. Black.

Earl Brown, City Councilman, New York: "The Court's decision cannot curb the Communists without hurting all of us."

Roscoe Dunjee, Editor, The Black Dispatch:- "I join with all patriotic Americans in the thought that the Smith Act should be immediately repealed and set aside by Congress. While this law was enacted to shackle Communism we have all lived long enough to see that government by innuendo and the smear of insinuation terrorizes and intimidates every one.

Rev. J. Pius Barbour, editor of the National Baptist Voice: "He (Ben Davis) goes to jail. Revile him not, the tempter has a snare for us all. These are dark days: days of the Dred Scott Decision. Days of the Black Codes. Days of Thought Police. But they will pass away. Just as we read in the history books about Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, John Brown and others, so will future generations read about Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and other courageous men when all us "Big House" Negroes will be buried, unwept, unhonored and unsung..."

Arthur Huff Fauset, Philadelphia: "I join with the millions of Americans who rejoice, amid all the fanfare of indecent bigotry, that a voice like that of Justice Black is raised in behalf of sanity and fundamental security for our nation and for those who esteem democracy beyond mere lip-service."

Mrs. Charlotte Bass, former publisher of the California Eagle: "Justices Black and Douglas simply did their duty when they dissented. They did what the others should have done, and until we get a Supreme Court that will do its duty to the American people we'll not get any freedom."

William L. Patterson: Nat'l Executive Sec'y of the Civil Rights Congress: "Viewed in the light of the minority opinions of Justices Black and Douglas, this decision can only be regarded as the dropping of an atomic bomb upon constitutional liberties and human rights."

Rev. J. G. Olden, columnist in the Louisville Defender: "I am afraid many innocent men will thus be convicted since the Supreme Court has given official sanction to this mass hysteria."

Lewis Flagg, staff attorney of the NAACP in New York: "Negroes cannot be safe so long as the U. S. Constitution is endangered by the Supreme Court."

Committee for the Negro in the Arts, New York: "The decision is particularly alarming to Negro artists who are more than ever faced with the problem of the right to perform without debasement, for the full expression of Negro culture is dependent upon free speech and free assembly."

dpowa

Harlem Committee To Repeal The Smith Act

2286—7th Avenue AUdubon 6-6464 New York 30, N. Y.

PRESS RELEASE

The Harlem Committee to Repeal The Smith Act at an emergency meeting last week following the recent United States Supreme Court's refusal to review its decision on the controversial Smith Act took issue with the high court's action and described it as "reminiscent of the days of the infamous Dred Scott decision, when Chief Justice Tanney ruled that 'a Negro has no rights a white man is bound to respect.' The action of the Supreme Court pivoted around the amici curiae brief which was submitted by two prominent Negro attorneys, Attorney Robert Westbrooks, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Chicago National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and Attorney Earl B. Dickerson, former member of the Chicago City Council and recently elected as head of the National Lawyers Guild.

In their brief, they contended that under the Smith Act "advocacy of fundamental change in government, so as to extend democratic protection to the Negro, might well be equated under the broad terms of the Court's decision with advocacy of violent overthrow of government." They further contended, that serious limitations were thus placed on the historic right to protest on the part of the Negro people, since the Smith Act challenges the fundamental constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression and political dissent.

The Committee was sharply critical of the fact that the Supreme Court, at the same time it turned down the petition for rehearing supported by the Westbrooks-Dickerson brief, hastily granted a rehearing to Joseph Beaucharnas, president of the viciously anti-Negro White Circle League, protesting the action of a lower court in fining him for admitted action of his organization in inciting a mob in Cicero, Illinois last July against Negro vetern Harvey Clarke and his family.

The Committee called upon all of those who love freedom, who cherish the right to worship freely, to think freely, - to join with them in seeking to achieve the repeal of the Smith Act. It also called upon the organizations of the Negro people to protest this latest action of the Supreme Court.

The Harlem Committee to Repeal the Smith Act was recently formed at the Hotel Theresa in response to the wide concern being evinced among the Negro people as to the present day fate of constitutional liberties. Its sponsors include Oliver Harrington, well known cartoonist as temporary chairman; Morris Doswell, organizer of District 65, co-chairman; Gladstone Smith, organizer of the Furrier's Joint Board, treasurer; Beatrice Marshall, Secretary; Daniel Benjamin, President of the Dining Car & Railroad Food Workers Union; Alice Childress, actress; Natalie DeLoache and Rosalie Pinckney Harlem business women; Rev. Thomas Kilgore of Friendship Baptist Church; Rev. James W. Tate of Walker Memorial Church; Dr. Ferris Warren; Charles Collins, Harlem Council American Labor Party; Ernest Thompson, Secretary, Fair Practices Committee, United Electrical Workers Union.

Harlem Committee To Repeal The Smith Act

2286—7th Avenue AUdubon 6-6464 New York 30, N. Y.

PRESS RELEASE

STATEMENT

The Harlem Committee To Repeal The Smith Act issued the following statement on the recent refusal by the United States Supreme Court to rehear the case involving the 11 Communist leaders who were convicted and sentenced under the Smith Act. Former City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, well-known Negro leader, was one of those convicted.

"The recent action by the Supreme Court in refusing to re-examine its own unconstitutional decision on the Smith Act is reminiscent of the days of the infamous Dred Scott decision, when Chief Justice Tanney ruled that 'a Negro has no rights a white man is bound to respect.' It has ignored the widespread concern of the American people. It has acted with indecent haste to prevent the development of the widest protests to repeal the Smith Act.

The speed and efficiency with which the Supreme Court acted in rejecting the amici curiae brief by two of the most respected legal minds in the country; Attorney Robert Westbrooks, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and Earl B. Dickerson, former member of the Chicago City Council and recently elected as head of the National Lawyers Guild; is in startling contrast to the cautious and tolerant attitude it displayed in granting a rehearing to Joseph Beaucharnas, president of the vicious anti-Negro White Circle League. Beaucharnas is protesting the action of a lower court in fining him for admitted action of his organization in inciting a mob in Cicero, Illinois, last July against Negro veteran Harvey Clarke and his family. His organization distributed thousands of leaflets in Cicero and Chicago calling for a million white people to act to prevent the 'mongrelization of the white race'.

The fundamental right to protest is of grave significance to the Negro people in their efforts to achieve first class citizenship and democratic rights in these United States. The Smith Act imperils the existence of this right. It seeks to victimize those who exercise this right. We, therefore, are determined now more than ever to achieve its repeal as unconstitutional and in violation of the Bill of Rights. We call upon all those who love freedom, who cherish the right to worship freely, to think freely, to speak freely - to join with us. We call upon the organizations of the Negro people, their churches, fraternities, lodges and social clubs to protes this latest action of the Supreme Court. We petition the American people in their trade unions and other organizations to speak out NOW."

to those with a social conscience

ARKANSAS

The Rev. Frank N. Butler, Batesville
Dr. Katherine Dodd, University of Arkansas, Little Rock

ALABAMA

The Rev. William C. Cravner, Vicar, St. James Church, Alexander City
The Rev. M. C. Williams, Tuscaloosa

ARIZONA

Prof. W. W. Denton, Tuscon

CALIFORNIA

Mr. Paul F. Albright, Hollydale
The Rev. Gross W. Alwander, Methodist Church, Redlands
Dr. Leona M. Bayer, San Francisco
Herbert Biberman, Hollywood
Elsa Blackwell, Carmel
The Rev. Abbott Book, San Francisco
Dr. Alice Hill Byrne, Palo Alto
The Rev. Frank D. Campbell, Del Rosa
The Rev. Howard R. Carvy, Altadena
Paul Corey, Author, Sonoma
The Rev. J. Raymond Cope, Berkeley, Cal.
The Rev. Harry C. Culver, Pomona
Edward J. Dreis, Pres. All Souls Unitarian Church, Santa Cruz
Dr. H. D. Fasnacht, Pres. Laverne College
Irving H. Flamm, Beverly Hills
The Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Los Angeles
Edward D. Gallagher, San Francisco

THE MEN AND WOMEN listed here are of varying political beliefs. But they share this belief: the clear and present danger to our country is *thought control.*

Their names have appeared in the press, in connection with various appeals asking amnesty for the Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act. This "thought control" law has been denounced by the CIO, AFL, and other labor unions, by ministers, lawyers, by all who cherish our constitutional right to think and say what we believe.

Amnesty is the granting of freedom to political prisoners. President Harding granted amnesty to Eugene V. Debs. Other Presidents granted amnesty to political prisoners.

The Communist leaders have been imprisoned nearly two years. Parole is being denied to them. You do not have to share their views to recognize the injustice of imprisonment for exercising their right to advocate their political and social ideas.

Won't you join the amnesty appeal voiced by these ministers, educators, scientists, writers, unionists and other leaders of public opinion?

on behalf of those imprisoned for their beliefs, not deeds

Prof. Albert L. Guerard, Stanford University
The Rev. Emerson C. Hangen, Long Beach
Louise D. Harding, Brisbane
Ken Hartford, Business Manager, Los Angeles
Lenore Peters Job, Director School of Dance, San Francisco
Robert W. Kenny, Former California State Attorney General, Los Angeles
Prof. Paul Kirkpatrick, Stanford University
Albert Maltz, Author, Mexico
The Rev. Howard G. Matson, Santa Monica
Dr. Alexander Meikeljohn, Berkeley
The Rev. Harry G. Meserve, San Francisco
The Rev. George A. Millen, Lafayette
The Right Rev. Walter Mitchell, Roncho Santa Fe
Judge Stanley Moffatt, South Gate
Mrs. Grace McDonald, Farm Editor, Santa Clara
The Rev. Herbert W. Neale, Campbell
The Rev. Albert W. Palmer, Altadena
Prof. Constantine Panunzio, University of California, Los Angeles
The Right Rev. Edward L. Parsons, San Francisco
Dr. Holland Roberts, Dir. California Labor School, San Francisco
Alexander Saxton, Author, Sausalite
The Rev. Randall R. Scott, Temple City
Gale Sondergard, Actress, Hollywood
Judge Edward P. Totten, San Clements
The Rev. Ernest J. Troutner, First Methodist Church, Redding
Prof. Frank W. Weymouth, Stanford University
The Rev. Forrest C. Weir, Los Angeles
The Rev. Hugh Weston, Hollywood
Dr. Ernest Wolff, Physician, San Francisco

CONNECTICUT

The Rev. Edwin E. Aiken, Enfield
Nora Stanton Barney, Architect & Civil Engineer, Greenwich
Peter Blume, Artist, Gaylordsville
The Rev. Merrill F. Clarke, New Canaan
The Rev. Lewis H. Davis, Stamford
Louis Gelders, Architect, Wilton
The Rev. Albert J. Hallington, Danbury
The Very Rev. Louis H. Hirshson, Hartford
The Rev. Roy M. Houghton, New Haven
Daniel Howard, Retired Superintendent of Schools, Windsor
The Rev. Prof. Fleming James, Jr., North Haven
Dr. Walter Landmier, University of Connecticut, Storrs
Prof. Paul H. Lavietis, Yale University, New Haven
Grace F. Marcus, Social Worker, Stepney
The Rev. Prof. John Oliver Nelson, New Haven
Prof. John P. Peters, Yale University, New Haven
George D. Pratt, Jr., Farmer, Bridgewater
Dr. Willard Uphaus, New Haven
The Rev. Loyd F. Worley, Hartford, Conn.

COLORADO

The Rev. Rudolph W. Gilbert, Denver
The Rev. James MacPherson, Pastor, Broadway Baptist Church, Denver
Prof. Bertram Morris, University of Colorado, Boulder
The Very Rev. Paul Roberts, Denver
The Rev. Evans A. Worthley, Sterling

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Gertrude Evans, Executive Secretary, Progressive Party, Washington
Harry G. Lamberton, Attorney, Washington
J. Daniel Weitzman, Washington

FLORIDA

The Rev. Joseph Barth, Miami
John M. Coe, Attorney, Pescacola
Stetson Kennedy, Author, Switzerland
The Rev. Edward Maxted, Warrington
Edward W. Ullrich, Minister, Gospel Evangelical and Reformed Church, Miami
Prof. Francis R. Walton, Tallahassee

GEORGIA

Prof. G. Murray Branch, Morehouse College, Atlanta
Emma C. W. Gray, Dean of Women, Paine College, Augusta

HAWAII

Frank Marshall Davis, Writer, Oahu, Hawaii

ILLINOIS

Hilda D. Armin, Social Worker, Chicago
The Rev. William T. Baird, Essex Community Church, Chicago
The Rev. Frederick E. Ball, Ottawa
The Rev. Harold A. Bosley, Evanston
Norman B. Brice, Counseler, University of Chicago
Prof. John J. De Boer, Champaign
Hon. Earl B. Dickerson, President, National Lawyers Guild Chicago
The Rev. Theodore E. Frank, Champaign
The Rev. Glenn S. Gothard, Kempton
The Rev. L. A. Gross, Chicago
The Rev. Robert E. Hamill, Joliet
Pearl M. Hart, Chicago
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago
Dr. A. Eustace Haydon, Chicago
Prof. Bernard M. Loomer, Dean, Divinity School, University of Chicago
Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago
Dr. Selbert Permutt, University of Chicago
Prof. Ernest Samueld, Northwestern University, Evanston
Prof. Malcolm P. Sharp, University of Chicago
The Rev. E. L. Lester Stanton, Chicago
Dr. George G. Stern, University of Chicago
The Rev. Kenneth C. Walker, Bloomington
Dr. Roy M. Whitman, University of Chicago
Bishop W. J. Walls, Chicago
Rec. Ernest J. Zizka, St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill.

INDIANA

The Rev. Simon A. Bennett, Muncie
Prof. Russel J. Campton, Greencastle
The Rev. John B. Ferguson, Indianapolis
The Rev. James E. Foster, Gary
John T. Gojack, Fort Wayne
The Rev. Frank A. Hamilton, Minister, Trinity Methodist Church, Evansville
Willard B. Ranson, Pres. Indiana State Conference of NAACP Brances, Indianapolis
The Right Rev. Reginall Malett, South Bend
Bishop Arthur W. Womack, Indianapolis

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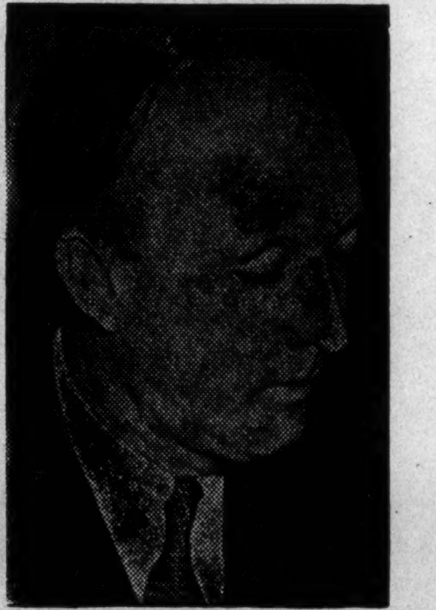
The Rev. Richard D. Beving, Osceola
The Rev. James P. Burling, Des Moines



JUSTICE HUGO L. BLACK
U. S. Supreme Court

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Black, in his dissenting opinion on the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders, wrote:

"[They] were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. . . . No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids."

- Write a letter to President Eisenhower asking that he grant amnesty to the victims of the Smith Act. Send copy of your letter to this committee.
- Send contribution to support the work of this committee.
- Write this committee for more information.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN AMNESTY FOR THE SMITH ACT VICTIMS
EDWARD K. BARSKY, *Chairman* CARL MARZANI, *Treasurer*
667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y.

Paul Corey, Author, Sonoma
The Rev. J. Raymond Cope, Berkeley, Cal.
The Rev. Harry C. Culver, Pomona
Edward J. Dreis, Pres. All Souls Unitarian Church, Santa Cruz
Dr. H. D. Fasnacht, Pres. La Verne College
Irving H. Flamm, Beverly Hills
The Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Los Angeles
Edward D. Gallagher, San Francisco

their views to recognize the injustice of imprisonment for exercising their right to advocate their political and social ideas.

Won't you join the amnesty appeal voiced by these ministers, educators, scientists, writers, unionists and other leaders of public opinion?

---

across America freedom is re-affirmed

George Cossan, Former Iowa State Attorney General, Des Moines
The Rev. Alvin T. Maberry, Ottumwa
The Rev. Paul E. Miller, Adel
The Rev. Thomas J. Pettit, Pilot Mound
James P. Russell, Attorney, Pocahomtas
George H. Wharam, member Iowa Farmers Union, Mason City

KENTUCKY

The Rev. Calvin C. Ellis, Louisville
The Rev. G. Theodore Hempelman, Jefferstown

LOUISIANA

Marcus B. Christian, Poet, New Orleans
Dr. James A. Dombrowski, New Orleans
George Z. Dreyfous, Attorney, New Orleans

MAINE

Alice Barrows, East Blue Hill
Rev. Francis G. Hawes, Minister, Methodist Church, Westport
M. Louise Hunt, Portland
Rev. Donald P. Hurlburt, Bangor
Dr. Scott Nearing, Author and Lecturer, Cape Rosier

MASSACHUSETTS

Robenia Anthony, Educator, Provincetown
Dr. Gerald Barnes, Boston University, Boston
Prof. Bernard Baum, Adams
Jean J. Bellefeuille Sr., Whitman
The Rev. Charles Bemis Bliss, West Brookfield
The Rev. J. Graydon Brown,

MICHIGAN

The Rev. Paul J. Allured, Lansing
Dr. Russell J. Baker, Dean, Kalamazoo College
Mrs. Elden J. Bemis, Bloomfield Hills
Sam Brown, Detroit
The Rev. Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Detroit
The Rev. Charles A. Hill, Pastor, Detroit
Dorothy Knight, Detroit
The Rev. Robert W. Lawson, Dowagiac
The Rev. Henry Lewis, Ann Arbor
The Rev. F. Ricksford Meyers, Detroit
Dr. Michael Pargment, Professor Emeritus, University of Mich., Ann Arbor
The Rev. L. S. Reed, Mackinaw City
Sidney Rosen, Businessman, Grosse Point
Nathan Rosenshine, Builder, Detroit
Prof. Preston Slossom, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Maurice Sugar, Attorney, Detroit
The Rev. I. Paul Taylor, Detroit
Mrs. Clara H. Vincent, People's Institute of Applied Religion Farmington

MINNESOTA

Mrs. Bertha Anderson, Minneapolis
R. W. Angle, General Chairman, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Engineers, Anoka
Prof. C. Sheldon Hart, Carleton College, Northfield
Prof. Mulford Sibley, University of Minn., Minneapolis
The Rev. Kenneth Jackson Smith, Duluth

NEW YORK STATE

The Rev. Charles B. Ackley, New York City
Samuel Hopkins Adams, Author, Auburn
The Rev. Robert C. Alexander, Manhasset
James Aronson, Editor, National Guardian, New York City
Charlotta A. Bass, New York City
Dr. Vincent Bellafiore, Brooklyn
The Reverend Shelton Hale Bishop, New York City
Dr. Algernon D. Black, New York Society for Ethical Culture, New York City
Mrs. Anita Block, Author, New York City
James L. Brewer, Attorney, Rochester
Dr. Dorothy Brewster, New York City
Robert Carse, Author, New York City
The Rev. Robert M. Cook, Elmira
Prof. Ephraim Cross, New York City
Harry Cumsson, New York City
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Author, New York City
Arnaud D' Usseau, Playwright, New York City
Dr. Lewis A. Eldridge, Rensselaerville
Philip Evergood, East Patchogue, L. I.
Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York City
Howard Fast, Author, New York City
Stanley Faulkner, Attorney, New York City
Prof. Royal W. France, Attorney, New York City
Dr. Richard A. Freedman, New York City
The Rev. Marion C. Frenyear, South Hartford
Prof. Henrietta Friedman, Hun-

The Rev. Dr. J. Howard Melish, Lake Goore
Martha Millet, Poet, Brooklyn
Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell

The Rev. C. Maxwell Brown, Fargo
Chester A. Graham, Jamestown

EPISCOPALIANS LEAD AMNESTY APPEAL FOR COMMUNISTS

★ Of the one hundred and sixty-one churchmen to appeal to President Truman for amnesty for the eleven Communists convicted under the Smith Act, forty-four are Episcopalians. There are seven bishops, all of them retired except Bishop Mallett of Northern Indiana and Bishop Nash of Massachusets. The others: Bishop Demby of Arkansas; Bishop McElwain of Minnesota; Bishop Mitchell of Arizona; Bishop Moulton of Utah; Bishop Parsons of California.

There were no laymen, but several women, including Mrs. Arthur Sherman, executive secretary of the national Woman's Auxiliary, and Mrs. J. E. Casey and Miss Elizabeth Frazier of Philadelphia, and Prof. Vida Scudder of Wellesley.

Clergymen of the Episcopal Church to sign the appeal were C. B. Ackley, New York; R. C. Alexander, Manhasset, N. Y.; J. E. Allen, Rice Lake, Wis.; S. H. Bishop, New York; L. H. Blackburn, Cleveland; F. N. Butler, Batesville, Ark.; J. F. Fletcher, professor at

S.; Guy E. Shipler, editor of the Churchman; F. H. Smythe, Cambridge; W. B. Spofford Sr., managing editor of the Witness; E. M. Tasman, South Orange; R. M. Trelease, Kansas City; A. E. Walmsley and C. C. Wilson, St. Louis.

The churchmen, all of whom signed as individuals, declared in their appeal that conscientious advocacy is a basic democratic right and the glory of a free society. The letter contends: "Many Americans feel that imprisonment for conscientious advocacy is not only incompatible with our whole philosophy of government but is an indication to countless observers abroad of lack of confidence in our American institutions."

Citing a long tradition of presidential amnesty for political prisoners, the church leaders appealed to the President "in the spirit of Christmas and in harmony with justice" to exercise his executive power in granting amnesty to the Communist

The WITNESS
FOR CHRIST AND HIS CHURCH
January 22, 1953

MASSACHUSETTS

Robenia Anthony, Educator, Provincetown
Dr. Gerald Barnes, Boston University, Boston
Prof. Bernard Baum, Adams
Jean J. Bellefeuille Sr., Whitman
The Rev. Charles Bemis Bliss, West Brookfield
The Rev. J. Graydon Brown, Pepperell
The Rev. Raymond Calkins, Cambridge
The Rev. Albert Buckner Coe, Boston
Prof. Florence Converse, Wellesley College
Prof. Phillip W. L. Cox, Vineyard Haven
The Rev. William M. Crane, Richmond
The Rev. Albert C. Dieffenbach, Cambridge
The Rev. Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher, Cambridge
The Rev. Dana McLean Greeley, Boston
Prof. William C. Greene, Harvard University, Cambridge
The Rev. Howard Hare, South Braintree
William Harrison, Associate Editor, Boston Chronicle, Boston
Willard T. Hazen, Jr., Artist, Pigeon Cove
The Rev. Irving E. Howard, Worcester
The Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes, Rector, St. Bartholomew's Church, Cambridge
The Rev. Walter David Knight, Newton Centre
The Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Minister, The Community Church of Boston
Florence H. Luscomb, Member Executive Committee Civil Liberties Union of Mass., Boston
John McLaren, Boston
The Right Rev. Norman B. Nash, Boston
The Rev. George L. Paine, Boston
The Rev. David A. Pearson, Wakefield
Dr. Bertha C. Reynolds, Social Worker, Stoughton
Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley
The Rev. Prof. Massey H. Shepard, Jr., Cambridge
Dr. R. A. Simmons, Boston
The Rev. F. Hastings Smyth, Cambridge
The Rev. Gardiner H. Shattuck, Wellesley
The Rev. Charles M. Styron, Lincoln
The Rev. Willard Uphaus, Co-Director, American Peace Crusade
The Rev. Merrill C. Ward, Abington
The Rev. Sam Wright, Director, American Unitarian Youth, Boston

polis
R. W. Angle, General Chairman, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Engineers, Anoka
Prof. C. Sheldon Hart, Carleton College, Northfield
Prof. Mulford Sibley, University of Minn., Minneapolis
The Rev. Kenneth Jackson Smith, Duluth

MISSISSIPPI

Dr. John Long, Pres. Southern Christian Institute, Edwards

MISSOURI

The Rev. William B. Clemmer, St. Louis
The Rev. W. Burnet Easton, Jr. Columbia
The Rev. William H. Laird, St. Louis
Dr. Sol Lende, St. Louis
Mrs. Helen McAllister, Pres. American University Women's League, Kansas City
Prof. Theodor Rosebury, Washington University, St. Louis
The Rev. Prof. Houston Smith, St. Louis
The Rev. Richard M. Trelease, Kansas City
The Rev. Arthur Edward Walmsley, St. Louis
The Rev. Charles C. Wilson, St. Louis
The Rev. James D. Wyker, Director, Rural Church Extension, Columbia

MONTANA

The Rev. George C. Lee, Polson

NEBRASKA

The Rev. Walter E. Ulrich, Bridgeport

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Prof. Theodore Brameld, Lyme Center
The Rev. Clair M. Cook, Lisbon
The Rev. Dr. William Safford Jones, Portsmouth
The Rev. Warren H. McKenna, Epping
Paul H. Sweezy, Co-Editor, "Monthly Review," Wilton

NEW JERSEY

Ben Shahn, Artist, Roosevelt
The Rev. Eric M. Tasman, South Orange
The Rev. George Teague, Teaneck
Katharine A. Van Orden, Verona
The Rev. Harry F. Ward, Professor Emeritus, Union Theological Seminary, Palisade
Dr. H. H. Wilson, Princeton University

City
Stanley Faulkner, Attorney, New York City
Prof. Royal W. France, Attorney, New York City
Dr. Richard A. Freedman, New York City
The Rev. Marion C. Frenyear, South Hartford
Prof. Henrietta Friedman, Hunter College, New York City
Hugo Gellert, Artist, New York City
Dan Gillmor, Author, New York City
Prof. Josephine M. Gleason, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie
Ben Gold, Pres. International Fur & Leather Workers Union, New York City
B. Z. Goldberg, Newspaper Columnist, New York City
Shirley Graham, Author, Brooklyn
Prof. Harry Grundfest, Columbia University, New York City
Robert Gwathmey, Artist, New York City
Talbot Hamlin, Prof. of Architecture, New York City
Dashiell Hammett, Author, New York City
The Rev. Robert S. Hoagland, Schenectady
Prof. William G. Houk, St. Lawrence University, Canton
The Rev. Schuyler D. Jenkins, Glens Falls
The Rev. John Paul Jones, Brooklyn
The Rev. Walter Royal Jones, Jr., Floral Park
Albert E. Kahn, Author, Croton-on-Hudson
Rockwell Kent, Artist, AuSable Forks
Alfred Kreymborg, Poet, New York City
Dr. Corliss Lamont, Author, New York City
Margaret I. Lamont, American Association of University Women, New York City
Bruno Lasker, Yonkers
The Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Brooklyn
Sidney Laufman, Artist, New York City
The Rev. W. Colin Lee, Mount Kisco
Miss Ruth Z. B. Mann, Social Worker, New York City
The Rev. Frederick C. Maier, Baldwin
Mr. and Mrs. Aylmer N. Mande, Niagara Falls
Hon Vito Marcantonio, former Congressman, New York City, Chairman, American Labor Party
The Rev. John A. Maynard, New York City
The Rev. Edward D. McGowan, Bronx
The Rev. Jack R. McMichael, New York City

The Rev. Dr. J. Howard Melish, Lake Goore
Martha Millet, Poet, Brooklyn
Prof. Philip Morrison, Cornell University, Ithaca
Dr. Henry Neumann, Brooklyn
Gaspare Nicotri, Author, New York City
Arthur Pollock, Drama Critic, New York City
The Rev. Prof. Albert Terrill Rassmussen, Rochester
Anton Refrigier, Artist, Woodstock
The Rev. James L. Rhinesmith, Central Islip
Earl Robinson, Composer, Brooklyn
Rose Russell, Legislative Representative, Teachers Union, New York City
Wilbur E. Saunders, Pres. Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester
William Schneyer, Pres. Jewish Young Fraternalists, New York City
The Rev. John R. Scotford, Former Editor "Advance," Mt. Vernon
Mrs. Margaret M. Sherman, New York City
The Rev. Guy Emery Shipler, New York City
Dr. Randolph B. Smith, New York City
Mrs. E. H. Tyndale, Retired City Psychologist, New York City
The Rev. Henry J. Wahl, Brooklyn
Prof. Goodwin Watson, Rye
Henry Willcox, Pres. Willcox Construction Co., New York City
The Rev. David Rhys Williams, First Unitarian Church, Rochester
Prof. Robert R. Wilson, Cornell University, Ithaca
The Rev. W. Wylie Young, Batavia

NEVADA

The Rev. Paul L. McClure, Las Vegas

NORTH CAROLINA

The Rev. George H. Fisher, Rector, St. Ambrose Church, Raleigh
Prof. C. H. Hamlin, Wilson
The Rev. James A. Jones, Durham
The Rev. W. L. Mason, Rocky Mount
Dr. J. B. Rhine, Director Parapsychology Laboratory, Duke University, Durham
The Rev. L. B. Russell, HenderSon
Dean J. H. Satterwhite, Salisbury
Alfred B. Yeomans, Southern Pines

NORTH DAKOTA

The Rev. C. A. Armstrong, Fargo
The Rev. C. Maxwell Brown, Fargo
Chester A. Graham, Jamestown

OHIO

Russell N. Chase, Attorney, Cleveland
The Rev. Harvey C. Clark, Dayton
Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Cincinnati
The Rt. Rev. Edward T. Demby, Cleveland
The Rev. Elmer J. Hostetler, Minister, Claridon Congregational Church, Chardon
Prof. Oliver S. Loud, Antioch College, Yellow Springs
The Rev. Prof. Rolland Emerson Wolfe, Cleveland

OKLAHOMA

The Rev. Carl J. Landes, Deer Creek

OREGON

The Rev. Edward Baker, Portland
The Rev. Mark Chamberlain, Gresham
Dr. Robert H. Ellis, Portland
The Rev. Sidney E. Harris Woodburne
The Rev. S. Darlow Johnson, Junction City
Prof. Robert A. Rosenbaum, Reed College, Portland
The Rev. Albert J. Wilson, Portland

PENNSYLVANIA

The Rev. C. C. Adams, Philadelphia
The Rev. William C. Berkemoyer, Bethlehem
The Rev. Fay Campbell, Philadelphia
Mrs. Juliette E. Casey, Philadelphia
Sarah N. Cleghorn, American Friends Society, Philadelphia
Prof. Leonidas Dodson, University of Pa., Philadelphia
Prof. Arnold Dresden, Swarthmore
The Rev. W. Arthur Faus, Harrisburg
The Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Philadelphia
Elizabeth P. Frazier, Philadelphia
The Rev. Charles G. Girelius, Havertown
Louis F. McCabe, Attorney, Philadelphia
The Rev. F. W. McConnell, Allentown
The Rev. Dewees F. Singley, Philadelphia
The Rev. William B. Spofford, Tunkhannock
Frederick K. Stamm, Author, Plumsbartville
Dr. Paul L. Whitely, Lancaster

BE IT RESOLVED

. . . that amnesty should be granted to those convicted under the (Smith) Act.

LOCAL 600 (FORD LOCAL)
UAW-CIO

RHODE ISLAND

Dr. Clemens J. France, Attorney, Providence
The Rev. J. Donald Johnston, Newport
Francis Fisher Kane, Attorney, Peace Dale
The Rev. Edward R. Sherblom, Tiverton

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Rev. Bertha Foggy, Columbia
The Rev. Capers Satterlee, Spartanburg

TENNESSEE

The Rev. William Byrd, Chattanooga
Fyke Farmer, Attorney, Nashville
The Rev. Prof. Nels F. S. Ferre, Nashville
The Rev. Kendrick Grobel, Nashville
The Right Rev. Frank Arthur McElwain, Monteagle
Jennings Perry, Author, Nashville
Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Nashville

TEXAS

The Rev. Stacy Adams, Dallas
The Rev. H. Paul Osborne, San Antonio
The Rev. E. H. Schwengel, Burton

UTAH

The Right Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Salt Lake City

VERMONT

The Rev. J. R. Case, Vergennes

VIRGINIA

Dr. Louise Fargo Brown, Norfolk
Prof. Stringfellow Barr, Charlottesville
Dr. Marcus I. Goldman, Alexandria
Bishop G. W. Taylor, South Hill
Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Virginia State College, Ettrick

WASHINGTON

Margaret M. Donaldson, Committee for Peace Institute, Seattle
Pat Evans, International Longshore & Warehouse Ass. Auxiliary, Bellingham
The Rev. Aron S. Gilmartin, Seattle
The Rev. George W. Halstead, Everett
Elsie A. Huffman, Spokane
The Rev. Ray C. Roberts, Seattle

WEST VIRGINIA

The Rev. George McPherson Hunter, Mannington

WISCONSIN

The Rev. James Ethan Allen, Rice Lake
The Rev. Fred I. Cairns, Madison
The Rev. Frank North, Mashotah
The Rev. Walter A. Smith, Pastor Union Congregational Church, Rio

WYOMING

The Rev. William C. Kirby, Gasper

WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Sign the enclosed petition and get your friends to sign.
- Write a letter to President Eisenhower asking that he grant amnesty to the victims of the Smith Act. Send copy of your letter to this committee.
- Send contribution to support the work of this committee.
- Write this committee for more information.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO WIN AMNESTY FOR THE SMITH ACT VICTIMS
EDWARD K. BARSKY, *Chairman* CARL MARZANI, *Treasurer*

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS DAVIS, BENJAMIN JR. n.d. 10/15

Address all Letters to: Name Benjamin J. Davis
c/o Allegheny County Jail, Ross Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF RELATIVES OF INMATES

Visiting hours 9:00 to 12:00 noon and 1:00 to 3:00 P. M. daily excepting Saturday and Sunday. One visit allowed each week by one person. Basket accepted 9:00 to 12:00 noon daily excepting Sunday. One basket allowed weekly and is restricted to fresh fruits. Postage Stamps, tobacco (in any form) and candy, will not be accepted. Money should be sent by postal money order or registered letter. Relatives visiting prisoners who have been sentenced by the Court, are requested to visit from Wednesday through Friday only.

To: Wm. L. Patterson **No.** 6 E. 17th Room 200 ~~**Avenue**~~ **Street**

City New York 3 **State** N. Y.

Dear Pat: Yours of March 10, received and appreciated. I noted what you had to say concerning my suit. Since being here, thanks to Regina and splendid local attention, I've seen much commendable material on my suit. (Incidentally, please thank Regina for the books which I received. One other I'd like to get - the Economic Problems of Socialism, or whatever the name, by S.)

The main responsibility for the difficulties, misunderstandings and delays incident to my suit lies upon the Dept of Justice, and the extreme isolation imposed upon me. Make no mistake about that. At the same time, there were mis-steps on our side that never should have occurred. But I won't go into detail, it being more prudent to wait for personal discussion.

Be that as it may, one cannot be satisfied that the ground work for an assault on my 60 day contempt was not laid ahead of time, since it was clear I had to serve it - and since it is vulnerable on the same moral and constitutional grounds. Apparently, this was not anticipated from all angles.

Further, I would suggest that you allow your mind to reflect on the whole period of my stay at Terre Haute, in particular the extreme isolation, over and beyond that of any other of the 11 in prison, and secondly the fact that I was the sole Negro. I would be less than candid if I did not point out that the absence of certain counter-active measures left a deep and painful impression upon me. Nor will I go into this; but I want you to think about it. And I want that this shall not be repeated with Pete and above all with the great and horribly-brutalized Claudia. On the pending membership indictment I have some strong views which, evidently, are somewhat different from those I've heard. The consolation of my transfer from Terre Haute has been to receive a wonderful deluge of heartening mail from all over. Regards to your whole staff. Personal greetings to Louise.

Warmly yours. Benjamin J. Davis

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- -x

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., :

Petitioner, :

v. :

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR., :
Attorney General of the United
States, and JAMES V. BENNETT, :
Director of the Bureau of
Prisons of the Department of :
Justice of the United States,
:
Respondents.

- -x

PETITION

TO THE HONORABLE JUDGES OF THE UNITED STATES
DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA:

The petitioner, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., for himself and for all other Negro inmates similarly situated in prisons and penitentiaries under the jurisdiction of the United States, by Ralph E. Powe, his attorney duly authorized to bring this proceeding, on information and belief respectfully alleges as follows:

1. This is an application for a writ of mandamus to direct the Attorney General of the United States and the United States Director of Prisons to discontinue the unlawful and unconstitutional practice of segregating the petitioner and other Negro inmates of prisons and penitentiaries under the jurisdiction of the United States from other inmates thereof and otherwise discriminating against the petitioner and other Negro inmates of such institutions.

2. The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked under the Fifth and Eighth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States; Sections 4001 through 4081 inclusive of Title 18 of the United States Code and statutes related thereto; and the federal civil rights statutes.

3. Petitioner is a Negro confined in the United States Penitentiary at Terre Haute, Indiana. The said penitentiary is under the direction of the respondent, James V. Bennett, Director of the United States Bureau of Prisons. The Bureau of Prisons is governed by rules promulgated by the respondent, Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States. The respondent Brownell is also charged by law with

the duty of classifying the inmates of United States prisons, making provision for their proper government, and directing the manner in which they shall be quartered and furnished with subsistence.

4. Petitioner was convicted in 1949 of violation of the Smith Act and was sentenced to a term of five years imprisonment. The judgment of conviction was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court, two justices dissenting, on June 4, 1951. On July 2, 1951, pursuant to order of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, petitioner surrendered and commenced the service of his sentence. On or about July 6, 1951, he was transferred to Terre Haute Penitentiary.

5. The Terre Haute Penitentiary is one of six institutions of its class operated by the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice. It contains approximately 1,200 prisoners, of whom about 250 are Negroes. The Negro prisoners, as a group, are segregated from other prisoners in the dormitories, in the mess hall and at entertainment. Petitioner is a part of the Negro group.

6. All Negro prisoners, including the petitioner, are confined to cells or dormitories which are located in a section of the penitentiary reserved only for Negroes. All other prisoners occupy cells or dormitories in a section of the penitentiary reserved only for non-Negro prisoners.

7. The procedure upon entering the mess hall or the entertainment hall is for Negro prisoners to enter as a group separately from other prisoners and to occupy separate tables in such halls, and petitioner has been classified and segregated with the other Negroes in the group.

8. In the auditorium, gymnasium and in other places set aside for entertainment, all Negroes are seated in one section while whites are seated in another section of said auditorium, gymnasium and other places set aside for entertainment.

9. Substantially similar practices obtain as specifically alleged in Paragraphs 7 and 8 herein in all other prisons and penitentiaries under the jurisdiction of the United States.

10. The aforesaid segregation of petitioner and other Negro inmates and the discrimination against petitioner and other Negro inmates is a violation of the rights of the petitioner guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution; and a violation of his right to be free from cruel and unusual punishment as guaranteed by the Eighth Amendment. Such segregation and discrimination also violates the laws and statutes appertaining to the Government of United States prisons. Such laws do not authorize the segregation of prisoners according to race, color or creed and do not authorize discrimination against prisoners on the basis of race, color or creed. Section 4001 of Title 18 of the United States Code provides that the Attorney General may "classify the inmates" of United States prisons; but Section 4081 of the same title provides for the standards to be observed in the classification of prisoners and makes no reference to race or color.

11. Petitioner is able and willing to comply, and has heretofore complied, with such standards of meritorious conduct and exemplary work as may be required of white and Negro prisoners and he is entitled to enjoy without discrimination all of the privileges and benefits accorded to white prisoners. The segregation of petitioner and other Negro prisoners from white prisoners as aforesaid is personally offensive to the petitioner and other prisoners involved, and it tends to foster and encourage racial prejudice, contrary to the announced policy of the United States.

12. It is the duty of the respondents in obedience to the mandate of the statutes aforesaid and the Constitution of the United States to abolish the aforesaid practice of segregation and discrimination against Negro prisoners in federal penitentiaries. More particularly, under Section 4001 of Title 18 the Attorney General should be required to "promulgate rules" for the government of the penitentiary which shall comply with the said laws and with the Constitution; he should be required as directed by the said section to "classify the inmates; and provide for their proper government ***"; he should be required, as provided by Section 4042 of Title 18, to "provide suitable quarters" which should be free of unlawful segregation and discrimination; he should be directed to classify and segregate prisoners in the penitentiary as directed by

Section 4081 of Title 18 in accordance with the criteria therein set forth and without reference to race or color.

13. The petitioner has no other adequate remedy for enforcing the respondents' compliance with their duties as aforesaid than an application for a writ of mandamus. Petitioner does not seek to review or control or in any way interfere with the exercise by the respondents of any discretion reposed in them by law. Mandamus is a proper remedy, and the only remedy, whereby the relief sought herein may be afforded.

WHEREFORE, petitioner prays that a writ of mandamus be issued out of this Court directing and commanding Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General of the United States, and James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice of the United States,

(a) To terminate and abolish the practice of segregating and classifying petitioner and other prisoners in federal pentitentiaries for any purpose whatsoever in accordance with race or color;

(b) To terminate and abolish the practice of segregating petitioner and other Negroes in mess halls and entertainment halls in federal penitentiaries;

(c) To terminate and abolish the practice of providing segregated sleeping quarters for petitioner and other Negroes in federal penitentiaries;

(d) To make available to petitioner and other Negroes without discrimination all benefits and privileges which are or may be extended to white prisoners for meritorious conduct and exemplary work or otherwise in federal prisons; and

for such other and further relief as may be just.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.,
Petitioner

By______________________________
RALPH E. POWE, Attorney

RALPH E. POWE
530 F Street, N.W.
Room 529
Washington, D.C.

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MAG 113

BERRY vSalis—10-12-55

[illegible]

By ABNER W. BERRY

SINCE LAST SEPT 12, one week before the Till murder case trial opened in the Mississippi Delta, Memphis has been preparing "rape" frame-up of six young Negroes which rivals that attempted on the Scottsboro case. And the latest news is that the government, through the FBI, has given Tennessee an assist by arresting a Negro in Chicago last Thursday and holding him for extradition. The FBI, incidentally, showed more alertness and efficiency in aiding an attempted frame-up than has been shown in tracking down witnesses for a Mississippi murder case or the murderers of two Negroes in that state.

The details of the frame-up have been gleaned from clipping from two Memphis daily newspapers — the Commercial Appeal and the Press-Scimitar.

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THE PRESS-SCIMITAR on Sept. 12 headlined a story "Kidnap-Attack Suspects Are Being Sought.' According to the story, a white woman, 36-year-old, not named, had complained to the sheriff's office of Shelby County that she had been dragged from a car at 2:25 a.m. that day and assaulted and raped twice by a group of young Negroes. She said that at the time she was "jerked out" of the car she was on a date with a white male companion to whom the car belonged. The male companion, later identified as Manuel Shaw, the papers report, told police he was driving through a Negro neighborhood when the anonymous Negroes drove up in a "dark gray Ford" and forced him to the curb. Shaw told police he momentarily eluded the offending caronly to be chased and caught by the Negroes.

Then, according to the fantastic story spun by Shaw and the still unnamed white woman, she was snatched from the car and taken behind the house in front of which the car stopped—and raped. Shaw, meantime, remaining in his car, was alowed to procede to a filling station to notify the police. Later in the same pre-dawn the woman went to a police station and told roughly the same story, according to the police.

But the Press-Scimitar in its very first story gave the whole frame-up away with this paragraph (the fourth from the top):

"Police said the woman has a record of disorderly conduct, drunk and soliciting."

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IT WAS also revealed that both Shaw and the woman had been drinking during most of the evening, preceding the fantastic events they reported. It also came out in press reports that the whole drama as concieved by the complainant and Shaw and strained through a police department which knows

tence as a rule in this type of case.

Coleman's "confession" implicated Robert Wright, 15; James Tidwell, 20, and Dennis Mabry, 20, all of whom were immediately arrested and arraigned. But at their arraignment, despite the police claim of "confessions," all four pleaded "not guilty," their case was bound over to the Grand Jury and they were indicted along with two missing defendants on Sept. 30.

★

THE CONNECTION of the six indictments with the Mississippi events was made clear in the police-construction version of the alleged crime. The cops attributed to young Wright the statement that one of the Negroes saw the white woman sitting in a parked car and shouted:

"There's a white woman, let's get her!"

Then after they found there was a man with her, the police version of their reaction puts these words in the mouth of one of them:

"One of our boys whistled at a white woman in Mississippi and they killed him. You had better get going."

This was told to Shaw before he had been hit with fists and bricks, the police version puts it, although this was not alleged when the complaint was first reported.

All of these inconsistencies did not deter the authorities from seeking indictments; nor did the Grand Jury refuse indictments. In addition to the four held in custody in Memphis, the FBI last Friday in Chicago arrested Leotha Wilson as the fifth victim of the Sept. 12 pre-dawn fantasy. A manhunt is still going on for the sixth, as yet unnamed victim. All are being held without bail.

Attorney General JPhil Canale has said that the trial is likely in November, depending on whether the missing defendant can be found.

The young Negroes are being held under two indictments—one on the charge of attempt to murder in the first degree and the other on obduction and assault. The maximum penalty for each charge is death, if convicted. It has been ruled that Wright and Coleman, who ordinarily would be tried as juveniles in a juvenile court, will be tried in Criminal Court, since they are charged with a capital offense.

29 1/2"

★

IT WAS also revealed that both Shaw and the woman had been drinking during most of the evening, preceding the fantastic events they reported. It also came out in press reports that the whole drama as concieved by the complainant and Shaw and strained through a police department which knows well the ways of white supremacy "justice," transpired in a Negro neighborhood.

Within a day's time Memphis police had a "suspect" who had come to the police to claim a "black car" from which the cops had chased three Negroes during their dragnet search. According to the Commercial Appeal of Sept. 14, the investigators were not at all optimistic about their case. It was conveniently forgotten that the "dark gray car" had now been changed to a "black car . . . similar to that described by the complaining witness." But the reasons for the sheriff's pessimism were cited as follows by the Commercial Appeal reporter:

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"**INVESTIGATORS** for the Shelby County sheriff's office indicated they were far from any confession at present. They also were saddled with a medical report which did not bear out the complain on several points."

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THE MEMPHIS reporter added in his story that the complainant had a police record and had claimed she was "assaulted a total of eight times before she was released."

SPITZER — WEDnesday

Three days after this pessimistic report appeared the Commercial Appeal ran a signed story by Roy Jennings under the headline: "4 NEGROES SEIZED IN WOMAN ATTACK." The story, based on the opinions and handouts of Lt. John Carlisle, of the sheriff's office, now claimed that six Negroes were involved, despite the fact that up to now the complainant had mentioned on four.

The story told by the police was based, they said, on "confessions." They had "broken" the case with the "confession" extracted from 16-year-old Thurman Coleman, the suspect the sheriff's office had been pessimistic about just three days before. It was alleged by the police that young Coleman implicated five others. Coleman, according to the police, claimed to have been the "look-out," and nothing else, the usual dodge in the police construction of crimes for which they have no solution or for "crimes" which, indeed, were committed in warped minds. The "look-out" is promised a light sen-

other on obduction and assault. The maximum penalty for each charge is death, if convicted. It has been ruled that Wright and Coleman, who ordinarily would be tried as juveniles in a juvenile court, will be tried in Criminal Court, since they are charged with a capital offense.

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THE DEVIOUS way in which Memphis authorities have moved to place six Negroes in trial for their lives in so obvious a frame-up makes the case seem the answer to demands for integration. Only in Memphis the government has taken the place of the White Citizens Councils in attacking children. Memphis is doing it "legally" with six Emmett Louis Tills.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

October 5, 1955

Mr. Patterson
Civil Rights Congress
6 East 17 Street
New York 3, M.Y.

Dear Friend:

You have undoubtedly heard some echoes of the emotion aroused in France by the Summer verdict acquitting the two lynchers of young Till. In particular, the great meeting which took place in Paris under the sponsorship of the two anti-racist organizations, the MRAP and the LICA, which came together in a common action, ~~for the first time~~ the first in a very long time.

We intend to develop this campaign to the fullest. New meetings are being organiz4d in Paris and in the provinces. Delegations are calling on ~~going to~~ the American Embassy, etc.

In order to enable us to base our arguments on solid grounds, we would be grateful, as we asked you by telegram, if you would send us the fullest documentation, in particular on the legal aspects of the case: Will a second trial take place and when? What kind of a trial? What are the possible verdicts? On what basis can one now demand punishment for the guilty ones? What are your plans in the United States?

We are aware of the wonderful results which have already been obtained in your activities. With our best wishes for success, dear friend, accept our fraternal greetings,

For the Secretariat

Albert LEVY

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MOULOUDJI - Mado ROBIN - Colette MARS - les VINITZKI
Edmond MEUNIER - S. BERLANT... le 13 Novembre à Pleyel
AU GRAND GALA ANTIRACISTE organisé par le M. R. A. P.

(Voir page 8)

N° 149 (253) 15 OCTOBRE 1955 30 FRANCS

Droit et Liberté

CONTRE LE RACISME ET L'ANTISEMITISME, POUR LA PAIX

CHATIMENT DES LYNCHEURS
du jeune noir Emmett Till !

CONTINUER ENSEMBLE...

L'INJUSTICE, où qu'elle se manifeste, est comme un défi à notre peuple. Une fois de plus, il a relevé le défi. Sa réaction est unanime.

Toute la France a flétri, indignée, le lâche lynchage d'un enfant noir de 14 ans, puis le scandaleux acquittement des bourreaux.

Un crime aussi barbare, la complicité ouverte d'un tribunal, l'indifférence calculée d'un gouvernement — voilà qui dépasse nos imaginations. L'émotion, chez nous, est telle que toute la presse s'en est fait l'écho. Des écrivains, des artistes, les personnalités les plus diverses, conscience de la nation, ont protesté. Paris a frémi de colère.

IL fallait, dans ces circonstances, que la voix de notre pays retentît sans discordances, dans l'unité. Il en fut ainsi, grâce au M.R.A.P. Notre Mouvement a montré avec éclat, à cette occasion, sa volonté, sa vocation unitaire.

Dans le cadre de la campagne qu'il menait depuis plusieurs semaines pour le châtiment des coupables, le M.R.A.P. éleva une vigoureuse protestation et décida un meeting, aussitôt connu le verdict de Sumner. Mais, la L.I.C.A. annonçant elle-même un meeting, notre Bureau national, dans un souci d'union, annula la manifestation qu'il préparait et appela tous les antiracistes à se rendre aux Sociétés Savantes, le 27 septembre.

Le résultat ? Ce fut cette affluence, cette atmosphère d'union et de confiance. Union dans la salle, union à la tribune, où siégeaient les dirigeants des deux organisations. Union soulignée par plusieurs orateurs, union saluée d'applaudissements chaleureux lorsque s'acheva la lecture de la déclaration du M.R.A.P.

LA manifestation, certes, aurait pu être plus puissante encore, et donc plus efficace, si les deux organisations l'avaient entièrement préparée en commun.

Réjouissons-nous pourtant de cette première rencontre. Et surtout, préparons-nous à aller de l'avant.

Le souvenir d'Emmett Till, l'impunité des assassins, l'ouverture d'un nouveau procès en novembre, l'aspiration enfin de notre peuple à la justice — tout nous impose de continuer ce combat, et de le continuer ensemble.

Albert LEVY.

(Suite page 6).

Le 7 novembre, Bryant et Millam, les deux meurtriers du petit Emmett Till, doivent comparaître de nouveau, cette fois-ci pour « rapt d'enfant ».

POUR QUE JUSTICE SOIT RENDUE

venez tous au

GRAND MEETING

qui aura lieu le VENDREDI 4 NOVEMBRE, à 20 h. 30

SALLE DE LA MUTUALITÉ

(24, rue Saint-Victor. Métro : Maubert-Mutualité)

Le 27 septembre

DANS L'UNION
PARIS A MANIFESTE SA COLERE
contre le scandaleux verdict de Sumner

Fidèle à sa lutte constante pour l'action commune de tous les antiracistes, le M.R.A.P. avait appelé les Parisiens à se rendre en nombre aux Sociétés Savantes, où la L.I.C.A. organisait un meeting.

Le meeting des Sociétés Savantes. En haut, on reconnaît notamment, à la tribune, Joséphine Baker, Bernard Lecache, et les représentants du M.R.A.P. : notre secrétaire général Charles PALANT, Me Manville, membre du Bureau National, M. l'abbé Grangier. En bas : une vue de la salle.

Ratissages et rafles "au faciès"

A L'HEURE où il semble que la voix de la raison ait, enfin, de sérieuses chances d'être entendue pour le règlement pacifique de la question marocaine, quel vent de folie répressive semble animer les autorités pour tout ce qui touche l'Algérie ?

Le dernier bilan des morts et des blessés au cours des manifestations du dimanche 9 octobre en province est effrayant.

Après les événements de la Goutte-d'Or, Jacques Estrinnes écrivait (« France-Observateur », 8-9-55 :

« ...Le samedi de la Goutte-d'Or a fait plus pour le « Front National » que six mois de propagande. La police prend peur, la rue de la Goutte-d'Or est en état de siège permanent, partout, chaque soir, des hôtels meublés, des cafés sont envahis par les « agents de la paix », des hommes sont emmenés, passés à tabac, la terreur multiplie les indicateurs de police mais durcit les résolutions ; peu à peu le « Front National » rentre dans la clandestinité. »

Ce dernier dimanche aura creusé un peu plus le fossé. Finira-t-on par comprendre que c'est par de tels procédés qu'on risque d'envenimer à tout jamais les rapports entre la Communauté française et la Communauté algérienne, qu'on perd une à une les dernières chances qu'il reste de créer cette « association dans la fraternité » qui répond seule au véritable idéal comme au véritable intérêt de la France ?

Armand BITTOUN.

(Suite page 3).

APPRENDRE LA FRATERNITE

Une conférence internationale a étudié à Paris le problème de l'antiracisme à l'école

Le problème de la lutte contre les préjugés raciaux dans le cadre de l'enseignement scolaire a fait l'objet, du 19 au 23 septembre, d'une conférence internationale organisée à Paris par l'U.N.E.S.C.O. Des éducateurs et des sociologues de huit pays y participaient.

La conférence s'attacha spécialement à mettre au point un ouvrage destiné aux instituteurs, leur apportant une riche documentation ainsi que des exemples et des suggestions qui leur permettront de donner plus facilement une orientation antiraciste à leur enseignement. La discussion portait sur deux projets établis respectivement par M. Cyril Bibby, de l'Université de Londres, et par M. Charles E. Hendry, de l'Université de Toronto.

Entre autres conclusions, la conférence propose qu'il soit fait appel aux différents gouvernements, aux organisations d'enseignants, aux auteurs de livres scolaires, aux organisations antiracistes pour aider au développement de l'esprit de tolérance et de fraternité dès l'école.

Le M.R.A.P. ne peut que souscrire à de telles propositions. A maintes reprises il a insisté sur la nécessité d'immuniser les enfants contre le virus raciste. A la Journée nationale contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et pour la paix, organisée par notre Mouvement en juin dernier, ce problème a été largement débattu. Une commission d'enseignants créée à cet effet a élaboré un plan d'action, dont la réalisation permettra de sensibles progrès dans le même sens que les projets de l'U.N.E.S.C.O.

Au cours de la conférence qui vient de se dérouler, et qui a été suivie avec intérêt par le M.R.A.P., nous avons pu demander leur point de vue à plusieurs délégués.

Nous publions ci-dessous les déclarations qu'ils ont bien voulu faire à « Droit et Liberté ».

M. BARBAG (Pologne) :

" Voici comment nous combattons le racisme... "

Voici la déclaration que nous a faite M. Joseph BARBAG, représentant du ministère de l'Education de Pologne :

La lutte contre le racisme à l'école intéresse tous les pays, et pas seulement ceux où subsiste la ségrégation raciale, tels que les Etats-Unis ou l'Afrique du Sud.

Ce problème n'est pas étranger, par exemple, à la Pologne, bien que, dans notre pays, le racisme n'existe plus. C'est un fait que notre société a été sous l'influence de l'idéologie fasciste avant et pendant la guerre. Des traces de cette intoxication demeurent çà et là. Nous devons donc combattre, notamment par l'enseignement, les préjugés qui pourraient subsister.

Nos méthodes diffèrent selon les classes. Chez les jeunes enfants nous nous efforçons de créer la sympathie à l'égard des autres races, au moyen de récits, d'histoires et par des textes reproduits dans les livres.

Dans les grandes classes nous abordons le point de vue scientifique, en expliquant ce qu'est et n'est pas une race.

On ne peut évidemment pas nier l'existence de races différentes : c'est un fait biologique. Mais nous montrons que les différences raciales n'ont pas d'influence sur les capacités intellectuelles, techniques, ni sur les qualités morales des individus.

De même, il existe des différences de niveau dans le développement culturel des nations, mais ces différences sont liées aux conditions du développement social et historique.

Nous montrons aux enfants que tous les hommes, toutes les races, toutes les nations ont la possibilité d'acquérir le même niveau de culture et de technique pourvu qu'il n'y ait pas à leur égard de discriminations et que leurs conditions de vie soient favorables. Nous montrons concrètement que certains groupes ethniques, une fois débarrassés du système colonial, ont pu se développer considérablement au point de vue culturel et technique dans de nouvelles conditions sociales et économiques. Les meilleurs exemples sont ceux de la Chine et de l'Extrême-Orient soviétique.

A tous les niveaux de l'enseignement, nous nous efforçons de montrer que le développement de la culture universelle n'est pas dû seulement à l'homme blanc. Les cours d'histoire, de littérature nous permettent d'insister sur la richesse des vieilles civilisations de la Chine, de l'Inde ou de l'Amérique du Sud.

La lutte contre le racisme n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement une question d'enseignement : c'est tout le climat social qui importe. Dans des régimes sociaux déterminés, certains groupes sont intéressés à développer le racisme parce qu'il favorise l'exploitation d'autres nations où peut servir, sur le plan intérieur, à créer des diversions aux problèmes qui se posent réellement. Le racisme ne peut trouver chez nous de telles bases.

Nous avons banni de la littérature, du cinéma, comme des livres scolaires, tout ce qui peut exciter à la haine d'autres nations ou d'autres races. De plus, étant donné le caractère émotionnel, antiscientifique des préjugés racistes, il est bon de les combattre aussi sur le terrain émotionnel.

A cet égard, les rencontres entre jeunes de nationalités ou de races diverses constituent la meilleure école de fraternité. Il est clair que le Festival de la Jeunesse, qui s'est tenu cet été à Varsovie, a été pour nous d'une grande utilité dans ce domaine.

La diminution de la tension internationale nous permet d'espérer que les liens pourront être encore resserrés entre les jeunes de tous les pays. C'est, contre le racisme et les préjugés, le remède le plus efficace possible.

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Trav. exéc. par des ouv. syndiqués

M. L. FRANÇOIS (France) :

" Il faut donner aux jeunes des exemples réels... "

Le racisme, *nous a déclaré M. Louis FRANÇOIS, président de la Commission française de l'U.N.E.S.C.O.*, est en général étranger à l'enseignement dans notre pays.

J'estime toutefois qu'il était nécessaire d'attirer l'attention sur ce problème, de sorte que puisse être développée une action positive contre les préjugés qui menacent l'enfant et l'adolescent.

C'est surtout à ce dernier que je pense. La brochure que nous allons élaborer servira surtout, me semble-t-il, dans les classes terminales, pour guider les débats.

Pour frapper les jeunes, il faut des faits précis. Il faut expliquer à l'aide d'exemples concrets ce qu'est le racisme, quelles sont les conditions dans lesquelles il se développe. Un enseignement vraiment antiraciste devrait, à mon avis, examiner les causes du racisme en Afrique du Sud, expliquer pourquoi il a disparu en U.R.S.S., pourquoi il n'existe pas au Brésil, étudier la lente évolution qui s'opère actuellement aux Etats-Unis, etc... Cet enseignement, en un mot, devrait être basé sur le réel.

Un tel enseignement serait particulièrement utile en Afrique du Nord, où le problème du racisme se pose de la façon la plus brûlante et demande une action continue.

Je suis très heureux des contacts que j'ai pu prendre au cours de la présente conférence.

M. HENDRY (U. S. A.) :

" Une dangereuse maladie... "

M. le professeur Charles HENDRY, de l'Université de Toronto (U.S.A.), nous a déclaré :

Voilà une vingtaine d'années que je me consacre aux études sociales, et en particulier au problème des préjugés raciaux.

J'ai dirigé une enquête sur le comportement des individus devant l'antisémitisme et le racisme. Plusieurs des documents que nous avons ainsi établis ont servi à la Cour Suprême des Etats-Unis pour étayer la décision qu'elle a prise de faire cesser la ségrégation dans les écoles.

Des progrès sensibles ont été réalisés dans ce domaine, y compris dans le sud des Etats-Unis. Toutefois, il reste encore beaucoup à faire.

L'enseignement à l'école peut contribuer très efficacement à combattre les préjugés raciaux. Mais l'enfant est également sous l'influence du milieu où il vit en dehors de l'école. Il faudrait pouvoir lutter contre le racisme dans tous les domaines à la fois. C'est là une affaire de gouvernement.

Je pense que la présente conférence aidera à faire reculer cette dangereuse maladie qu'est le racisme.

M. COMAS (Mexique) :

" Nous sommes sur la bonne voie... "

Le professeur Juan COMAS, de l'Université de Mexico, nous rappelle les initiatives déjà prises par l'U.N.E.S.C.O. pour combattre le racisme sur le plan de l'éducation :

En 1949 et 1950, sous l'égide de l'U.N.E.S.C.O., des savants ont élaboré un document définissant le concept de race et proclamant l'égalité de toutes les races.

Puis, ont été publiées une série de brochures destinées à contrecarrer les différents préjugés raciaux. *(M. Comas lui-même a rédigé l'une de ces brochures : « Les mythes raciaux »).*

J'attache une importance primordiale, *nous dit encore M. Comas*, à l'action des organisations non gouvernementales et à la presse.

La campagne pédagogique que nous envisageons devrait être accompagnée de vastes campagnes de presse. Car un enseignement antiraciste serait sans résultats si les enfants rencontraient le racisme à la maison, dans la rue, au cinéma ou dans leurs lectures.

Dans tous les pays, aujourd'hui, il y a des progrès dans ce domaine. Je combats les discriminations raciales depuis 15 ans : je pense que nous sommes sur la bonne voie, surtout si se précise la perspective d'une détente internationale.

" Israélites s'abstenir "

« Israélites et étrangers s'abstenir » : ainsi se termine une annonce parue dans le numéro d'août de l' « Avenir Médical », revue mensuelle lyonnaise.

Il est vrai que l'auteur de cette annonce, qui cherche « un jeune confrère sérieux » pour lui donner son cabinet... et sa fille, se déclare lui-même fatigué.

Quant à la revue en question, elle devrait revoir mieux les textes qu'elle publie. Car, en dépit du mot « avenir » qu'elle arbore dans son titre, de telles discriminations relèvent plutôt du passé. Un passé que nous voulons révolu.

Interdit aux Algériens

Le directeur d'un club de jiu-jitsu d'Amiens a adressé à deux membres de ce club une lettre ainsi conçue :

« Monsieur,

« Par suite des événements fâcheux qui se déroulent en ce moment et sur la demande de nombreux élèves, je me vois dans l'obligation et le regret de vous demander de ne plus venir à la salle d'entraînement. J'espère que vous comprendrez la situation. Recevez, Monsieur, mes salutations. »

Précisons que les deux destinataires étaient des Algériens.

Nous voulons croire que la mesure odieuse prise par un directeur non seulement raciste mais indélicat n'a pas l'approbation de ses « nombreux élèves » qui, eux, sont sportifs.

Gageons que des amateurs de jiu-jitsu le feront sentir au directeur amiénois qui se repentira un jour de ce coup bas.

Un Ciné-Club est né :

" AMITIÉ "

Un ciné-club est né. Il a nom « *Amitié* ». Son but est à la fois de développer la culture cinématographique et d'exalter, au moyen de films appropriés, l'amitié et la fraternité entre les peuples, entre les hommes.

Le M.R.A.P. salue cette initiative, à laquelle il s'associe pleinement. Il apportera tout son appui au groupe dynamique, formé surtout de jeunes, qui assure la gestion du ciné-club « Amitié ».

Les séances seront bimensuelles; elles auront lieu le 2e et 4e mardi de chaque mois, à la salle Yves-Toudic, à deux pas de la place de la République.

La séance d'ouverture aura lieu le 29 novembre. Nous y reviendrons.

●

Inscription : 200 francs.

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" LE JOURNAL QUI VOUS DÉFEND "

PAIX EN AFRIQUE DU NORD !

Ayant examiné les problèmes d'Afrique du Nord, le Bureau national du M.R.A.P. a adopté la résolution suivante, qui a été adressée à tous les groupes parlementaires et communiquée à la presse :

LE Bureau national du Mouvement contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et pour la Paix souligne, une nouvelle fois, que la politique de force et de répression aveugle ne sauraient résoudre les graves problèmes posés en Algérie et au Maroc.

Fidèle aux traditions et à l'intérêt de la France, il dénonce les méthodes racistes pratiquées notamment dans le Constantinois, qui ne peuvent que créer des haines et creuser un fossé entre la France et les populations d'Afrique du Nord.

Le Bureau national proteste énergiquement contre les mesures discriminatoires qui frappent les Nord-Africains résidant en France, telles que les rafles « au faciès » et autres procédés révoltants, rappelant des temps que l'on pouvait croire révolus.

Aux tentatives visant à dresser musulmans et juifs les uns contre les autres, à provoquer des divisions et des effusions de sang, il oppose la solidarité des victimes du racisme, leur fraternité dans le respect des convictions et des intérêts de chacun.

Il salue avec espoir toutes les prises de position en faveur d'une entente entre les différents groupes humains vivant en Afrique du Nord.

Certain d'exprimer la volonté de tous les antiracistes, le Bureau national du M.R.A.P. demande qu'en Algérie et au Maroc soient réalisées, sans tarder, les réformes souhaitées par tous, dans le domaine économique et social, et que soient recherchées sincèrement des solutions de paix dans l'esprit de la Constitution qui garantit à tous, sans distinction de race ni de religion, l'exercice individuel et collectif des libertés et des droits fondamentaux.

Il appelle tous les antiracistes à s'unir et à agir ensemble, pour que triomphent les immortels principes de justice et de liberté.

Paris, le 5 octobre 1955.

Pour l'amitié judéo-musulmane

Dans une interview au journal britannique **Jewish Chronicle**, M. Abdel Kader Benjelloun, secrétaire du Parti Démocratique de l'Indépendance (P.D.I.), a déclaré que le futur gouvernement marocain donnerait **« l'égalité complète à tous les hommes et femmes, sans distinction de race, de couleur et de religion »**. Il a souligné que **« le Maroc de demain sera aussi bien réalisé par les citoyens de religion juive que par leur compatriotes musulmans »**.

Peu avant, le P.D.I., dans un appel explicitement approuvé par Si Bekkai, aujourd'hui membre du Conseil du Trône, avait invité **« tous les Marocains — musulmans ou israélites — à s'épauler dans tous les domaines, afin de réaliser cette union nationale qui, plus que jamais, demeure l'impératif pour la réalisation de leurs communes aspirations légitimes »**.

POUJADE TEL QU'IL EST

DE nouveau, ces temps-ci, Poujade est passé au premier plan de l'actualité.

Non qu'il défende de façon particulièrement efficace les revendications des artisans et des commerçants. Au contraire, il démasque de plus en plus ses ambitions politiques, ses conceptions et ses méthodes fascistes. Ce qui explique les nombreuses lettres de démissions qu'il ne cesse de recevoir.

A maintes reprises, nous avons mis en garde contre l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie de Poujade et de ses lieutenants. Nous avons montré qu'une telle attitude aboutit, d'une part, à diviser des hommes qui ont les mêmes intérêts à défendre; et, d'autre part, à poser faussement le problème des responsabilités.

Or, Poujade récidive, ou plutôt continue. Dans ses plus récents discours, il s'en prend plus volontiers aux « juifs », aux « métèques » qu'aux véritables responsables des difficultés économiques.

Mieux (ou pire): il s'associe ouvertement à la politique de répression en Afrique du Nord, qu'il voudrait plus féroce encore. Il n'ignore pourtant pas qu'une telle politique, outre son caractère dangereux pour la France, doit entraîner de nouveaux impôts, de nouvelles charges pour les commerçants et artisans: le ministre des Finances, M. Pfimlin, l'a indiqué.

Dans une lettre récente à un juif membre de l'U.D.C.A. du Bas-Rhin, Poujade, en se déclarant hostile à l'antisémitisme, ne fait que confirmer son attitude.

Désignant « les usuriers en Algérie ou ailleurs », *il déclare qu'on* « ne doit pas en accorder le bénéfice exclusif aux israélites ». *Ainsi, insinue-t-il que si tous les usuriers ne sont pas juifs, tous les juifs sont usuriers.*

Plus loin, maniant la calomnie antisémite avec la même grossièreté, il se déclare lui-même « honnete et juste » *et demande à son correspondant* « d'intervenir autant que tu pourras auprès de tes correligionnaires pour que des sentiments identiques président à leur ligne de conduite ». *Une telle généralisation n'est-elle pas significative ?*

*Qui se ressemble s'assemble : Poujade vient de fonder à Saint-Céré une « école de cadres », et n'a rien trouvé de mieux, pour en assurer la direction, qu'*Albertini, *ancien collaborateur de Marcel Déat et le doriotiste* Henri Barbé.

Ce sont les « cadres » formés par eux qui sont destinés à entraîner les militants poujadistes dans des expéditions punitives comme celles qui ont eu lieu récemment à Chartres, à Châteaudun, à Pont-l'Abbé-d'Anoult. Ces diversions dirigées contre d'humbles fonctionnaires, la création de sortes de « groupes d'assaut », rappellent dangereusement les méthodes hitlériennes.

Sans doute, il est temps de sévir contre les agissements de Poujade. Aussi peut-on s'étonner que les poursuites engagées gênent si peu le « chef » de l'U.D.C.A. et qu'un ministre, M. July, intervienne personnellement pour faire libérer un poujadiste arrêté à Châteaudun.

Il faudrait également que de telles poursuites contre un homme qui mène ouvertement campagne contre le régime républicain, ne soit pas une nouvelle tentative d'éluder les revendications des commerçants et artisans qui, elles, sont légitimes. Il appartient aux intéressés, sans se laisser détourner par les diversions, de poursuivre leur action dans l'union la plus complète.

FRATERNITE DE TOUS LES JOURS...

Le peuple français n'est pas raciste : chaque jour nous parviennent des témoignages de sa solidarité avec les travailleurs nord-africains. Nous en donnons ici quelques exemples, tirés de la vie quotidienne.

Dans un café lyonnais

C'est un café fréquenté par des journalistes et des imprimeurs après leur nuit de travail.

Entre un jeune homme qui commande un café. Le patron le met dehors en disant : « C'est un Algérien, je ne les aime pas! »

Ce même jeune homme reparaît peu après avec un ami et tous deux vont s'enquérir poliment auprès du patron qui s'écrie : « Si vous ne partez pas immédiatement, j'appelle la police. »

C'était compter sans les consommateurs présents. Ceux-ci invitent donc à leur table les deux Algériens, travailleurs en grève du barrage Saint-Pierre-du-Cognet, et leur offrent des consommations.

A la tenancière du café qui tentait d'expliquer que « Je ne peux pas « les » voir depuis le jour où un Algérien a fait du scandale ici », un consommateur réplique : « Mais est-ce que vous refusez de servir les consommateurs français parce que l'un d'eux a un jour fait du scandale chez vous? »

Et la patronne dut servir les cafés que les Algériens offrirent aux antiracistes.

En gagnant son pain...

A Serre-Ponçon (Hautes-Alpes), l'entreprise « La Générale » pénalise les Algériens qui ne veulent pas prendre leurs repas à la cantine. Elle perçoit 100 francs par repas qui n'est pas pris... et retient ainsi 3.000 francs par mois.

Cette brimade raciste s'apparente fort à une escroquerie.

C'est pourquoi tous les travailleurs de l'entreprise, dans un vaste mouvement antiraciste, se sont unis aux travailleurs algériens pour imposer par la grève la suppression de cette retenue.

La bouteille brisée

Un Algérien circulant à bicyclette à Argenteuil fait une embardée — sa chaîne ayant sauté — et casse une bouteille.

Un agent de police, visiblement désireux de l'humilier, exige que cet Algérien ramasse jusqu'aux plus petits morceaux de verre avec ses mains.

Une personne obligeante ayant assisté à la scène lui offre un balai pour lui faciliter sa tâche. Fureur de l'agent raciste, qui exige alors que l'Algérien répande de la sciure de bois. C'est un commerçant complaisant qui exécute cette besogne.

C'en était trop. L'agent exige alors les papiers de l'Algérien et se permet de menacer de ses foudres toutes les personnes qui ont osé faire acte de solidarité antiraciste!

Si le racisme tue la fraternité sauve...

Des tentes sont plantées sur les berges de la Seine, près du pont Sully à Paris. Là vivent plusieurs familles de sans-logis. Fin septembre, un enfant sort d'une tente et tombe à l'eau. Un Algérien a vu le drame. Il plonge et ramène la petite victime saine et sauve sur la berge.

⁂

A Aubervilliers, par contre, c'est M. Le Riguier, 8, rue Albinet, qui plonge à deux reprises dans le canal et en retire M. Atmaniou Saïd qui se noyait.

Nous saluons ces deux courageux sauveteurs antiracistes.

Ratissages et rafles "au faciès"

(Suite de la page 1)

A Paris, les forces de police mises en place le 9 octobre ont été si importantes que, selon les termes du communiqué du ministère de l'Intérieur, elles ont « réussi à empêcher les manifestations prévues ». Ce même communiqué annonçait « qu'en fin de matinée l'ordre était partout rétabli ».

Cependant les informations de presse annonçaient qu'à 22 h. 15 le chiffre des arrestations dans la capitale s'élevait à 913 ! Pour empêcher la manifestation, il suffisait **d'arrêter « PREVENTIVEMENT » tout Nord-Africain rencontré dans la rue.** Il n'est même plus besoin pour cela d'invoquer la moindre justification juridique.

Et pendant ce temps, sous le couvert de « l'état d'urgence en Algérie », les arrestations opérées en France sur mandat de juges d'instruction près des tribunaux algériens continuent à un rythme toujours plus grand.

L'indignation soulevée par l'arrestation de **Robert BARRAT** a imposé sa mise en liberté. Il est cependant toujours en danger; une perquisition a été opérée à son domicile et il est toujours sous la menace d'avoir à subir des interrogatoires à Alger.

Par ailleurs, c'est par centaines que des Algériens sont arrêtés et transférés en Afrique du Nord pour y être incarcérés. Lorsque rien n'a pu être retenu contre eux et qu'ils sont relâchés par les juges, ce sont les policiers qui les arrêtent et ils peuvent être déportés pour des motifs de « sécurité », et toujours en vertu de « la loi d'urgence ».

Au moment où l'Assemblée Nationale va avoir à décider d'une politique algérienne, il appartient à tous les antiracistes de faire entendre leur voix pour que les solutions de sagesse et de justice soient adoptées et pour qu'avant toute chose il soit mis fin à la répression arbitraire.

Jusque dans leur postérité...

Les discriminations dont sont victimes les travailleurs algériens frappent aussi leurs enfants. Alors que les cotisations ouvrières et patronales sont identiques, les prestations des Allocations familiales et de la Sécurité Sociale sont nettement inférieures pour les Algériens, même lorsqu'ils travaillent en France.

Le carnet de *DL*

Ch. PALANT accidenté

Au nom de tous les amis du M.R.A.P., nous adressons nos vœux de prompt et complet rétablissement à notre ami Charles PALANT, secrétaire général du Mouvement, qui souffre d'une fracture du bras, par suite d'un accident dont il a été victime au début d'octobre.

Mariages

Nous avons le plaisir d'annoncer le mariage de Mlle Monique **Furmanski**, fille de notre dévoué ami Jacques **Furmanski**, avec M. Léon Hepner. Nos félicitations et nos vœux les meilleurs.

⁂

Nous avons le plaisir d'annoncer le mariage de **Mlle Estelle GROSS**, fille de nos amis M. et Mme Gross, de la société « Kalisch », avec **M. Léon SOHOR.** Toutes nos félicitations et nos meilleurs vœux.

TOUS UNIS, imposons le juste châ

L'émotion en France

Le pasteur
Marc BŒGNER

J'exprime le grand espoir que la vague de réprobation soulevée aux U.S.A. et dans le monde entier par l'acquittement des deux blancs accusés contribuera puissamment à persuader les Américains, qui pratiquent encore un si abominable racisme, qu'à semer le vent on récolte tôt ou tard la tempête.

M. Jacob KAPLAN
Grand Rabbin de France

Nous, qui avons atrocement souffert du racisme, voulons tout d'abord exprimer notre vive et fraternelle compassion à cette malheureuse mère.

Ceux qui ont été capables de commettre ce crime se sont targués de leur supériorité raciale. Nous ne connaissons pas de supériorité raciale...

Le verdict du tribunal de Sumner aurait été obtenu au bénéfice du doute. Certes, la justice exige qu'il n'y ait pas de condamnation en cas de doute. Mais nous pouvons nous demander, à lire les journaux, si vraiment il y a eu doute dans l'esprit du jury.

Il est temps que cesse cette haine bestiale des races. Il est temps que cesse toute haine entre les hommes. Puisse le réveil de la conscience universelle rendre désormais impossible le renouvellement de tels actes indignes de l'humanité.

Marcel PRENANT
Professeur à la Sorbonne

Un jeune noir siffle d'admiration au passage d'une femme blanche : c'est une gaminerie.

Deux brutes racistes le punissent en le massacrant : c'est un atroce et répugnant fait-divers.

Il se trouve toute une presse pour prendre leur défense, un tribunal et un jury pour les acquitter, une foule surexcitée pour les acclamer et pour traquer la famille de la victime : c'est la faillite d'une civilisation.

Robert MERLE
Prix Goncourt

Ce verdict est une chose très grave. C'est une victoire importante du racisme et qui dit racisme dit tôt ou tard fascisme. C'est cela surtout qui est inquiétant.

Nous devrions y prendre garde, nous aussi, en Afrique du Nord, où le racisme antiarabe des colons est tout autant à déplorer que le racisme antinoir des Etats du Sud en Amérique.

D'un autre côté, le fait qu'il y ait eu à New-York un meeting où des blancs ont protesté contre le verdict des juges du Mississipi est un indice encourageant. Il montre que l'opinion publique américaine est en train de réagir contre la cruauté et le sadisme inhérent au racisme. Il importe en tout cas de fortifier cette protestation en y joignant la nôtre.

Simone SIGNORET et Yves MONTAND

Nous tenons, ma femme et moi, à nous joindre à tous ceux que l'affaire Till a indignés. Et nous pensons d'ailleurs que ne pas s'indigner publiquement confine à la complicité. L'affaire Till est haïssable comme tout ce qui a trait au racisme ou au colonialisme.

Jean VILAR
Directeur du T.N.P.

Il est regrettable qu'il y ait deux formes de justice. La justice ne doit pas être une question de couleur de peau. Et puis quoi qu'ait pu faire un enfant, on ne le tue pas et on ne libère pas comme ça ceux qui l'ont tué, dans quelque pays que ce soit.

L'AFFAIRE

PRES de trois siècles se sont écoulés, au terme desquels les hommes venus du vieux continent ont pu conquérir la terre sauvage et dure du Mississipi.

Près de trois siècles pendant lesquels les noirs, utilisés, exploités, asservis jusqu'à la découverte de nouveaux moyens de production ont permis à l'Amérique de se couvrir de buildings et d'usines — d'être une nation puissante.

En abandonnant l'Europe, les colonisateurs d'alors poursuivaient l'achèvement de leur personnalité dans leur lutte avec ce pays nouveau. S'ils ont mérité d'avoir le sentiment d'être chez eux, il est permis de penser qu'en abordant ces mêmes rives, les hommes d'Afrique avaient au fond d'eux-mêmes des aspirations analogues. Qu'ils aient été vaincus et asservis, c'est la loi du plus fort, un fait historique, sur lequel il serait vain de revenir maintenant pour tenter une quelconque critique des mœurs de la colonisation.

Qu'il nous suffise de constater que sans eux l'Amérique ne serait peut-être pas ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui — qu'il y aura bientôt cent ans qu'Abraham Lincoln supprimait l'esclavage et que, dans tous les Etats-Unis, y compris le Mississipi, les hommes sont assurés de certains droits inaliénables — entre autres la vie, la liberté, la poursuite du bonheur.

Pourtant, c'est un fait : l'Amérique lynche ses noirs et, dans l'ensemble de ce pays, si le crime d'un nègre est un prétexte pour terroriser toute une population noire, le crime d'un blanc contre un noir suscite les mêmes prétextes.

Il y a là un paradoxe étrange qui, en traversant le mouvement d'émancipation irrésistible développé depuis Lincoln, risque de compromettre dangereusement l'avenir de l'Amérique si sa Justice s'obstine à se différencier selon la couleur de ses citoyens.

Dans le sud de l'Amérique, l'affaire Emmett Till n'est, paraît-il, rien de plus qu'un fait divers dans la colonne des chiens écrasés...

Histoire de justice américaine, ajoute-t-on, mais à travers l'indignation qu'elle a suscitée dans le monde entier, il est réconfortant de penser que l'injustice, d'où qu'elle vienne, continue à révolter la conscience des hommes.

Il est encore temps pour les juges de Sumner de reconsidérer leurs traditions et de prendre garde à leurs coutumes. Ainsi le veut, à défaut d'humanisme, une certaine décence.

RAPPELONS brièvement les faits.

Mme Caroline Bryant est, paraît-il, une jolie épicière de Money et Emmett Till, un jeune noir, a, en l'apercevant, poussé un sifflement d'admiration. Il n'en faut pas davantage pour qu'on découvre, quelques jours plus tard, son cadavre affreusement défiguré, dans la rivière Tallahatchie.

Emmett TILL.

Tout simplement parce qu'il avait, avec toute la spontanéité de ses 14 ans, rendu hommage à la beauté d'une blanche, le mari de celle-ci s'en est offensé au point d'organiser contre lui une expédition punitive. Quatre blancs composaient cette expédition : Roy Bryant, l'offensé, son demi-frère John Millam et deux autres qu'on n'a guère eu souci d'identifier, encore moins d'inquiéter.

Il était nuit, quand ils découvrirent le gamin chez son oncle, Moses Wright, un vieux prédicateur à qui « on conseilla avec énergie d'oublier ce qu'il avait vu ».

Ce qu'il avait vu? Emmett interrogé brutalement et enfin kidnappé...

Ce qu'il n'avait pas vu, ce qu'il n'avait pas entendu, un jeune homme de 18 ans, Willie Reed, est venu le dire, à douze hommes d'une race différente et hostile à la sienne, dans une salle menaçante mais confiante dans le verdict, car jamais dans le Sud un blanc n'a été condamné pour le meurtre d'un noir — dans une salle seulement étonnée de l'existence d'un tel procès.

Ce qu'il avait vu, Willie Reed?

Emmett Till dirigé vers une grange, propriété du frère de l'un des accusés — un blanc en sortir, puis rentrer avec un revolver.

Ce qu'il avait entendu?

Les coups tannant vigoureusement la peau noire d'Emmett Till et ses cris de douleur.

En dépit de ces témoignages accablants, les accusés, bons pères de famille — faisant danser leurs enfants sur leurs genoux — plaident non coupables.

En somme, ils étaient venus sermonner un petit nègre incorrect, l'avaient sorti dans la nuit on ne sait trop pourquoi, puis s'étant aperçus qu'ils s'étaient trompés sur son identité, l'avaient rendu à la liberté et à la vie.

Quant au cadavre repêché dans la rivière et formellement reconnu par la mère comme étant celui de son fils, ne serait-ce encore que par l'anneau d'argent que son père lui avait donné, mensonge que tout cela. Il ne s'agit ni plus ni moins que d'une honteuse mise en scène de la population noire du Mississipi pour procurer des ennuis aux blancs...

Voilà qui a suffi pour susciter dans l'esprit des jurés de Sumner « un doute raisonnable ». D'ailleurs, un verdict de culpabilité aurait réveillé les cadavres des premiers maitres. Et cela, il ne le fallait pas.

Aussi, la justice de l'Etat du Mississipi fut-elle rendue dans l'allégresse générale, conforme au vœu des racistes blancs.

Roy Bryant et John Millam ne sont pas des assassins. Il n'y a eu ni préméditation, ni lâcheté de leur part. Ils ont été victimes d'une cruelle mystification imaginée par la haine des noirs, les seuls et vrais coupables.

LE vieux patriarche Moses Wright, Willie Reed et Mamy Bradley, mère d'Emmett Till, n'ont plus qu'à quitter le Mississipi s'ils tiennent à leur vie.

Le sheriff de Sumner prendra soin d'Emmett Till.

Car Emmett Till n'est pas mort.

Dans ce Sud des Etats-Unis, tout imprégné de la sueur et du sang des noirs, fermé à toute influence humanitaire, perdu au fond d'un conservatisme larvé, il suscitera longtemps l'indignation du monde et le déshonneur du jury de Sumner et maintiendra dans le cœur de 19 millions d'hommes une révolte que nul ne saurait flétrir.

André SAINT-CYR.

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TOUTE la presse a reflété l'émotion unanime des Français devant le verdict raciste de Sumner. Cette émotion devait se traduire, à Paris, par une manifestation également unanime.

Le M.R.A.P., désireux de faire tout son possible pour que s'affirme l'union des antiracistes, gage d'efficacité, décida d'annuler le meeting qu'il préparait et s'associa au meeting prévu par la L.I.C.A.

Après une rencontre entre une délégation du Bureau national du M.R.A.P. et des représentants du Comité central de la L.I.C.A., notre Mouvement, dans un appel publié par les différents quotidiens, invita ses militants, adhérents et amis, à se rendre nombreux, le 27 septembre, salle des Sociétés Savantes.

Ainsi, dans une salle trop petite, des hommes et des femmes de toutes races, de toutes origines, de toutes opinions, exprimèrent d'un même élan leur colère, leur ardente volonté de justice et la satisfaction de se trouver au coude à coude, sans distinction d'organisation, dans le même combat.

A la tribune, on reconnaissait notamment : *Joséphine Baker*, *Bernard Lecache* qui présidait, plusieurs dirigeants de la L.I.C.A., et les représentants du M.R.A.P. : notre secrétaire général *Charles Palant*, *Mᵉ Manville*, membre du Bureau national, et M. l'abbé *Grangier*.

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L'ÉTRANGE PROCÈS DE

La presse américaine donne d'étranges descriptions de la salle du tribunal de Sumner, où Roy Bryant et J. W. Millam ont été jugés pour le meurtre du petit Emmett Till.

« Les jurés en manches de chemises fument le cigare. Les enfants des accusés piaillent ou menacent le juge de leur pistolet à eau ».

« L'un des enfants portait des bottes et un chapeau de cow-boy ! »

« Des cris de « Bonne chance » jaillissent du public, quand les deux accusés, rasés de frais et l'air jovial, pénètrent dans la salle... »

« Les femmes des accusés sont assises à côté d'eux... »

En famille...

***

La ségrégation était pratiquée dans la salle même du tribunal, où l'on n'avait laissé entrer qu'une cinquantaine de noirs, pour environ 250 blancs. Les noirs, qu'ils soient spectateurs, témoins ou journalistes, étaient placés dans le même coin, à l'écart des blancs. Le représentant noir Diggs, lui-même, dut, malgré ses protestations, se plier à ces mesures racistes.

— Voilà longtemps que nous maintenons les races séparées. Nous n'avons pas l'intention de changer aujourd'hui, a déclaré le sherif Strider.

***

Lorsque Mme Bradley, la malheureuse mère, arriva à Sumner pour témoigner au procès, elle demanda à la police d'assurer sa protection.

— Vous n'avez pas plus besoin de protection que moi ! lui répondit le sherif en caressant le revolver attaché à sa ceinture. Et il refusa son appui.

Mme Bradley reçut 50 lettres de menaces.

Mais aussi, il est vrai, 2.000 lettres d'encouragements.

***

Pas un noir et pas une femme dans ce jury chargé de punir les assassins d'un enfant noir.

Neuf des douze jurés étaient des fermiers, exploitant eux-mêmes des travailleurs « de couleur », représentants de cette aristocratie blanche du Mississipi, si fière de ses traditions racistes...

***

Le procureur général Chatham a révélé que deux noirs, Leroy Collins et Henry Logan, ont été contraints par les assassins à assister au crime. Ces deux témoins ont disparu.

De même ont disparu deux autres témoins qui avaient entendu Emmett Till crier dans la grange où ses bourreaux le torturaient.

Mais les enquêteurs n'ont pas cru devoir les faire rechercher.

Et pas davantage les deux autres blancs qui se trouvaient dans la camionnette de Bryant le soir du meurtre.

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Après le courageux témoignage de Moses Wright, ne pouvant nier qu'ils avaient emmené Emmett Till, Bryant et Millam ont prétendu l'avoir abandonné sain et sauf, au bout de trois kilomètres, car il n'était pas le garçon qu'ils recherchaient.

Le courageux témoin Moses WRIGHT.

— Ce n'était pas le bon, ont-ils affirmé.

Ce qui est un demi-aveu : à supposer qu'ils aient trouvé « le bon », ils lui auraient fait ce qu'on les accuse d'avoir fait à Emmett.

***

C'est le sherif Strider qui a soufflé aux jurés leur verdict. Appuyant la thèse cynique des accusés, il a affirmé qu'il était impossible d'identifier le cadavre repêché dans la rivière Tallahatchie.

— Même si ç'avait été mon propre fils, je ne l'aurais pas reconnu, a-t-il affirmé.

Et le verdict a été prononcé, contre l'évidence même, sur la base de ce seul témoignage.

***

En fait, le cadavre a été reconnu d'abord par l'oncle d'Emmett, le vieux Moses Wright. Indice irréfutable : la bague que portait l'enfant, et qui lui avait été donnée par son père.

Quant à sa mère, Mme Bradley, elle a témoigné en ces termes :

— J'ai absolument identifié le corps... J'ai regardé le visage, les oreilles, le front, les cheveux, le nez, les lèvres, le menton. Je l'ai examiné très minutieusement et j'ai vu alors que c'était mon fils. Il n'y avait pas de doute possible.

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ons le juste châtiment des lyncheu

AIRE

dans le verdict, car jamais dans le Sud un blanc n'a été condamné pour le meurtre d'un noir — dans une salle seulement étonnée de l'existence d'un tel procès.

Ce qu'il avait vu, Willie Reed?

Emmett Till dirigé vers une grange, propriété du frère de l'un des accusés — un blanc en sortir, puis rentrer avec un revolver.

Ce qu'il avait entendu?

Les coups tannant vigoureusement la peau noire d'Emmett Till et ses cris de douleur.

En dépit de ces témoignages accablants, les accusés, bons pères de famille — taisant danser leurs enfants sur leurs genoux — plaident non coupables.

En somme, ils étaient venus sermonner un petit nègre incorrect, l'avaient sorti dans la nuit on ne sait trop pourquoi, puis s'étant aperçus qu'ils s'étaient trompés sur son identité, l'avaient rendu à la liberté et à la vie.

Quant au cadavre repêché dans la rivière et formellement reconnu par la mère comme étant celui de son fils, ne serait-ce encore que par l'anneau d'argent que son père lui avait donné, mensonge que tout cela. Il ne s'agit ni plus ni moins que d'une honteuse mise en scène de la population noire du Mississipi pour procurer des ennuis aux blancs...

Voilà qui a suffi pour susciter dans l'esprit des jurés de Sumner « un doute raisonnable ». D'ailleurs, un verdict de culpabilité aurait réveillé les cadavres des premiers maîtres. Et cela, il ne le fallait pas.

Aussi, la justice de l'Etat du Mississipi fut-elle rendue dans l'allégresse générale, conforme au vœu des racistes blancs.

Roy Bryant et John Millam ne sont pas des assassins. Il n'y a eu ni préméditation, ni lâcheté de leur part. Ils ont été victimes d'une cruelle mystification imaginée par la haine des noirs, les seuls et vrais coupables.

LE vieux patriarche Moses Wright, Willie Reed et Mamy Bradley, mère d'Emmett Till, n'ont plus qu'à quitter le Mississipi s'ils tiennent à leur vie.

Le sheriff de Sumner prendra soin d'Emmett Till.

Car Emmett Till n'est pas mort.

Dans ce Sud des Etats-Unis, tout imprégné de la sueur et du sang des noirs, fermé à toute influence humanitaire, perdu au fond d'un conservatisme larvé, il suscitera longtemps l'indignation du monde et le déshonneur du jury de Sumner et maintiendra dans le cœur de 19 millions d'hommes une révolte que nul ne saurait flétrir.

André SAINT-CYR.

A tous les gens de cœur

ENCOURAGEE par le scandaleux verdict de Sumner, la haine raciale se déchaîne dans le Mississipi.

Après le lynchage du jeune noir de 14 ans, Emmett Louis Till, après l'acquittement et la libération des deux assassins, le courageux témoin Moses Wright a dû quitter son domicile pour échapper à la mort, tandis que deux autres témoins, victimes de la terreur raciste, ont disparu.

Ce défi à la conscience universelle doit cesser!

Une mère éplorée, des hommes, des femmes et des enfants, sur qui pèse la menace de nouveaux crimes racistes, réclament que justice soit rendue, appuyés par de vaillants antiracistes américains, de plus en plus nombreux.

L'opinion française qui, dans un élan unanime, a déjà exprimé son émotion indignée, demande le châtiment exemplaire des coupables, dont l'impunité bafoue la dignité humaine et constitue un terrible précédent.

Gens de cœur, antiracistes de toutes tendances, exigeons que justice soit rendue au cours du nouveau procès qui doit avoir lieu en novembre.

Par d'innombrables pétitions, lettres et délégations à l'ambassade des Etats-Unis, par de multiples résolutions et manifestations, faisons entendre, tous ensemble, notre voix.

Faisons triompher la justice et la fraternité des hommes !

LE BUREAU NATIONAL DU M.R.A.P.

Terreur c

● DANS LA NUIT du 7 mai, le Rév. Georges W. Lee, prêtre à Belzoni (Mississipi), a été tué par balle dans sa voiture, après qu'il eût refusé de céder aux pressions exercées sur lui pour lui faire retirer son nom du registre des électeurs. Ses meurtriers n'ont pas été appréhendés.

● LE MATIN du 13 août, un homme de 63 ans, Lamar Smith, de Brookhaven (Mississipi), qui avait mené campagne pour le droit de vote des noirs, a été tué par balle en plein jour, devant la porte même de la Cour de Justice. Les trois suspects arrêtés pour ce crime n'ont pas été poursuivis.

(Ici, le document cite l'affaire Emmett Till.)

● LE 18 AOUT, le journal *Enterprise*, d'Indianola (Mississipi), à l'instar des autres journaux de l'Etat, a publié un éditorial adressé « à tous les hommes et femmes de race blanche ». Il invitait tous les citoyens blancs de la ville à se tenir prêt pour se mobiliser « à l'appel du clairon », contre

La mère parle...

Douloureuse et digne, Mme Bradley, la mère du petit Emmett Till, a pris la parole à Harlem, le 25 septembre, devant une foule de 20.000 manifestants. Debout entre son père et son cousin, qui l'avaient accompagnée au procès de Sumner, elle a déclaré notamment :

Mme BRADLEY.

« En pleurant toute une vie, je ne parviendrais pas à répandre toutes les larmes qui apaiseront ma peine...

« Quand j'ai vu le corps brutalement mutilé de mon fils, j'ai été glacée d'horreur... Ce n'était plus le beau visage de mon enfant que j'avais nourri et aimé... Quelque chose a bondi en moi et j'aurais voulu que le monde entier puisse voir ce qu'on avait fait de mon enfant.

« Pères et mères, pensez-y, cela pourrait arriver à votre fils aussi. Cela pourrait arriver à tous les enfants noirs. Pensez-y et prenez la décision de mettre fin à cela. Ce n'est pas pour Emmett, car on ne peut plus rien pour lui ; mais si ce que nous voyons nous sert de leçon, la vie sera plus sûre pour d'autres enfants...

« Devant Dieu et devant les hommes, le verdict de Sumner est une honte. Après l'acquittement de Bryant et Millam, le lynchage devient légal.

« Tous ceux qui se sont dressés pour protester ont le devoir de continuer la lutte pour empêcher que cela soit encore possible.

« Nous avons encore beaucoup à faire. »

DANS L'UNION

aux Sociétés Savantes

TOUTE la presse a reflété l'émotion unanime des Français devant le verdict raciste de Sumner. Cette émotion devait se traduire, à Paris, par une manifestation également unanime.

Le M.R.A.P., désireux de faire tout son possible pour que s'affirme l'union des antiracistes, gage d'efficacité, décida d'annuler le meeting qu'il préparait et s'associa au meeting prévu par la L.I.C.A.

Après une rencontre entre une délégation du Bureau national du M.R.A.P. et des représentants du Comité central de la L.I.C.A., notre Mouvement, dans un appel publié par les différents quotidiens, invita ses militants, adhérents et amis, à se rendre nombreux, le 27 septembre, salle des Sociétés Savantes.

Ainsi, dans une salle trop petite, des hommes et des femmes de toutes races, de toutes origines, de toutes opinions, exprimèrent d'un même élan leur colère, leur ardente volonté de justice et la satisfaction de se trouver au coude à coude, sans distinction d'organisation, dans le même combat.

A la tribune, on reconnaissait notamment : *Joséphine Baker*, *Bernard Lecache* qui présidait, plusieurs dirigeants de la L.I.C.A., et les représentants du M.R.A.P. : notre secrétaire général *Charles Palant*, Mᵉ *Manville*, membre du Bureau national, et M. l'abbé *Grangier*.

La déclaration du M.R.A.P., dont la lecture fut suivie de chaleureux applaudissements, souligna cette remarquable unité qui, si elle s'affermit encore, comme nous le souhaitons, permettra aux antiracistes de remporter d'éclatants succès dans leur lutte.

Parmi les orateurs qui, tour à tour, dénoncèrent le double crime du Mississipi — le lynchage du jeune Till et l'acquittement des meurtriers — plusieurs s'attachèrent à exalter également, au passage, l'union si nécessaire.

M. Rivierez, sénateur de l'Oubangui-Chari, salua notamment « *tous ces hommes unis parce*

(Suite page 6).

E PROCÈS DE SUMNER

Après le courageux témoignage de Moses Wright, ne pouvant nier qu'ils avaient emmené Emmett Till, Bryant et Millam ont prétendu l'avoir abandonné sain et sauf, au bout de trois kilomètres, car il n'était pas le garçon qu'ils recherchaient.

Le courageux témoin Moses WRIGHT.

— **Ce n'était pas le bon,** ont-ils affirmé.

Ce qui est un demi-aveu : à supposer qu'ils aient trouvé « le bon », ils lui auraient fait ce qu'on les accuse d'avoir fait à Emmett.

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C'est le sherif Strider qui a soufflé aux jurés leur verdict. Appuyant la thèse cynique des accusés, il a affirmé qu'il était impossible d'identifier le cadavre repêché dans la rivière Tallahatchie.

— **Même si ç'avait été mon propre fils, je ne l'aurais pas reconnu,** a-t-il affirmé.

Et le verdict a été prononcé, contre l'évidence même, sur la base de ce seul témoignage.

***

En fait, le cadavre a été reconnu d'abord par l'oncle d'Emmett, le vieux Moses Wright. Indice irréfutable : la bague que portait l'enfant, et qui lui avait été donnée par son père.

Quant à sa mère, Mme Bradley, elle a témoigné en ces termes :

— **J'ai absolument identifié le corps... J'ai regardé le visage, les oreilles, le front, les cheveux, le nez, les lèvres, le menton. Je l'ai examiné très minutieusement et j'ai vu alors que c'était mon fils. Il n'y avait pas de doute possible.**

Elle a ensuite reconnu formellement la photo que lui présentait le tribunal.

— **Si mon fils était vivant,** a-t-elle ajouté, **je crois que je le saurais...**

D'ailleurs, si Emmett Till était vivant, n'aurait-il pas été retrouvé ?

***

Etranges arguments que ceux des avocats de la défense. L'un d'eux, Breeland, demande à Mme Bradley pour « démontrer » sa mauvaise foi :

— **Quel journal lisez-vous habituellement ? N'est-ce pas le « Chicago Defender », ce journal qui défend les noirs ?...**

***

Un autre avocat, Kellum, déclare aux jurés, pathétique :

— **Je vous demande où serait, sous le soleil de Dieu, la terre de la liberté et la demeure des braves, si vous n'acquittez pas ces deux gars ; vos ancêtres, sans aucun doute, se retourneraient dans leur tombe...**

« Quand vous descendrez dans votre tombe solitaire et silencieuse, pour un sommeil sans rêves, je souhaite que vous portiez la palme dans vos bras, que vous ayez servi Dieu et vos frères humains : le seul moyen pour qu'il en soit ainsi, est d'acquitter ces deux gars. »

***

Un autre enfin, Whilten, prétend que toute l'affaire n'est qu'un « complot » monté par Moses Wright, Mme Bradley et les organisations de noirs, **« pour porter atteinte aux vieilles traditions du Sud ».**

— **C'est notre mode de vie qui est menacé,** déclare-t-il.

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Le procureur général Chatham, certes, prononça un réquisitoire accablant. Mais il annonça d'emblée qu'il ne demanderait pas la peine maximum.

Où sont donc les circonstances atténuantes ?

Tout au long du procès, il s'accommoda fort bien de la ségrégation pratiquée dans la salle.

Lui-même, interrogeant le témoin principal, ne l'appela pas autrement que « oncle Mose » : dans le Sud, il est indécent d'appeler un noir : Monsieur.

Les accusés n'ont pas cru devoir intervenir dans les débats. Seuls sont intervenus en leur faveur trois témoins de « moralité ».

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« C'est pour nous un grand encouragement dans notre lutte pour les droits humains et pour la défense de la justice, que de recevoir de telles expressions de solidarité, venant des peuples d'autres pays. De plus, l'expérience nous a enseigné que, dans cette lutte, le soutien moral des peuples du monde entier, joint à l'action de notre propre peuple, est d'une grande importance, d'une grande efficacité. C'est pourquoi nous tenons à vous témoigner notre chaleureuse reconnaissance. »

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ent des lyncheurs d'Emmett TILL !

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EAU NATIONAL DU M.R.A.P.

Terreur dans le Missisipi

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Sous le titre **« Halte à la tyrannie raciale dans le Missisipi »**, l'Association Nationale pour l'Avancement des Gens de Couleur (N.A.A.C.P.) a lancé, par voie de presse, le 3 octobre dernier, un bouleversant appel à l'opinion publique américaine. Le sous-titre résume ainsi l'atmosphère qui règne dans l'Etat où le jeune Emmett Till a été assassiné :

« Trois meutres impunis. Le décret de la Cour Suprême contre la ségrégation scolaire ouvertement ignoré. La vie de nombreux leaders noirs menacée. Mesures d'intimidation. Représailles économiques. Impossibilité pour 900.000 noirs de faire entendre leur voix dans les affaires du pays. »

Nous donnons ci-dessous de larges extraits de ce document.

● EN NOVEMBRE 1954, l'Etat du Missisipi a adopté un amendement constitutionnel exigeant des électeurs qu'ils soient capables de « lire et écrire et d'interpréter la Constitution de l'Etat ». Les aptitudes des électeurs sont jugées par les comités électoraux locaux. Ces mesures ont abouti à réduire le nombre des noirs inscrits sur les registres électoraux, de 22.104 à 8.000, sur une population de 986.500 personnes.

● LE 2 SEPTEMBRE dernier, le président du Comité Démocratique de l'Etat du Missisipi a refusé l'accès de la presse à une session extraordinaire de ce Comité, convoquée pour étudier le moyen de réduire encore le nombre des électeurs noirs. « Les noirs ont probablement joué un trop grand rôle dans les dernières élections », a déclaré le président.

Dans tout l'Etat du Missisipi, les leaders noirs sont menacés et boycottés. Des mesures d'intimidations visent à réduire au silence et à l'inactivité les citoyens noirs qui voudraient défendre leurs droits constitutionnels. Les témoins noirs d'actes de violence, dans l'affaire du Rév. Lee, comme dans l'affaire Emmett Till, ont dû fuir l'Etat.

Des Conseils de Citoyens Blancs, organisés pour maintenir et renforcer la ségrégation entre les deux races, appliquent des sanctions contre les noirs ayant une activité civique, qui sont privés de travail, de crédit et de logement. Çà et là, quelques blancs expriment individuellement leur indignation, mais ils ne rencontrent pas une large audience.

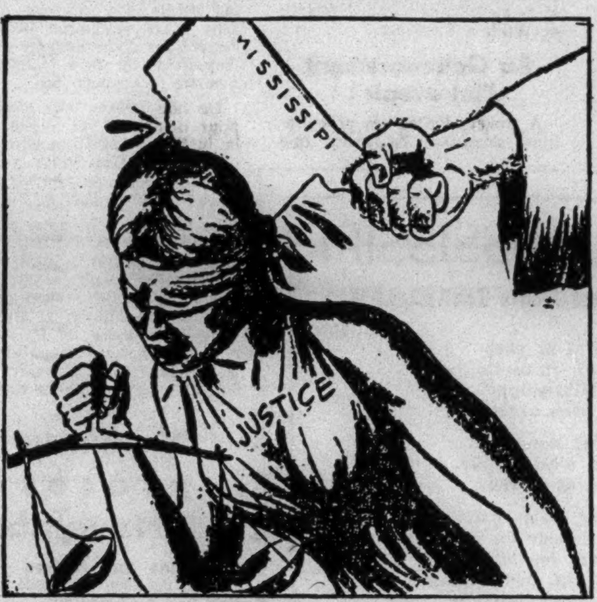
Tel est le Missisipi 164 ans après que la Déclaration des Droits ait été ratifiée, 92 ans après la Proclamation d'Emancipation...

De même qu'il est vrai que notre nation ne pouvait alors exister en étant par moitié esclave et par moitié libre, de même il est vrai, aujourd'hui, que chaque élément de la population de notre pays est en danger si tous les éléments ne jouissent pas de la protection de la Déclaration des Droits et de la Constitution.

En fait, à moins de réaliser cette unité, nous sommes condamnés en tant que nation et comme dirigeants du monde libre — non pas de l'extérieur, mais de l'intérieur...

En conclusion, l'appel du N.A.A.C.P. invite le peuple américain à lutter pour :

1. assurer effectivement l'application de la loi et la protection de tous les citoyens;
2. supprimer les restrictions raciales au suffrage universel;
3. assurer l'application de l'édit de la Cour Suprême interdisant la ségrégation dans les écoles publiques;
4. Mettre fin aux représailles économiques frappant les citoyens noirs qui défendent leurs droits constitutionnels.



Dessin paru dans le « New York-Amsterdam News ».

INTERVENTION DU GOUVERNEMENT !

exigent les antiracistes américains

L'odieux lynchage du Missisipi et l'acquittement des deux assassins a suscité une profonde émotion à travers l'ensemble des Etats-Unis.

50.000 personnes assistaient, à Chicago, aux obsèques du jeune Emmett Till. 20.000 manifestants ont participé à un meeting à Harlem, au lendemain du verdict. On voyait dans la foule des noirs, qui occupait plusieurs rues, de nombreux visages de blancs. La mère d'Emmett Till, Mme Bradley, prit la parole, ainsi que MM. Earl Brown, conseiller municipal de New-York, et Philip Randolph, président du syndicat des porteurs de gare.

De semblables manifestations

(Suite page 6).

mère parle...

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L'émotion en France

Georges DUHAMEL
de l'Académie Française

Je suis contre la peine de mort en quelque circonstance que ce soit, car les hommes ne sont jamais sûrs de ne pas se tromper. Mais le meurtre d'un homme est inexcusable, impardonnable, et mérite un châtiment.

Quand un crime a un caractère racial, il m'est particulièrement odieux. Pourquoi? Parce que, quelle que soit la couleur de leur peau, les hommes sont des hommes. Tous ont les mêmes organes aux mêmes places. Ils sont toujours frères. Rien ne peut excuser le lynchage. Mais tuer un enfant de 14 ans est un double crime...

Même si cet enfant avait fait un crime en Europe, nul n'aurait pris le droit de s'en faire justice par lui-même... Par contre, la non-punition entretient une erreur grave dans un pays qui devrait s'en délivrer au plus tôt.

Jean COCTEAU
de l'Académie Française

Tout homme qui insulte une race étrangère déshonore la sienne. Mais ici le problème est encore plus grave, et ne pas punir ces deux ignobles voyous, c'est se rendre complice de leur crime.

Pierre GASCAR
Prix Goncourt

Comment n'être pas indignés, révoltés ? En d'autres temps un racisme semblable, un racisme légal et triomphant, a déshonoré un pays voisin du nôtre. Est-il tolérable que les tortionnaires d'outre-Rhin trouvent aujourd'hui des successeurs?

A l'heure où se lève sur le monde un espoir de paix, l'inqualifiable crime et le scandaleux procès simulé, dont l'Etat du Missisipi a été le théâtre est comme un retour de la nuit.

Pierre MAC ORLAN
de l'Académie Goncourt

Ce jugement me paraît stupéfiant. Je ne peux pas m'expliquer qu'un assassinat commis sans circonstances atténuantes — et encore ! — puisse ne pas provoquer un châtiment !

Gérard BAUER
de l'Académie Goncourt

La sentence rendue est d'une injustice si flagrante qu'il est impossible de ne pas la ressentir comme une faute douloureuse contre la dignité humaine !

Roland DORGELES
de l'Académie Goncourt

Ces deux assassins et l'ignoble mégère qui a causé le drame ne sont pas superstitieux. Ils devraient craindre que leurs enfants blancs ne vivent pas vieux.

Gaby MORLAY

Tous les acteurs du théâtre des Nouveautés ont signé avec moi. Je trouve ce verdict tellement écœurant et répugnant que je pense que beaucoup plus de gens auraient dû faire ainsi.

Louis DAQUIN
Metteur en scène

Bien sûr, de telles ignominies ne sont point le fait de tout le peuple américain, comme le racisme des colons d'Afrique du Nord n'est point le fait du peuple de France. Tant que de telles haines, de telles discriminations existeront encore, nous ne devons pas avoir de repos. Nous avons encore beaucoup à faire. Nous devons encore faire beaucoup. Et nous, les créateurs, ne pas nous contenter de déclarations mais nous efforcer, par nos œuvres, d'effacer du cœur et de l'esprit des hommes, ces ignobles mensonges qui les enchaînent.

Pour la justice dans l'affaire Emmett TILL

Le M.R.A.P. propose à la L.I.C.A. de poursuivre l'action en commun

Le M.R.A.P. vient d'adresser au président de la L.I.C.A. la lettre suivante :

L'affaire Emmett Till n'est pas terminée : les deux meurtriers doivent de nouveau comparaitre devant un tribunal d'ici quelques semaines, cette fois-ci pour rapt d'enfant.

L'opinion publique, qui a protesté avec véhémence contre leur acquittement, suit cette affaire et souhaite qu'une action de tous les antiracistes soit menée en France pour obtenir leur châtiment exemplaire.

En outre, les antiracistes de France se doivent de soutenir et d'encourager les antiracistes américains qui se révèlent de plus en plus nombreux.

Lors de l'entrevue qui a eu lieu le 26 septembre entre vous-même, MM. Aidenbaum et Rimarz pour la L.I.C.A. et une délégation du Bureau national de notre Mouvement, nous avons été d'accord pour constater la nécessité de poursuivre une telle action antiraciste.

Comme vous le savez, notre Mouvement a appelé ses adhérents et amis à participer au meeting organisé par la L.I.C.A., le 27 septembre, salle des Sociétés Savantes. L'ampleur et le succès de cette manifestation justifient la prompte réaction de nos deux organisations et confirment l'efficacité d'une action commune.

Afin de répondre à l'appel de l'opinion publique et d'aider à imposer par nos efforts communs le triomphe de la justice dans l'affaire Emmett Till, nous vous suggérons d'examiner ensemble les propositions suivantes :

— Le développement d'une campagne de pétitions, de délégations et de manifestations diverses;

— Une intervention auprès de la Commission des Droits de l'Homme de l'O.N.U.;

— L'organisation d'un grand meeting à la veille du second procès.

Etant donnée la proximité de ce nouveau procès, nous vous prions de bien vouloir nous fixer aussi rapidement que possible la date et le lieu d'une rencontre au cours de laquelle les représentants de nos deux organisations pourraient discuter de ces problèmes et prendre les décisions qui s'imposent.

Veuillez agréer, etc...

Le Secrétaire général du M.R.A.P. :
Charles PALANT.

Dans l'union, aux Sociétés Savantes

(Suite de la page 4)

qu'une injustice a été commise, dans une commune pensée, dans une commune volonté, tous ces hommes dont l'union représente une force. »

« *Nous sommes tous liés les uns aux autres,* dit-il encore, *pour la défense de la justice.* »

Pierre Paraf se félicita de « *cette atmosphère d'indignation, de fraternité, et aussi, je crois pouvoir le dire, d'unité.* »

« *Il est juste, il est naturel,* souligna-t-il, *que tous les compagnons du combat antiraciste soient réunis ce soir, retrouvant autour de cette jeune ombre l'indispensable unité de la Résistance.* »

Daniel Mayer, enfin, souligna « *l'unité de notre combat au-dessus des divergences de pensée* ».

C'est à l'unanimité que fut adoptée la résolution finale, par laquelle les manifestants :

« *flétrissent le verdict de Sumner, qui restera la honte ineffaçable des jurés racistes, et qui consacre, aux Etats-Unis, la légalisation du lynchage;*

« *adressent leur salut ému et indigné à la famille du martyr et aux courageux noirs qui témoignèrent au procès;*

« *se déclarent prêts à soutenir de toutes leurs forces les Américains, noirs ou blancs, qui luttent pour les droits des hommes de couleur;*

« *espèrent que les instances judiciaires suprêmes des U.S.A. réviseront ce verdict infâme qui insulte à la conscience du monde civilisé...* »

⁂

L'affaire du Mississipi continue.

Encouragée par le scandaleux verdict de Sumner, la haine raciale se déchaîne dans le sud des Etats-Unis.

Il est question, cependant, en raison de l'émotion provoquée par ce verdict, de faire comparaître de nouveau les deux assassins, pour « rapt d'enfant ». Il est question d'exhumer le corps du petit Emmett Till pour l'identifier plus sûrement.

Antiracistes, il dépend de nous tous qu'il en soit ainsi. Il dépend de nous qu'un nouveau procès répare quelque peu l'injustice du précédent.

Le meeting du 27 septembre nous fait un devoir de rester unis, d'agir en commun pour mener jusqu'au bout la tâche que nous nous sommes fixés ensemble.

Il dépend de notre union, de notre action commune, que notre espoir devienne une réalité, que triomphent la justice et la fraternité des hommes.

Le message du M. R. A. P.

Voici le texte de la déclaration du M.R.A.P. qui a été lue à la tribune de la salle des Sociétés Savantes, au cours du meeting du 27 septembre 1955.

Le Mouvement contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et pour la Paix salue fraternellement les antiracistes parisiens dressés une fois de plus pour la défense de la cause sacrée de la dignité et des droits imprescriptibles de la personne humaine, pour protester contre l'acquittement des deux meurtriers du jeune noir Emmett Louis Till à Summer (Missisipi).

Innocents, Willie Mac Gee, les sept noirs de Martinville, Ethel et Julius Rosenberg, pour lesquels notre Mouvement a mené d'inoubliables campagnes, ont été condamnés à mort et exécutés sur la chaise électrique.

Et voici que deux lyncheurs, assassins d'un enfant de 14 ans, dont le père est tombé sur les champs de bataille pour défendre la liberté américaine, sont acquittés en vertu des mêmes préjugés, des mêmes haines raciales.

Nous avons, au cours des semaines écoulées, multiplié les protestations et les démarches pour que justice soit rendue.

Devant l'initiative prise par la L.I.C.A. d'organiser la manifestation d'aujourd'hui, notre Mouvement, dans l'esprit de la plus large union antiraciste, a renoncé à la manifestation qu'il préparait et a appelé ses militants, adhérents et amis, à venir ce soir Salle des Sociétés Savantes.

Il se félicite que ceux-ci aient répondu nombreux à son appel, à l'exemple de son Bureau national, présent au complet dans la salle.

Aujourd'hui, Paris antiraciste clame DANS L'UNION son indignation, et nous dicte le devoir de poursuivre DANS L'UNION une action concrète pour obtenir le châtiment des coupables et empêcher tout nouveau crime raciste.

En ce qui nous concerne, nous déclarons solennellement souscrire à ce devoir.

L'affaire du Missippi n'est pas terminée.

Tandis que, partout dans le monde, la conscience des hommes se révolte contre les méfaits du racisme, et qu'aux Etats-Unis les antiracistes se dressent de plus en plus nombreux, il nous appartient, antiracistes de France, et en premier lieu nos deux organisations, de poursuivre nos efforts communs pour que le second procès, où les assassins doivent comparaître pour rapt d'enfant, ne soit pas une nouvelle parodie de justice.

Il nous appartient d'intervenir, au nom de la France généreuse, auprès de la Commission des Droits de l'Homme de l'O.N.U.

Notre union est voulue, espérée par tous les gens de cœur de ce pays. Elle répond aux nécessités de notre temps, face à la montée du péril raciste dénoncé par les plus hautes instances mondiales, par les plus éminents représentants de la pensée française.

Vive l'amitié et l'action commune de tous les antiracistes pour la défense de la dignité humaine, pour le respect des droits de tous les hommes.

Les antiracistes américains se tournent vers Washington

(Suite de la page 5)

de deuil et de colère, d'une ampleur sans précédent, ont eu lieu dans un grand nombre de villes américaines : à Chicago et à Detroit, à Baltimore, à Milwaukee, à Newark, etc...

Outre les organisations et les personnalités noires, tels M. Digg, membre du Congrès, plusieurs personnalités blanches ont flétri le crime et le verdict du Mississipi. Citons en particulier MM. Walter Reuther, président de la centrale syndicale C.I.O.; Victor Anfuso, membre du Congrès; Jacob Javits, procureur de New-York; le sénateur Douglas.

Soulignons également les protestations des deux grands écrivains américains Richard Wright et William Faulkner.

Au Gouvernement d'intervenir !

A travers toutes ces protestations s'exprime l'exigence que les coupables soient châtiés. Une résolution adoptée à Harlem, par exemple, demande au Président Eisenhower la convocation immédiate du Congrès pour le vote d'une loi condamnant le lynchage et défendant les droits des citoyens noirs. Une autre résolution demande l'ouverture d'une enquête sur la disparition de deux témoins du meurtre d'Emmett Till.

De nombreuses voix s'élèvent pour demander au ministre de la Justice, M. Herbert Brownell, d'intervenir dans cette affaire, comme il en a le pouvoir, afin d'imposer le respect de l'équité.

La Constitution, ainsi que la loi sur les rapts d'enfants, dite « Loi Lindbergh », permettent au Gouvernement fédéral de provoquer lui-même une procédure contre Millam et Bryant. Mais le ministre de la Justice a déclaré à une délégation du N.A.A.C.P. qu'il n'avait pas l'intention d'user de ce droit.

BLUES DU MISSISSIPI

par Dora TEITELBAUM.

Au Tennessee, terre de rêve
Dès l'aube le soleil ruisselle
Et les blues du Mississippi
Tourmentent les gens assoupis.

Vivant éventail des ramures
Nulle part le ciel n'est si pur
Ni le matin plus transparent.

Les saisons ne font qu'un printemps
Les plantes sont comme du pain
Et les fleuves, vers les lointains
Charrient des secrets, des messages
Murmurés aux gens de passage.

Au Tennessee, terre de rêve
Sur les arbres gonflés de sève
Des noirs mains liées sont pendus
Des vents et des vautours mordus.

Sur les chemins des croix s'allument
Et dans la nuit des bûchers fument
De blanc masqués d'étranges lords
Mènent les nègres à la mort.

Regarde, Lune, sois témoin,
Ferme leurs yeux, serre leurs poings
Et toi, vent, porte à nos mémoires
La complainte meurtrie des noirs...

(Traduit du yiddisch
par Charles DOBZYNSKI.)

Nouveau procès le 7 Novembre

Pourtant, sur le plan judiciaire, l'affaire Emmett Till n'est pas terminée.

Acquittés le 23 septembre à Sumner, sous le prétexte fallacieux que le visage de leur victime était méconnaissable, les deux assassins, Bryant et Millam, doivent comparaître de nouveau pour « rapt d'enfant » (kidnapping).

Le 30 septembre, après avoir été entendus par le juge du comté de Leflore, ils ont été mis en liberté provisoire, ayant accepté de verser chacun une caution de 10.000 dollars (3.500.000 francs).

C'est le 7 novembre, estime-t-on, que Bryant et Millam seront de nouveau jugés.

Bryant et Millan doivent être châtiés !

A MARSEILLE

Une importante délégation organisée par la section du M.R.A.P. s'est rendue, le 30 septembre, au consulat des Etats-Unis à Marseille.

La résolution remise déclare notamment :

« *Nous nous élevons avec la plus grande véhémence contre l'acquittement inique de Sumner...*

« *Les lyncheurs racistes d'Emmett Till doivent être châtiés. La justice et l'égalité entre les hommes doivent l'emporter sur la haine et le racisme barbare...* »

A MENTON

Un groupe de lecteurs de « Droit et Liberté », à Menton, ont adressé à l'ambassade des Etats-Unis une lettre où ils « *expriment leur profonde indignation du crime barbare commis contre un enfant noir dans le Mississipi, et demandent le châtiment sévère des assassins racistes* ».

CONTINUER ENSEMBLE...

(Suite de la page 1)

C'est pourquoi le M.R.A.P., sûr d'être approuvé par tous les antiracistes, vient de proposer à la L.I.C.A. une entrevue pour organiser en commun la campagne des prochaines semaines.

Tous ensemble, sans distinction d'organisation ou de tendance, nous devons faire circuler les pétitions, former des délégations qui feront connaître aux autorités compétentes le point de vue des antiracistes français.

Tous ensemble, nous devons demander au gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'intervenir dans cette affaire, comme il en a le pouvoir.

Tous ensemble, nous devons alerter la commission des Droits de l'Homme de l'O.N.U.

Tous ensemble, nous devons multiplier les réunions locales et assurer le succès du grand meeting qui aura lieu le 4 novembre à la Mutualité.

Tous ensemble, nous devons, nous pouvons faire triompher la justice et la fraternité des hommes.

A. L.

SOUS LE SIGNE DE LA PAIX ET DE L'AMITIÉ

Bref séjour en U.R.S.S. avec le "Batory"

Ayant vogué quatre jours sur le « Batory », c'est bien avant d'accoster à Léningrad que nous avons rencontré l'Union Soviétique et son peuple. Inoubliable rencontre !...

Par ce beau soir d'été, la mer, au large de Cronstadt, était sillonnée d'embarcations légères d'où montaient des chansons et des flots de musique : des groupes de jeunes gens, des pionniers, qui rentraient probablement d'une promenade dans le golfe de Finlande.

Dès qu'ils nous ont aperçu, ce ne fut, autour de nous, qu'une clameur chaleureuse où se mêlaient, en russe et en français, les cris cent fois répétés de *Vive la France! Vive la paix! Paix au monde!...*

Et un cortège bruyant s'est formé derrière le « Batory », auquel devaient se joindre, un peu plus loin, deux vedettes militaires montées par des marins de Cronstadt, manifestant eux aussi, par leurs cris et leurs gestes, leur sympathie aux touristes français.

Nous entrions dans l'embouchure de la Néva. Massés sur le pont, les 761 passagers eurent alors la surprise heureuse de voir la foule accourir des quartiers riverains. Des hommes, des femmes, des enfants clamant leur joie, agitant bras et foulards, escortaient, de la berge, le bateau.

Ce n'était pourtant qu'un avant-goût de l'accueil qui nous attendait au débarcadère. Plusieurs milliers de personnes stationnaient sur le quai. Des ouvriers, par centaines, pour mieux nous voir et nous montrer leur joie, s'étaient juchés sur les toits des entrepôts et des ateliers.

A peine avions-nous franchi la passerelle que déjà la foule, rompant les barrages de police, se précipitait au-devant de nous, se jetait dans nos bras.

Chaque habitant de Léningrad, venu là nous saluer, avait apporté un petit cadeau, un souvenir.

Un gamin de 6 à 7 ans s'avança vers ma femme et lui remît une carte-postale au dos de laquelle il avait écrit « Vive la France ! » et son adresse.

On imagine aisément notre émotion à tous devant un tel accueil, devant tant de monde et de fleurs, tant de gentillesse spontanée. Nous comprenions que ce qu'exprimaient avant tout les Léningradais, au cours de ces scènes émouvantes, c'était le fervent désir de sauvegarder la paix, de vivre en amitié avec la France comme avec tous les peuples. De ces sentiments, nous devions avoir, en quelques jours, d'innombrables témoignages...

Sur la Perspective Nevsky

...Dès le soir de notre arrivée, nous avons, par petits groupes, visité la ville à notre gré. J'étais avec six autres touristes. Nous voulions voir tout d'abord la célèbre Perspective Nevsky. De jeunes lycéennes, rencontrées dans le tram, nous indiquèrent, en français, le chemin.

Longue de 7 kilomètres, illuminée comme les grands boulevards de Paris — mais au moins deux fois plus large — la Perspective Nevsky vibrait d'une foule joyeuse. Des promeneurs, des gens qui allaient au théâtre, au cinéma...

Nous avons marché dans la foule, puis sommes entrés dans un grand café. Comme il n'y avait plus de grande table libre, la serveuse demanda à deux jeunes gens de changer de place. Mais ceux-ci nous proposèrent aimablement de nous asseoir avec eux.

C'étaient deux étudiants, des polytechniciens, arrivés récemment à Léningrad après un stage en province. Apprenant que nous venions de Paris, ils se mirent à fredonner des chansons d'Yves Montand et une discussion s'engagea sur la musique française contemporaine. Je dois avouer que leurs connaissances sur notre pays nous ont, plus d'une fois, étonnés et que nous avons eu parfois du mal à répondre à leurs questions.

Comme nous hésitions sur les consommations à prendre, nous eûmes la surprise de voir apparaître deux bouteilles de champagne commandées discrètement par nos hôtes. Puis ce furent des bonbons et des fruits, puis une bouteille de vin rouge dénommé « Bordeaux », lorsqu'ils eurent appris qu'une touriste de notre groupe était Bordelaise. Maints toasts furent portés à la paix, à l'amitié entre nos peuples, au renouvellement des rencontres de ce genre...

Devant l'Université de Moscou.

Inutile d'ajouter que nous avons invité ces deux étudiants à venir en France pour que nous puissions leur rendre la pareille.

— Travaillons au maintien de la paix, faisons que règne une véritable coopération entre les peuples, nous ont-ils dit en nous quittant, et nous aurons la joie de connaître Paris et votre beau pays que nous aimons tant.

De l'Ermitage à l'Université de Moscou

...Six jours durant, sans trêve ni repos, nous avons parcouru Léningrad et Moscou, prenant contact avec la vie soviétique sous ses multiples aspects...

Nous avons visité des musées, entre autres celui de l'Ermitage, connu pour sa collection de l'Ecole flamande, unique au monde, et où la peinture française occupe douze salles. Nous avons admiré des Renoir, des Picasso, des Toulouse-Lautrec et de nombreuses autres toiles françaises, anciennes et modernes.

Nous avons visité une usine, un kolkhoze, des habitations ouvrières, des magasins.

A Moscou, nous avons admiré le Kremlin et sa riche exposition des trésors des anciens tsars. Nous avons vu les cathédrales et les églises, dont certaines sont actuellement rénovées.

Partout nous avons côtoyé une foule de visiteurs soviétiques venus de tous les points du pays.

Nous avons rendu visite aussi à l'Université de Moscou, immense construction de 32 étages, à l'image de l'immensité de l'U.R.S.S. Là se rassemblent 30.000 étudiants de toutes origines, de toutes races, qui apprennent non seulement la science, mais à se connaître, à s'aimer, à vivre fraternellement.

Construction et culture

Lorsque nous avons demandé pourquoi l'Université avait été construite loin de la ville, le guide nous a montré tout autour les chantiers, les grues actives.

— D'ici 1960, nous a-t-il expliqué, il y aura ici un nouveau quartier comptant 2 millions d'habitants. Un temps viendra, qui est proche, où l'Université sera au centre de Moscou...

Tous, nous avons été frappés par le nombre des librairies et des bibliothèques publiques, par le fait que partout, dans le métro ou l'autobus, dans les squares aux heures du déjeuner, on voit des gens lire des livres, des brochures, des journaux. A tout âge tout le monde semble vouloir s'instruire. Chaque Soviétique a l'ambition de posséder une riche bibliothèque personnelle. Une journaliste de la *Pravda* m'a dit avoir actuellement 2.000 volumes, bien que tous les livres qu'elle possédait avant guerre aient été détruits pendant le siège de Léningrad.

Plus jamais de guerre !

La construction, partout visible, l'essor économique et culturel, autant de faits qui expliquent cette véritable passion de la paix qui anime les Soviétiques. Et aussi les souvenirs de la guerre.

Notre guide, professeur de français dans un lycée de Léningrad, répondait avec bonne grâce à nos questions les plus diverses. Mais lorsqu'un jour, je lui ai demandé des renseignements sur la bataille de Léningrad, elle m'a répondu :

Je peux vous parler de tout ce que vous voudrez, mais je vous en supplie, ne parlons pas de cette noire période...

Elle avait perdu son mari et son frère dans cette terrible bataille, et enduré de telles souffrances pendant les 900 jours de siège, qu'il lui était impossible de l'évoquer sans pleurer.

La victoire sur l'hitlérisme a coûté 17 millions de morts à l'Union Soviétique. Les hommes et les femmes que nous avons rencontrés étaient heureux de notre venue, signe d'une détente certaine. Tous nous ont dit leur volonté de défendre la paix et demandé à mainte occasion si, en France, aussi, on désirait empêcher une nouvelle guerre.

Comment vivent les juifs ?

A mon retour d'U.R.S.S., de nombreux amis m'ont demandé si j'avais rencontré des juifs, et ce qu'ils font.

J'en ai rencontré beaucoup. 300.000 juifs vivent à Léningrad, la plupart venus des régions occupées pendant la guerre, et 600.000 à Moscou.

J'ai pu constater qu'ils étaient en tous points les égaux des autres citoyens. J'ai parlé à des juifs professeurs de lycée ou d'université, à des ingénieurs. Un de mes amis a été invité chez un colonel de l'armée soviétique, qui était juif... En un mot, il y a des juifs dans toutes les professions (beaucoup dans l'industrie et moins dans le commerce), dans tous les milieux. Tous sont heureux de contribuer au bien de leur patrie. Tous ceux à qui j'ai parlé ont insisté également sur la nécessité de lutter contre la guerre, pour empêcher le retour des sombres années de l'invasion et de l'occupation hitlérienne.

Sur le plan religieux, la liberté est complète pour les juifs comme pour les croyants de tous les cultes. De nombreux touristes du « Batory » ont visité la grande synagogue de Moscou. A Léningrad les pouvoirs publics font reconstruire dans toute sa splendeur d'avant guerre la belle synagogue détruite par les nazis.

Au revoir !...

...L'ambiance, sur le « Batory », n'était évidemment pas la même au retour qu'à l'aller.

Le scepticisme, les préjugés avaient cédé la place à une connaissance des réalités. Tous les passagers sans exception, quelles que soient leurs conceptions philosophiques ou politiques, se trouvèrent d'accord, après quatre jours (et presque quatre nuits) de conférences, de discussions animées, où ils échangeaient leurs expériences, pour conclure que le peuple soviétique est préoccupé essentiellement de construire dans la paix un avenir meilleur.

— Revenez, chers amis ! Au revoir ! criaient les Léningradais qui, sur la berge de la Neva, couraient aux côtés du « Batory » pour nous raccompagner le plus loin possible.

Leur souvenir restera gravé dans l'esprit des 761 touristes français, conscients que leur voyage a contribué grandement au rapprochement, à la compréhension de nos deux peuples, et à la paix.

S. KORNBLUTH.

ZOLA, JOURNALISTE

« L'article qui, dans l'histoire de la presse, a provoqué la plus grande sensation, celui qui a eu le retentissement le plus éclatant est « J'accuse! », d'Emile Zola. Si je l'affirme, qui songerait à me contredire? Mais sont-ils nombreux ceux qui reconnaissent dans cet article — acte prodigieux, écrit exceptionnel — l'apogée d'une carrière de journaliste, que la renommée de l'écrivain a injustement placée dans l'ombre. »

Ainsi débute l'allocution prononcée par M. Jacques Kayser à Médan, le dimanche 2 octobre, à l'occasion du 53e anniversaire de la mort d'Emile Zola (1).

On ignore en effet trop souvent les activités de Zola journaliste, sur lesquelles M. Jacques Kayser a mis fort justement l'accent. L'écrivain déjà célèbre qui, au moyen de la presse, a changé le cours de l'affaire Dreyfus, a écrit une quantité impressionnante d'articles sur de multiples sujets, il a été correspondant de plusieurs journaux et même chroniqueur parlementaire.

Se référant à plusieurs reprises à « J'accuse » qui, dans une anthologie de l'œuvre journalistique de Zola, occuperait la place d'honneur, M. Jacques Kayser a déclaré en concluant :

« Je n'aurais pas eu beaucoup de peine à vous présenter un Zola actuel, à découper dans ses articles des phrases, des paragraphes qui sont d'une impressionnante actualité...

« C'est que Zola, lorsqu'il se penche sur le monde qui l'entoure, est animé de ce souffle humain qui reste éternel, même si les problèmes posés aux hommes varient jusque dans leur substance.

« Le langage de la Justice et de la Fraternité ne se prescrit pas — et tel est le langage de Zola, et telle est sa pensée. »

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(1) Le texte complet de cette allocution est reproduit dans les « *Lettres Françaises* » du 6 octobre.

NOTRE SOUSCRIPTION

CARTES D'AMIS.

Birin, 1.500 ; Michel Colin, 5.000 ; Verdonne, 1.000 ; Hirsch, 2.000 ; Delka, 5.000 ; Liberman, 500 ; Bittoun, 1.200 ; Dufau, 1.000, Dr Gudys, 1.000 ; Perelman, 2.000 ; Voize, 1.000 ; Stabowitz, 5.000 ; Sack, 1.000 ; Frankiel, 10.000 ; Azuelos, 5.000 ; cartes placées par Dr Leibovici, 6.000.

SECTIONS.

Lyon, 5.000 ; Rouen, 5.000 ; Paris-10e, 6.500.

à...

Anvers

● **UNE SERIE** d'articles grossièrement antisémites a paru dans le quotidien catholique « Het Handelsblad ». De vives protestations se sont élevées dans les milieux tant chrétiens que juifs.

Berlin (Ouest)

● **L'ANTISEMITISME** et le nazisme renaissent ; il est du devoir de tous les démocrates allemands de s'y opposer », a déclaré le sénateur Joachim Lipschitz au cours d'une cérémonie organisée à la mémoire des victimes du nazisme. « Les lois raciales de Nuremberg, a-t-il ajouté, ont porté atteinte à l'honneur du peuple allemand tout entier. »

Birmingham

● **DES CROIX GAMMEES** et le slogan « Mort aux juifs » ont été peints sur la synagogue centrale. Des papillons antisémites ont été collés sur plusieurs magasins et un cinéma.

Bonn

● **LE DANGER** croissant du néonazisme a été dénoncé dans une émission radiodiffusée, par le pasteur Heinrich Gruber.

● **LE MINISTRE** des Affaires sociales du Schleswig-Holstein, ancien nazi, vient de prendre pour adjoint Gustave Schierholz, qui fut attaché au ministère hitlérien de la Propagande.

● **LES PREMIERS** soldats de la nouvelle Wehrmacht seront sous l'uniforme dès la fin du mois.

Cambridge

● **LA CELEBRE UNIVERSITE** de Cambridge vient de recevoir un don de 50.000 livres destiné à fournir des bourses d'études médicales. Le testament du donateur précise que les étudiants bénéficiaires ne doivent être « ni noirs ni juifs », mais « de pure race irlandaise, écossaise ou anglaise ».

Essen

● **LA SYNAGOGUE** de la ville, l'une des plus belles d'Allemagne, incendiée en 1938 par les hitlériens, ne sera pas reconstruite : la municipalité a refusé toute subvention.

Istambul

● **LES EMEUTES** anti-grecques de septembre ont pris également, annonce-t-on, un caractère antisémite. Des magasins juifs ont été attaqués, leurs propriétaires blessés. On estime à 50 milliards les dégâts causés.

● **LE CHEF ANTISEMITE** Cevat Rifat Atilhan vient de publier un nouveau livre, dans le style des « Protocoles des Sages de Sion ».

Johannesburg

● **L'UNIVERSITE** demandera désormais aux étudiants d'inscrire leur religion sur leurs demandes d'admission. Il s'agit, précise-t-on, « d'encourager l'éducation selon les principes chrétiens et nationaux ». Après les noirs, les juifs sud-africains sont menacés de discrimination.

Londres

● **AUCUNE DIFFERENCE** ne doit être faite entre travailleurs blancs et noirs, souligne le syndicat des mineurs de Henaby, protestant contre le refus de la direction d'engager un mineur jamaïcain.

Moscou

● **LES CORRESPONDANTS** du « New-York Times » et du « Jewish Chronicle » (Londres) soulignent qu'une foule nombreuse a célébré les récentes fêtes juives dans les synagogues de Moscou et de Léningrad.

A cette occasion, le grand rabbin Schlieffer a déclaré, dans un message : « Au nom des nombreuses communautés juives d'Union Soviétique, j'adresse mon salut fraternel et mes meilleurs vœux aux juifs du monde entier. »

Nations Unies

● **LE RACISME** pratiqué par le gouvernement d'Afrique du Sud a été inscrit à l'ordre du jour de l'assemblée générale de l'O.N.U., avec la seule opposition de la délégation sud-africaine et 10 abstentions.

Prague

● **POUR LE 10e ANNIVERSAIRE** de la Libération un monument a été inauguré à l'emplacement de l'ancien camp nazi de Térézin, où de nombreux juifs ont péri. Des représentants du gouvernement et les dirigeants de la communauté juive participaient à la cérémonie.

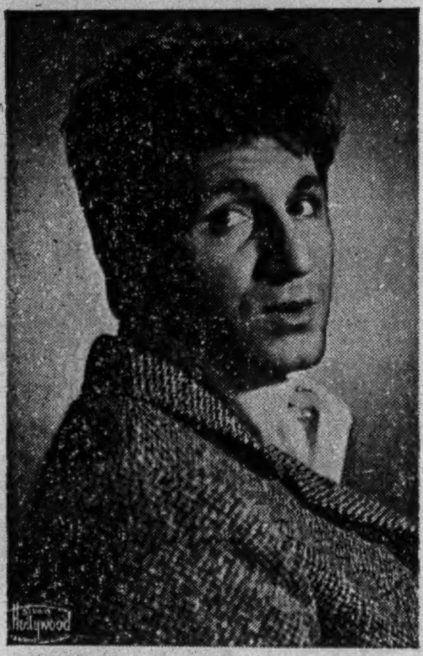
Washington

● **DE MEME** que Paul Robeson, les acteurs noirs américains de la troupe « Everyman's Company » se sont vus refuser l'autorisation d'aller en U.R.S.S., où ils devaient représenter l'opéra de Gerschwin : « Porgy and Bess ».

TOUS A PLEYEL, le dimanche 13 novembre, à 20 h. 30
AU GRAND GALA ANTIRACISTE

Un programme éblouissant présenté par
Jacques ANGELVIN
animateur de « Télé-Paris »
avec (par ordre alphabétique) :
Le fameux animateur yiddisch
Sigmund BERLANT
retour d'Amérique, et
Virginia COPERS
La talentueuse artiste de la chanson
Colette MARS
Le chansonnier du « Grenier de Montmartre »
Edmond MEUNIER
La grande vedette du music-hall
MOULOUDJI
La célèbre cantatrice de l'Opéra
Mado ROBIN
Les VINITZKI
leur orchestre et leurs attractions

Billets de **250 à 750 francs**. Location à Pleyel, auprès des militants du M.R.A.P. et au siège du Mouvement 91, Faubourg-Saint-Denis (TAI. 48-11). — **Il est prudent de retenir ses places.**



MOULOUDJI
chante pour son plaisir ...et le nôtre

TOUT enfant, il vendait des oranges et criait les journaux.

Puis, au groupe « Octobre », il pénétrait en scène sur patins à roulettes, une guitare sous le bras. Il était là pour permettre aux copains de changer les décors, entre deux scènes. S'il met un nom sur leurs visages, il vous parlera de Prévert, de Marcel Duhamel, de Roger Blin, d'Yves Deniaud et d'autres encore.

« Les disparus de Saint-Agil » fut son premier film. Depuis, il y en eut bien d'autres.

Homme de tous les talents, Mouloudji n'est pas seulement acteur et chanteur. Non, il est écrivain, poète, peintre à ses heures. Si, en 1935, il a obtenu le prix du disque avec « Comme un petit coquelicot », il avait eu avant cela (1946), le Prix de la Pléiade pour son roman « Enrico ».

On a joué ses pièces à la Renaissance (Quatre femmes) et à l'Œuvre (Les Sargasses).

A Paris et à Alger, les amateurs se souviennent de ses expositions de peinture.

Mais Moulou, comme l'appellent ses amis, Moulou a décidé de se consacrer plus particulièrement au chant. Depuis quelque temps, il refuse les contrats cinématographiques qu'on lui propose. Il chante sur toutes les scènes de France. « Je chante pour mon plaisir », dit-il, et c'est vrai.

Il chantera pour le nôtre aussi, au gala du M.R.A.P. Moulou sera là, avec son air de grand gamin et ses chansons nouvelles pleines de poésie et de charme. Ce tendre, à qui l'on fit jouer si souvent des rôles de « durs », interprétera pour tous les amis de notre Mouvement, « Si tu t'imagines », « Je crois en toi », « Ballade en si bémol », « Un jour du verras ». Enfin, toutes ses chansons à succès.

Si Mouloudji a accepté d'être des nôtres le 13 novembre, ce n'est pas par hasard. Il est opposé tout naturellement au racisme. Il l'a dit, l'a prouvé bien souvent. L'affaire du Mississippi l'a particulièrement ému. Par sa venue au gala du M.R.A.P. il manifestera, une fois de plus, sa sympathie à la cause antiraciste. C'est un grand artiste et, qui dit grand artiste, dit aussi homme de cœur.

A bientôt, Moulou...

CINEMA
Un homme est passé

Un vétéran de la guerre contre le fascisme (allemand et japonais) a perdu un bras au cours de la bataille de Cassino. Il ne dut la vie qu'à un jeune Japonais, profondément démocrate, engagé dans l'armée américaine, et qui périra en le sauvant.

La guerre terminée, Mac Credie se rendra à Black-Rok, ville perdue de l'ouest américain, remettre sa croix de guerre au père du jeune Japonais qui l'a sauvé.

Là, il découvrira qu'un crime odieux a été commis. Au lendemain de Pearl-Harbour, la famille Kimoko a été assassinée en représailles...

Les criminels, aux mains desquelles se trouve la ville, décident de le supprimer. Mac Credie, que son infirmité conduisait au désespoir, reprendra goût à la vie en même temps qu'à la lutte. Grâce à son courage et à la prise de conscience de quelques citadins, il fera arrêter les criminels racistes et s'en ira...

Il est bien évident que ce film, présenté après l'affaire du Mississipi, peut porter à sourire à cause de sa conclusion de bon aloi : des racistes sont emprisonnés, jugés et châtiés, et cela se passe aux Etats-Unis! Il est vrai que c'est en 1945... Il n'empêche que, malgré tout, « Un homme est passé » constitue une condamnation du racisme, que Spencer Tracy est toujours un excellent acteur et que, pour une fois, le cinémascope nous permet d'admirer de magnifiques et sauvages paysages du Far-West

Colette MOREL.

A Emmett Till
par Edmond MEUNIER

L'affaire du Mississipi a inspiré au chansonnier *Edmond Meunier* trois couplets sur une musique de Georges Brassens (« Chanson pour l'Auvergnat »), qu'il a chantés à la radio, à l'émission du « Grenier de Montmartre », le 2 octobre dernier.

Il a bien voulu nous en communiquer le texte, que nous publions ci-dessous. Il chantera cette chanson au Gala de Pleyel, le 13 novembre prochain.

I

Elle est à toi, cette chanson,
Toi, le p'tit nègr' qui, sans façon,
Te promenais, le nez au vent,
Tout fier d'avoir tes quatorze ans.
Toi, qui, d'admiration, siffla
Quand un' femme blanche passa ;
Tu ne croyais, en vérité,
Que rendre hommage à sa beauté.
Un coup d'sifflet, c'n'est pas joli
Mais, çà, qui te l'avait appris ?...
Sinon les Américains blancs
Qui n'se gên'nt pas d'en faire autant !
P'tit nègr', quand tu as vu Saint Pierre ;
Il a dû t'dir', montrant la Terre :
« R'gard' donc passer les femm's d'en bas
Et siffl' tant qu'tu voudras ! »

II

Elle est contre vous, cett' chanson,
Les accusés qui, sans façon,
Pour les photographes souriaient
Dans le box où l'on vous jugeait.
Vous vous étiez installés là,
Comme on viendrait au cinéma ;
Attendant qu'le dram' se dénoue,
Sûrs qu'il finirait bien pour vous !
On espérait vous voir blêmir,
Baisser la tête, vous trahir,
Mais vous aviez l'regard absent
Des crétins les plus inconscients.
Vous deux, quand vous mourrez, pénards,
Probablement dans votr' plumard ;
Vous n'aurez, pauvres abrutis,
Encore rien compris !

III

Il est contre toi, ce refrain,
Contre toi, l'juge américain,
Qui acquitte, tout simplement,
Les assassins quand ils sont blancs.
Toi, le jug', pour qui, avant tout,
Les blancs jou'nt et gagn'nt à chaqu' coup ;
Devant leur geste meurtrier
Tu n'as pas tell'ment sourcillé !
Bah, c'n'était rien qu'un p'tit négro ;
Un de plus ou d'moins dans le lot
Ça n'empêch' pas l'coton d'pousser !
D'autres noirs iront l'ramasser !
Toi, le juge, quand tu mourras ;
Au Ciel, on ne t'enverra pas
Car le p'tit nègre y est logé...
Et faut pas vous mélanger !

COLETTE MARS

Colette MARS
ou la vocation victorieuse

BIEN qu'Oranaise, Colette Mars a été élevée à Paris. Après des études de philosophie, elle décida d'étudier le droit et la littérature étrangère.

Mais, en elle, rien n'égalait la passion du music-hall, de la chanson et de la musique.

Elle prenait des cours de diction, en cachette, car sa famille n'aurait jamais permis qu'elle « s'exhibât sur les planches ». Elle le fit pourtant, mais ce ne fut pas sans peine.

Au cours d'une soirée réservée aux amateurs, en 1939, elle gagna le premier prix qui lui donnait la possibilité de se produire pour un soir à Bobino. Sa mère protesta avec une telle force que Colette Mars refusa le bénéfice de son prix.

Mais elle avait fait la connaissance de Jean Delettre qui avait décidé d'être son parrain et qui, à ce titre, ne cessait de la pousser à travailler. Ce fut facile, elle aimait déjà tellement le métier qu'envers et contre tous elle voulait faire.

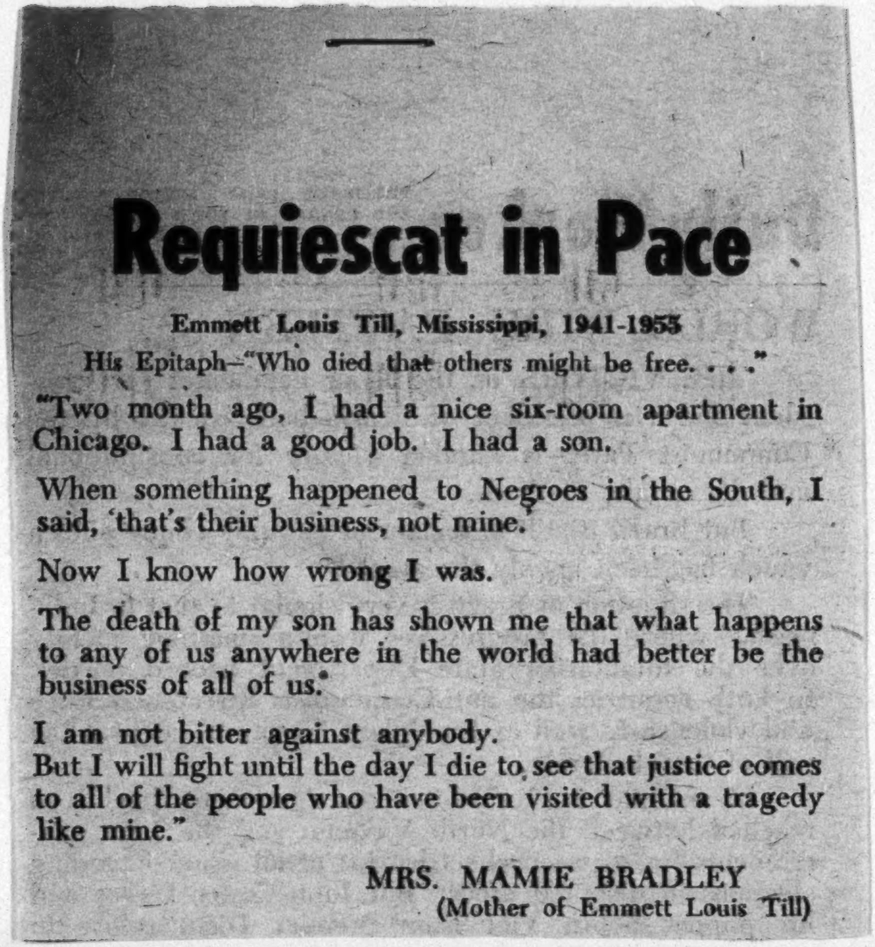
Elle chanta dix jours au cabaret qu'il venait d'ouvrir : « Le Pont-Aven ». Mais les drames avec sa famille recommençaient de plus belle et, de guerre lasse, elle cessa... Par pour longtemps cependant. Après la guerre, elle ouvrit « La Vie Parisienne », et c'est là qu'elle fit ses véritables débuts et connut ses premiers et durables succès.

Depuis, hormis la radio, elle a chanté à l' « Olympia », au « Moulin Rouge », au « Drap d'Or », au « Carrol's », au « Pavillon de l'Elysée », à « La Villa d'Este », etc., etc... Mais on la connait et on l'apprécie aussi en Belgique, en Suisse, au Portugal, en Grèce, en Amérique du Sud, aux Etats-Unis, en Egypte, en Angleterre, en Italie, enfin partout...

Ce sera une grande joie pour tous nos amis, le 13 novembre, d'entendre sa voix chaude et prenante.

LIVRES REÇUS

- **RUE DE LA LIBERTE - Dachau, 1943-1945**, par **Edmond MICHELET** (Editions du Seuil).
- **LA ROUILLE**, roman par **Herbert LE PORRIER** (Editions du Seuil).
- **LES ENFANTS DES MORTS**, par **Heinrich BOLL** (Editions du Seuil).



Requiescat in Pace

Emmett Louis Till, Mississippi, 1941-1955

His Epitaph—"Who died that others might be free. . . ."

"Two month ago, I had a nice six-room apartment in Chicago. I had a good job. I had a son.

When something happened to Negroes in the South, I said, 'that's their business, not mine.'

Now I know how wrong I was.

The death of my son has shown me that what happens to any of us anywhere in the world had better be the business of all of us.

I am not bitter against anybody.
But I will fight until the day I die to see that justice comes to all of the people who have been visited with a tragedy like mine."

MRS. MAMIE BRADLEY
(Mother of Emmett Louis Till)

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS LEGAL PAPERS 10/17

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:

TO: CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
By Paul Robeson
155 West 136th St., NYC

YOU ARE COMMANDED, all business and excuses being laid aside, to appear and attend before the JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON CHARITABLE AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, appointed pursuant to a joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly duly adopted March 21, 1953, and extended

at Supreme Court, New York County, 60 Center St., Room 401, New York

on February 23rd 1955, at 11 o'clock in the fore noon of that date, to testify and give evidence in a certain investigation now pending.

If you fail to obey this subpoena without reasonable excuse, a warrant will issue to the sheriff of the County to apprehend and bring you before the said Committee and you will be liable for the damages sustained in consequence of such failure and $50.00 in addition thereto, and subject to punishment by imprisonment as for a contempt of the Legislature and prosecution and punishment for a misdemeanor.

Dated at the County of New York,
City of New York and State of
New York, the 18th
day of February 1955.

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE
ON CHARITABLE AND PHILANTHROPIC
AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

By: Edward P. Larkin
EDWARD P. LARKIN, Chairman

STATE OF NEW YORK
JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE
ON CHARITABLE
AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES
AND ORGANIZATIONS

SUBPOENA

BERNARD TOMPKINS
Counsel.

Room 1405
270 Broadway
New York 7, N. Y.

Bring this Subpoena with you.

STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.:
COUNTY OF }

.... being duly sworn, deposes and says that he served the within subpoena upon.................................... at .... New York, at .... o'clock in the .... noon, on the .... day of .... 195...., by showing him the original and delivering to and leaving with him a true and correct copy thereof.

Sworn to before me this....................

day of .... 195....

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
COUNTY OF } ss.:

.... being duly sworn, deposes and says that he served the within subpoena upon..
at ....New York, at..o'clock in the ....noon, on the ....day of...................................195....,
by showing him the original and delivering to and leaving with him a true and correct copy thereof.

Sworn to before me this..............................
day of ....195....

STATE OF NEW YORK
JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE
ON CHARITABLE
AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES
AND ORGANIZATIONS

SUBPOENA

BERNARD TOMPKINS
Counsel.
Room 1405
270 Broadway
New York 7, N.Y.

Bring this Subpoena with you.

CODE OF FAIR PROCEDURE FOR INVESTIGATING AGENCIES

(Civil Rights Law, Sec. 73)

1. As used in this section the following terms shall mean and include:

(a) "Agency". A standing or select committee of either house of the legislature or a joint committee of both houses; a duly authorized subcommittee of any such legislative committee; the commissioner of investigation acting pursuant to section eleven of the executive law; a commissioner appointed by the governor acting pursuant to section six of the executive law; the attorney general acting pursuant to subdivision eight of section sixty-three of the executive law; and any temporary state commission or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof which has the power to require testimony or the production of evidence by subpoena or other compulsory process in an investigation being conducted by it.

(b) "Hearing". Any hearing in the course of an investigatory proceeding (other than a preliminary conference or interview at which no testimony is taken under oath) conducted before an agency at which testimony or the production of other evidence may be compelled by subpoena or other compulsory process.

(c) "Public hearing". Any hearing open to the public, or any hearing, or such part thereof, as to which testimony or other evidence is made available or disseminated to the public by the agency.

(d) "Private hearing". Any hearing other than a public hearing.

2. No person may be required to appear at a hearing or to testify at a hearing unless there has been personally served upon him prior to the time when he is required to appear, a copy of this section, and a general statement of the subject of the investigation. A copy of the resolution, statute, order or other provision of law authorizing the investigation shall be furnished by the agency upon request therefor by the person summoned.

3. A witness summoned to a hearing shall have the right to be accompanied by counsel, who shall be permitted to advise the witness of his rights, subject to reasonable limitations to prevent obstruction of or interference with the orderly conduct of the hearing. Counsel for any witness who testifies at a public hearing may submit proposed questions to be asked of the witness relevant to the matters upon which the witness has been questioned and the agency shall ask the witness such of the questions as it may deem appropriate to its inquiry.

4. A complete and accurate record shall be kept of each public hearing and a witness shall be entitled to receive a copy of his testimony at such hearing at his own expense. Where testimony which a witness has given at a private hearing becomes relevant in a criminal proceeding in which the witness is a defendant, or in any subsequent hearing in which the witness is summoned to testify, the witness shall be entitled to a copy of such testimony, at his own expense, provided the same is available, and provided further that the furnishing of such copy will not prejudice the public safety or security.

5. A witness who testifies at any hearing shall have the right at the conclusion of his examination to file a brief sworn statement relevant to his testimony for incorporation in the record of the investigatory proceeding.

6. Any person whose name is mentioned or who is specifically identified and who believes that testimony or other evidence given at a public hearing or comment made by any member of the agency or its counsel at such a hearing tends to defame him or otherwise adversely affect his reputation shall have the right, either to appear personally before the agency and testify in his own behalf as to maters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of, or in the alternative at the option of the agency, to file a statement of facts under oath relating solely to matters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of, which statement shall be incorporated in the record of the investigatory proceeding.

7. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent an agency from granting to witnesses appearing before it, or to persons who claim to be adversely affected by testimony or other evidence adduced before it, such further rights and privileges at it may determine.

8. Except in the course of a subsequent hearing which is open to the public, no testimony or other evidence adduced at a private hearing or preliminary conference or interview conducted before a single-member agency in the course of its investigation shall be disseminated or made available to the public by said agency, its counsel or employees without the approval of the head of the agency. Except in the coarse of subsequent hearing open to the public, no testimony or other evidence adduced at a private hearing or preliminary conference or interview before a committee or other multi-member investigating agency shall be disseminated or made available to the public by any member of the agency, its counsel or employees, except with the approval of a majority of the members of such agency. Any person who violates the provisions of this subdivision shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

9. No temporary state commission having more than two members shall have the power to take testimony at a public or private hearing unless at least two of its members are present at such hearing.

10. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to effect, diminish or impair the right, under any other provision of law, rule or custom, of any member or group of members of a committee or other multi-member investigating agency to file a statement or statements of minority views to accompany and be released with or subsequent to the report of the committee or agency. Added L.1954, c. 414, Sec. 1, eff. May 1, 1954; amended L.1954, c. 415, eff. May 1, 1954.

Subd. 10 added by L. 1954, c. 415, eff. May 1, 1954.

Compliance with section by agency. Laws 1954, c. 414 Sec. 2, eff. May 1, 1954, provides: "Nothing in this act shall grant any agency the power to hold any type of hearing not otherwise authorized by law, and nothing herein contained shall impair or otherwise affect the action taken by any agency, except as expressly specified in section one of this act; provided, however, that substantial non-compliance by an agency with respect to the rights granted by sub-division two through six of such section to any person shall relieve him from any requirement to attend or if present to testify or produce evidence at such hearing, and it shall be a complete defense in any proceeding for contempt or other disciplinary action against such person for failure to testify or produce evidence before such agency."

JOINT LEGISLATIVE RESOLUTION INTRODUCED
BY SEN. BERNARD TOMPKINS & ASSEM. SAMUEL RABIN

Adopted March 21, 1953

WHEREAS, each year the citizens of this State are solicited and called upon to contribute to many and varied charities and causes including health and welfare organizations and philanthropic institutions, and campaigns for such contributions are carried on by mail, radio, television, telephone and other means; and

WHEREAS, it has been reliably estimated that close to five billion dollars are given each year to such charities and charitable causes in the United States, and that in the State of New York alone between four hundred and five hundred million dollars are donated each year to such charitable causes, including those in the City of New York where there are over eleven hundred charities collecting funds; and

WHEREAS, experience has shown that too often there is a wide divergence between the aims and promises of certain charities and their performance and that certain organizations devote a disproportionate and excessive amount of funds and contributions received by them to administrative expenses and commissions, for professional fund raisers and it is also a matter of common knowledge that there are persons and firms who devote themselves to the business of soliciting funds for charity for personal profit to themselves, all to the detriment of worthy and necessary charities as well as to the contributing public; and

WHEREAS, philanthropic operations entail a high degree of responsibility because of the element of public trusteeship involved; and

WHEREAS, there presently is no legal requirement that charities report to the public how their funds are spent and there is no official agency in this State where the public can obtain authoritative information which will enable it to distinguish, evaluate and choose between various charities with similar aims, as to merit and the efficient administration of funds received from public donations; NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT

RESOLVED, 1. That a Joint Legislative Committee be and the same hereby is created to consist of three members of the Senate, to be appointed by the Temporary President of the Senate, and four members of the Assembly, to be appointed by the Speaker of the Assembly, to make a thorough and detailed study and analysis with respect to charities and charitable and philanthropic agencies and organizations in this State, except corporations organized under the Religious Corporations Law and other religious agencies and organizations, and charities, agencies and organizations operated, supervised or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization, their receipts, administrative expenses and other expenditures, their methods of obtaining donations or collecting funds for their charities, whether reports should be required of such organization so that the public would have readily available information as to their works and activities, and all other related and allied matters in connection therewith, and, that the study and investigation of any subject, matter or thing adjudged by the Committee to be germane to the study and work hereby directed to be done, or helpful to it in conection therewith, shall be deemed to be within the scope of the Committee's powers;

2. That the Committee shall organize by the selection from its number a chairman, a vice-chairman and a secretary, and may employ and at pleasure remove counsel and other employees and assistants as may be necessary and fix their compensation within the amount made available therefor hereafter. Any vacancy in the membership of the Committee shall be filled by the officer authorized to make the original appointment. The members of the Committee shall serve without compensation for their services but shall be entitled to their actual expenses incurred in the performance of their duties. The Committee may sit at any place within the State, and in such place or places without the State as it may determine to conduct its work and it may hold either public or private hearings. Such Committee shall have the power to subpoena witnesses, take testimony and compel the production of books, papers, documents and other effects and it shall have generally all the powers of a legislative committee as provided by legislative law. Such Committee may request and shall receive from all public officers, departments and agencies of the State and its political subdivisions, such assistance and data as will assist it in carrying on its duties;

3. That such Committee shall report its findings to the Legislature not later than March First, Nineteen Hundred Fifty-Four, and may submit with its report such legislative proposals as it deems necessary to make its recomendations effective; and

4. That the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000), or so much thereof as may be necessary, be and it is hereby made available from the Contingent Fund of the Legislature for the expenses of such Committee in carrying out its duties hereunder. Such moneys shall be payable on the audit and warrant of the Comptroller on vouchers approved as prescribed by law.

JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED BY SENATOR EDWARD P. LARKIN AND ASSEMBLYMAN JOHN J. RYAN

Adopted {Senate January 11, 1955
Assembly January 17, 1955

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION, continuing until March 31, 1955, the JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE TO STUDY CHARITABLE AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS.

RESOLVED, That the JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE TO STUDY CHARITABLE AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, created by resolution adopted March 21, 1953, and continued by subsequent resolutions, the last continuation having been by resolution adopted March 20, 1954, is hereby continued with all its powers and duties to and including March 31, 1955, and the time for such Committee to make its report to the Legislature is hereby extended to such last mentioned date.

PURSUANT TO SECTION 73 OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS
LAW OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

THE

General subject of the investigation

of

THE JOINT LEGISLATURE COMMITTEE ON CHARITABLE AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS is an inquiry into the aims, promises, purposes, solicitations, receipts and disbursements of various organizations and agencies; the methods used in raising and disbursing funds and to report its findings to the legislature with such proposals as it deems necessary.

CODE OF FAIR PROCEDURE

FOR INVESTIGATING AGENCIES

(Civil Rights Law, Sec. 73)

1. As used in this section the following terms shall mean and include:

(a) "Agency". A standing or select committee of either house of the legislature or a joint committee of both houses; a duly authorized subcommittee of any such legislative committee; the commissioner of investigation acting pursuant to section eleven of the executive law; a commissioner appointed by the governor acting pursuant to section six of the executive law; the attorney general acting pursuant to subdivision eight of section sixty-three of the executive law; and any temporary state commission or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof which has the power to require testimony or the production of evidence by subpoena or other compulsory process in an investigation being conducted by it.

(b) "Hearing". Any hearing in the course of an investigatory proceeding (other than a preliminary conference or interview at which no testimony is taken under oath) conducted before an agency at which testimony or the production of other evidence may be compelled by subpoena or other compulsory process.

(c) "Public hearing". Any hearing open to the public, or any hearing, or such part thereof, as to which testimony or other evidence is made available or disseminated to the public by the agency.

(d) "Private hearing". Any hearing other than a public hearing.

2. No person may be required to appear at a hearing or to testify at ahearing unless there has been personally served upon him prior to the time when he is required to appear, a copy of this section, and a general statement of the subject of the investigation. A copy of the resolution, statute, order or other provision of law authorizing the investigation shall be furnished by the agency upon request therefor by the person summoned.

3. A witness summoned to a hearing shall have the right to be accompanied by counsel, who shall be permitted to advise the witness of his rights, subject to reasonable limitations to prevent obstruction of or interference with the orderly conduct of the hearing. Counsel for any witness who testifies at a public hearing may submit proposed questions to be asked of the witness relevant to the matters upon which the witness has been questioned and the agency shall ask the witness such of the questions as it may deem appropriate to its inquiry.

4. A complete and accurate record shall be kept of each public hearing and a witness shall be entitled to receive a copy of his testimony at such hearing at his own expense. Where testimony which a witness has given at a private hearing becomes relevant in a criminal proceeding in which the witness is a defendant, or in any subsequent hearing in which the witness is summoned to testify, the witness shall be entitled to a copy of such testimony, at his own expense, provided the same is available, and provided further that the furnishing of such copy will not prejudice the public safety or security.

5. A witness who testifies at any hearing shall have the right at the conclusion of his examination to file a brief sworn statement relevant to his testimony for incorporation in the record of the investigatory proceeding.

6. Any person whose name is mentioned or who is specifically identified and who believes that testimony or other evidence given at a public hearing or comment made by any member of the agency or its counsel at such a hearing tends to defame him or otherwise adversely affect his reputation shall have the right, either to appear personally before the agency and testify in his own behalf as to matters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of, or in the alternative at the option of the agency, to file a statement of facts under oath relating solely to matters relevant to the testimony or other evidence complained of, which statement shall be incorporated in the record of the investigatory proceeding.

7. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent an agency from granting to witnesses appearing before it, or to persons who claim to be adversely affected by testimony or other evidence adduced before it, such further rights and privileges as it may determine.

8. Except in the course of a subsequent hearing which is open to the public, no testimony or other evidence adduced at a private hearing or preliminary conference or interview conducted before a single-member agency in the course of its investigation shall be disseminated or made available to the public by said agency, its counsel or employees without the approval of the head of the agency. Except in the course of a subsequent hearing open to the public, no testimony or other evidence adduced at a private hearing or preliminary conference or interview before a committee or other multi-member investigating agency shall be disseminated or made available to the public by any member of the agency, its counsel or employees, except with the approval of a majority of the members of such agency. Any person who violates the provisions of this subdivision shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

9. No temporary state commission having more than two members shall have the power to take testimony at a public or private hearing unless at least two of its members are present at such hearing.

10. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to effect, diminish or impair the right, under any other provision of law, rule or custom, of any member or group of members of a committee or other multi-member investigating agency to file a statement or statements of minority views to accompany and be released with or subsequent to the report of the committee or agency. Added L.1954, c. 414, Sec. 1, eff. May 1, 1954; amended L.1954, c. 415, eff. May 1, 1954.

Subd. 10 added by L. 1954, c. 415, eff. May 1, 1954.

Compliance with section by agency. Laws 1954, c. 414 Sec. 2, eff. May 1, 1954, provides: "Nothing in this act shall grant any agency the power to hold any type of hearing no otherwise authorized by law, and nothing herein contained shall impair or otherwise affect the action taken by any agency, except as expressly specified in section one of this act; provided, however, that substantial non-compliance by an agency with respect to the rights granted by subdivisions two through six of such section to any person shall relieve him from any requirement to attend or if present to testify or produce evidence at such hearing, and it shall be a complete defense in any proceeding for contempt or other disciplinary action against such person for failure to testify or produce evidence before such agency."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS WILLIAM PATTERSON CASE 1952-55 10/18

NEW YORK CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
ORegon 9-1657

NEW YORK STATE OFFICERS:
DASHIELL HAMMETT
Chairman
JAMES MALLOY
Vice-Chairman
NAT ROSS
Executive Secretary
RUSSELL C. MEEK
Executive Secretary, Harlem C.R.C.
ELAINE ROSS
Administrative Secretary
BERNARD BENDER
Treasurer

NATIONAL OFFICERS:
DR. HARRY F. WARD
National Honorary Chairman
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Secretary

January 11, 1952

Dear Friend:

The next meeting of the Finance Committee will be held Wednesday evening, January 16th, at the home of Mr. Felix Ridge, 455 - 6th Avenue, New York City (near 10th St.) at 8:00 P.M.

Sincerely,

Edith Rosenberg

dpowa #65

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
November 20, 1954

THE DAY MATCHED THE DEED!

On Friday, November 19 -- a gloomy, mist-drenched day -- in the presence of a Grand Jury investigating philanthropic and charitable organizations and in a courtroom crowded with his friends, William L. Patterson, National Executive Secretary of Civil Rights Congress, for the second time in less than six months, was remanded by Judge Edward Weinfeld to serve a 90 day jail term for contempt.

Undaunted fighter for the civil rights of every American, he spent July 4th in prison. Now he is jailed on the eve of the joyous Thanksgiving festival.

Devoted friends, co-workers and those thousands who know him by reputation, will not mark Thanksgiving 1954 as a carefree feast of gratitude for material blessings. Nevertheless, on Thursday, November 25, we will give thanks.

We will give sober, serious thanks that a Negro leader of unsullied integrity lives and fights today in an America so sorely in need of such men. We will offer thanks that our friend is not alone -- that he is but one in a high company of men and women, either jailed or so threatened, who cannot be cowed ~~into~~ by persecution into compliant submission and whose honor is not for sale. We will be thankful for the loyal, steadfast families of every Smith Act victim who, with Louise and Mary Lou Patterson hold the fort until a loved one returns home.

But above all, we are thankful that within ourselves we hold to the unshakeable conviction that these shadows will pass and for our unswerving determination to fight on until this goal be achieved.

Muriel I. Symington

Dear John:

Perhaps Essie and Brother Paul would be interested in this follow up on my first statement -- it went to some VIPs and some of the Negro key press.

Muriel

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE 200 • 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-6856

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Secretary

December 21, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

We are very anxious to reach a previously untouched mailing list with information on the case of William L. Patterson. The intent is to solicit their support.

We are thinking of sending each a copy of "Genocide," together with the enclosed folder on Mr. Patterson, as well as a return envelope addressed to CRC.

It has been suggested that a letter from you on your personal stationery would help to emphasize the importance of this civil liberties case. Obviously only you can decide on the wisdom or the propriety of the suggestion.

The enclosed sample letter is only to save time. Should you agree, you may change it, or discard it entirely. And if you agree, we would appreciate it if you would send us several sheets of your personal stationery and your signature, together with the corrected copy, so that we may photo-offset it.

May I also take this opportunity to confirm the date for the mass rally for William Patterson and Benjamin J. Davis. Mr. John Gray informed me that you had agreed to participate. It will take place on January 26th, at Yugoslav Hall, 405 West 41 St., at 7:30 pm. We arenow in the process of completing the speakers' list.

Fraternally yours,

Samuel Barron

Samuel Barron

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE 200 • 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-6856

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Secretary

February 23, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
Freedom Associates
139 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The New York Joint Legislative Committee on Charitable and Philanthropic Agencies and Organizations was created by the New York Legislature for the declared purpose of investigating racketeering in the field of charities and philanthropies. But while criminal elements in this field have so far been left in security and immunity, the Committee has concentrated on organizations that function in the defense of civil, political and human rights.

Already under investigation are the Civil Rights Congress, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the Council on African Affairs, and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. In addition to the leaders of these organizations, various people who had some connection with these organizations, have been individually subpoenaed.

There is every reason to believe that this Legislative Committee is working together with the Internal Revenue Department, the Subversive Activities Control Board, the security division of the Justice Department. It demands names and addresses of contributors and supporters of these organizations. It asks witnesses political questions. This is typical of the McCarthy-like investigatory committees. The objective is the destruction of these people's organizations.

All this is being done without the mandate of the people of New York, who so far have not authorized the establishment of an inquisitorial body.

This invasion of First Amendment rights should be protested. We are enclosing a letter to be sent to both Majority Leaders of the Legislature. We hope it will be signed by a broad group of prominent individuals.

Would you agree to initiate such a letter? A similar request is being sent to Dr. Dorothy Brewster, Prof. Ephraim Cross, Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., and Rev. William Howard Melish. Your comments, amendments, corrections and editing on the letter will be seriously considered.

If you agree, will you please sign the enclosed card and mail it back to us in the self-addressed envelope. This letter will form the basis of the covering letter urging others to join with you in this protest.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson

William L. Patterson

Reply Card Sent
3/3/55
J.G.

Hon. Walter J. Mahoney
Majority Leader, State Senate

Hon. Joseph F. Carlino
Majority Leader, Assembly

Dear Sir:

The New York Joint Legislative Committee on Charitable and Philanthropic Agencies and Organizations was set up by the New York Legislative, as we understand it, to investigate racketeering in the field of charities and philanthropies.

This is a commendable objective. Thousands are being mulcted out of hard earned funds by individuals who feed on the laudable moral, ethical and community sentiments of the people. These criminals should be exposed and punished for their obvious racketeering.

However, we regret to call to your attention, if you are not already aware of it, that the Legislative Committee has completely by-passed this original objective. Instead, it is concentrating its attack on a group of organizations that function in the defense of civil, political and human rights.

These organizations have raised funds to pay for the legal expense involved in, and to rally support for, efforts to avoid such miscarriages of justice as the execution of Willie McGee, to save the lives of the Martinsville Seven and the Trenton Six; to free Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram from life imprisonment for defending her dignity as a woman; to prevent the heart-rending destruction of families through deportations; to stop the persecution of thought and ideas under the Smith and assorted acts; to help the political refugees of Franco Fascism; to give minimum aid to the colonial peoples of Africa.

Obviously these organizations do not fall under the category of charities and philanthropies as expressed in the legislative intent in setting up the Committee. It is equally true that the individuals involved in the affairs of these organizations cannot by any stretch of the imagination be placed in the same category with the racketeers the Committee was supposed, but failed to, investigate.

We know some of the leaders of these organizations. We find them self-sacrificing, courageous and with great integrity. They have a deep sense of responsibility to those whose defense they have undertaken, and to those who support them.

As we see it, the Legislative Committee, by its concentration on these organizations, its star chamber methods, its insistence on names and addressed of contributors and supporters, by its collusion with the Internal Revenue Department, the Subversive Activities Control Board, the Justice Department security division, has come to take on the attributes of a local un-American committee, which is far afield of the original legislative intent, and something the people of New York never voted for, as far as we know.

We protest this distortion of purpose. We urge you to use the influence of your office to stop this invasion of the democratic rights of the people of New York to participate in civil and political activity without the prying of official government agencies, as guaranteed by the First Amendment of our national Constitution.

Sincerely yours,

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF
THE D.C. ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS

1103 Trenton Place, S. E.
Washington 20, D. C.
Taylor 9-4463

Dear Friend:

It has been some time since we have given you a report on the activities of our Committee. After the Thompson Case, we found that the restaurants in the District of Columbia were accepting the decision in complete good faith. We then, on the occasion of Mrs. Terrell's 90th birthday, turned our attention to theaters and were gratifyingly surprised to find theaters following in the paths of the restaurants.

We are now turning our attentions to hotels, the last group of enterprises covered by the 19th century laws the Committee has worked to bring to life.

A survey we have conducted during the past several weeks shows that some few have freely and openly abandoned the color bar. Other hotels are reluctant to admit that their policy has changed, but at the same time have been unwilling to challenge the law by turning away people of color who have made reservations.

On the basis of our experience we believe that no hotel in Washington will today turn away an individual because of color if the individual has taken the pains to make a reservation in advance. We believe that the only way to cause the hotels to drop their race bias wholeheartedly instead of half heartedly as they do today is to increase the patronage of colored people at these hotels. Only when the patronage of colored people at hotels becomes a common and frequent occurrence, will we be able to say that the problem has been completely resolved. For this we need your cooperation. We earnestly request that all colored people who have any occasion to do so patronize Washington hotels of their choice, making reservations in advance, and urge their friends to do likewise. Let us know of your experiences so that we can make them known to the public at large and acquaint the Washington community with the fact that, as our experience has shown, Washington hotels are in fact dropping the color bar. In the unlikely event that any hotel actually refuses accommodations to a person because of color, we stand ready to take that case to court, where we are confident that the rule in the Thompson case will be applied to hotels.

The Committee is also presently engaging in a petition campaign seeking to bring about an end to discrimination in recreation areas in the District. We also have initiated efforts to break down discrimination in employment, and have already received a committment from McCrory's store on Seventh Street, that it will end its policy of employing only white sales clerks. We will keep you informed of our results in these campaigns as they develop.

The Committee, as you know from the past, has been able to operate only because of the generous financial assistance which it has received from its friends and supporters. We find it necessary at this stage again to appeal for support in order to pay for the expenses which we have incurred for our hotel tests as well as for the petitions, our literature, mailings and meetings. Because you have helped generously in our previous campaigns, we ask you to contribute again. We also welcome any suggestions that you may have for the Committee's work and for the plan of operations.

Sincerely,

Mary Church Terrell

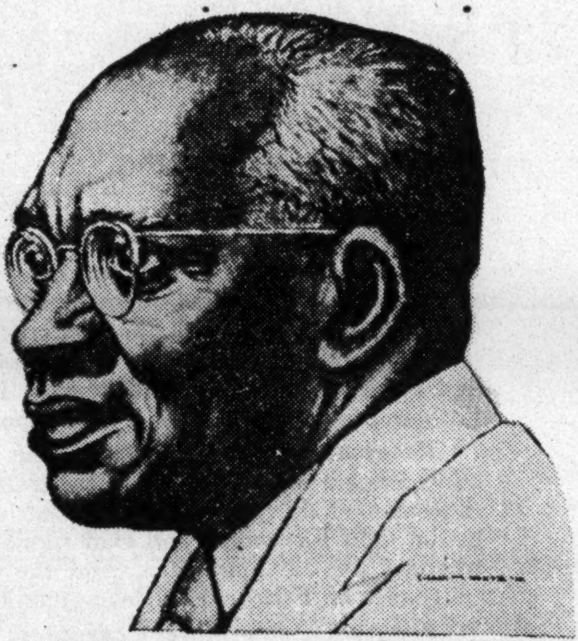
Mary Church Terrell,
Chairman.

Please send all donations to our treasurer, Mr. William D. Nixon,
2915 University Terrace, N. W., Washington, D. C.

[PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE]

PRISON FOR LIFE?

PERPETUAL PERSECUTION . . . life imprisonment; or the right to fight for the liberties of Americans . . . *your* liberties, *your* welfare, *your* security.



CHARLES WHITE

William L. Patterson's second imprisonment in the course of five months means just that. The police-state crowd in the Government let its guard down and exposed its real intentions. The challenge to *your* rights is written in the court record—and is being met at the sacrifice of precious days and weeks and months by the 63-year-old Negro leader, the victim of the viciousness and vengeance of Government agencies in the hands of McCarthyites.

Silence—Or Life Imprisonment?

"There may come a time when a Court will be satisfied that in fact the records no longer exist."

With these words, Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld not only continued the unlawful, frame-up imprisonment of Patterson. He also sanctioned perpetual persecution that could add up to life imprisonment.

And for what? For "contempt" in failing to produce books of the Civil Rights Congress which Patterson *swore* in court were not available.

"If I am in prison today," Patterson told the Judge, "it will not be for contempt of court, but for perjury with which I am not charged, since the Government cannot prove it. Therefore the Government is using a subterfuge by charging me with contempt of court. . . .

"I regard this whole thing as persecution. I have been the victim of it for some considerable years, and it is nothing foreign to me at all, and I expect again to be the victim of it later. . . .

"I would like to add that all my life, and in this period particularly, I have been engaged in the struggle for the rights of my people, the rights of minority groups. My record in America in that respect I think is well known, and I regard the action now being taken, and a series of other actions of a similar character, as an attempt not only to persecute me, but to silence me."

Why do they want to silence Patterson?

Vengeance, Racism and Fascism Are the Motives

Racism and Vengeance: Three years ago, Patterson presented to the UN, sitting in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, the CRC Genocide petition, proving with facts and figures the genocidal policies being carried out against the Negro people in the U.S.A. This document has since been used by oppressed peoples the world over to expose the myth of the American government's claim of concern for the freedom of peoples, and to urge Americans to go home and clean up their back yard first. It helped lay the basis for the desegregation ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court. At the time of his two imprisonments Patterson was working on a new petition, bringing "Genocide" up to date, for presentation to the UN in New York. Thus there is racism in silencing Patterson's fight for Negro rights, and vengeance in punishing him for having dared make this question an international matter.

Fascism and Vengeance: In March, 1954, Patterson presented to the delegates of the Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, a document revealing the deterioration of civil and human rights in the U.S.A., entitled, "Six Year Retrogression Toward a Police-State."* This document exposed not only the pretensions of the U.S. Government to be the champion of democracy, but also the steps being taken by the McCarthy-Brownell forces in the Government to establish a police-state and to undermine the Constitution and its Bill of Rights and the 14th and 15th Amendments. Fascism is their objective and vengeance is their pay-off for the man who exposed their hand.

Persecution and Vengeance: The fact that books containing names and addresses are not available has frustrated the Government's hopes of persecuting thousands of decent, democratic Americans who supported Civil Rights Congress in the fight for human and civil rights for the Negro people, for constitutional liberties for all Americans. And the Government is paying off by wreaking vengeance on Patterson for being unable to produce these intended victims.

Vengeance and More Vengeance: But Patterson is guilty of one more "crime." Patterson is a Negro, a leader of his people, who has "dared" emerge as a leader of *all* the American people, Negro and white, in the fight for democracy, for civil rights and for human decency. The pay-off for this on the part of McCarthyites can only be viciousness and vengeance.

Above all, Patterson has been one of those who have openly challenged and stood up to McCarthyism, and have fought the fascist drive to foist a police-state on our country.

A Political Frame-Up

So Patterson is now sitting in prison serving a second 90-day sentence. The *political frame-up* now becomes clear. This is only the culmination of years of political persecution. Here in Patterson's own words to the court are the facts:

"I know with whom I am dealing. . . . I am not dealing with children. . . . You see, I am also the man who was called a 'Goddamned black son-of-a-bitch' in the halls of Congress, and yet I was tried twice for contempt of Congress, not the Congressman who called me a 'Goddamned black son-of-a-bitch.'. . . Once before when I was under attack I heard an official of the Justice Department in Washington declare that 'We must keep the black apes down,' and that 'We will get Patterson in time.' "

Well, they got Patterson! It would have been too raw to try to get Patterson for fighting for Negro rights, for fighting for democratic rights for all Americans. So they trumped up a tax case. Here is Patterson again in court:

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* Soon to be published as a pamphlet.

"It has been said here by the Government on more than one occasion that these proceedings ensued because of their belief that there was a tax delinquency and that I had made a fraudulent tax return. I deny that the Government proceeds on that basis. If it is true that the Government proceeded on that basis, then why does the Government not go into a tax court and fix that assessment at a figure that they say is due them? I will tell your Honor why they don't do it. *Because they are not concerned at all with anything about taxes.*"

This is confirmed by the fact that persecution of Patterson does not date from this tax case, but started years before. This is confirmed also by the fact that the attack on Patterson and Civil Rights Congress which he leads is the result not only of the action of the Internal Revenue Department. It is the result of a concerted gang-up of Government agencies including the Internal Revenue Department, the Subversive Activities Control Board, the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Charities and Philanthropies in connivance with the courts, all at the same time—right now!

OBJECTIVE: *To silence Patterson by putting him away for life; to destroy Civil Rights Congress, a people's defense organization dedicated to the defense of civil liberties and to the defense of victims of political persecution and anti-democratic governmental actions.*

Patterson and You

But the main target is not Patterson alone. Yes, Patterson has spent a whole generation piling up the "crime" of fighting for people's rights. He began way back in the fight to free the trade union leader, Tom Mooney, from a life sentence on a frame-up; to free the Scottsboro boys from a legal lynching. He was a leader in the fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti, Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, the Trenton Six, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, and innumerable others. He is fighting now to win freedom for Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, imprisoned for defending her honor and dignity against a white supremacist attacker, and the Smith Act victims from the persecuting arm of would-be American Hitlers.

But the main target is YOU—the American people, who have spent over two hundred years fighting for liberty, resisting tyranny, writing in blood the Preamble to our Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the 14th and 15th Amendments. Through terror and intimidation the McCarthy-Brownell forces seek to destroy your democratic tradition, your insistence on liberty, your striving for security and freedom.

Patterson is the sacrifice—*to silence you!*

Patterson is the victim—*to victimize you!*

McCarthyite persecution of Patterson—*is persecution of you!*

Help Yourself—Free Patterson

At a time when the movements to return our country to the Bill of Rights, to desegregate schools, to censure and unseat McCarthy are reaching a new high, the fight for the victims of persecution, the first-line fighters for democracy, must be stepped up.

Defeat the "contempt" frame-ups—present and planned—against Patterson. Rid the trade unions, Negro organizations and other civil liberties organizations from the ever-present threat of destruction that is implied in the present concerted attack on Civil Rights Congress.

Guarantee your own safety from persecution by ending the persecution of others who defend civil liberties.

Do It Yourself—Do It Now

Urge friends, leaders of your union, the minister in your church, and everyone who is opposed to McCarthyism and racism, who loves democracy, to:

1. Send a resolution, letter or telegram to Attorney General Brownell, Justice Department, Washington, D. C., asking that he end the "perpetual jeopardy" which may mean a lifetime in jail for William L. Patterson.
2. Send similar communications to your senators, congressman, members of the Judiciary Committee in both the House and Senate, asking action to end the persecution of Patterson and Civil Rights Congress by the Attorney General.
3. Send to the Civil Rights Congress for additional copies of this brochure for distribution in your union, your community, among your friends, to all believers in democracy; send for more of the enclosed card.
4. Send us a substantial contribution to help carry the appeals for bail and against Patterson's imprisonment to the U.S. Supreme Court, to secure Patterson's freedom, and to defeat the present attempts of the Subversive Activities Control Board and the New York State Joint Legislative Committee and the Internal Revenue Department to drive the CRC out of existence.

Remember—Each and Every Action You Take Will Be In Defense of YOUR Rights As an American.

(PLEASE USE THE COUPON BELOW)

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

6 EAST 17th STREET (ROOM 200), NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

☐ **I have written to Attorney General Brownell.**

☐ **I enclose $.................. for.................. Season's Greeting Cards to Patterson at 5c a piece.**

☐ **I enclose $.................. as my contribution to carry on the fight to free Wiliam L. Patterson and to defend CRC against the present attacks.**

NAME ______________________________

ADDRESS ______________________________

CITY ______________ ZONE __________ STATE __________

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
6 EAST 17 STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

MAY 5, 1955

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PROTESTS AGAINST RACISM FORCE SACB BACKDOWN

Mounting protests against the crass racism exhibited by a government attorney, Posey Kime, at the Subversive Activities Control Board hearing against Civil Rights Congress in New York, have forced the SACB to reneg on its threat to move the hearing back to Washington.

As a result of the incidents that occurred on Monday and Tuesday of this week, motions to remove both Kime and David J. Coddaire, hearing officer, had been filed with the SACB, and a delegation was set to visit the SACB in Washington to lodge its protest. On Thursday, the Board denied the delegation an appointment for Tues., May 10th at 2 p.m., on the ground that the questions was being handled administratively. At the same time, it informed CRC that it would resume hearings in New York on Mon., May 9th, in room 35, at the Federal Courthouse, Foley Sq., at 9:30 a.m.

The delegation has wired the SACB that in its opinion racism was primarily a social, political and moral question, and that therefore it was going through with its visit to protest the behavior of both Kime and Coddaire and to urge their removal from the case.

On Mon., May 2nd, Kime referred to William L. Patterson, prominent Negro leader and executive secretary of CRC, as "that creature," after Patterson had resented Kime's consistently sneering and insulting attitude toward Mrs. Rosalie McGee, widow of Willie McGee, Negro victim of Southern "justice" who had been defended by CRC. Coddaire refused to reprimand the government attorney, and refused to listen to protests from Miss Rhoda Laks, attorney for CRC.

On the following day, the anti-Semitic line of Kime's questioning became obvious to everyone in the hearing room. But Coddaire called a halt to it on the legal ground that the questions were "far afield," refusing to asknowledge the anti-Semitism or to reprimand the Justice Department attorney. The insistance of Miss Laks on introducing a motion calling for the removal of Kime under rules 201.14 and 201.15 of the Rules of Procedure of the SACB, only brought an abrupt adjournment of the hearing, and an order to reconvene in Washington as punishment. The rules call for the removal of counsel who is guilty of disrespectful, disorderly or contumacious language, or of misbehavior which obstructs the hearing.

It was no accident, in the opinion of many observers, that the arbitrary

(MORE)

behavior of Coddaire took place as it became apparent that the Justice Department had been caught flat-footed by the recantations of still another FBI informer, David Brown, whose testimony that he lied to the FBI was undermining the whole case against CRC, which was based solely on the testimony of 22 similar informers. Brown was also exposing the sordid role of the FBI in conducting its political persecutions.

Motions on behalf of CRC were filed with the SACB on Thurs., May 5th, by CRC counsel. Detailing the incidents as they occurred, the first motion declared that Coddaire had failed to comply with the rules to censure and remove Kime, or even to listen to CRC counsel make her protest, or present her motion, thereby demonstrating "his bias and prejudice against (CRC) and his bigotry against the Negro people..." and therefore Coddaire was "not qualified to hear this proceeding." The Board was "requested to declare a mistrial, remove Mr. Coddaire as examiner, and appoint a different Board member or examiner to hear the evidence in this case."

The second motion opposed the transfer of the hearing to Washington. It was this motion that was granted without a hearing.

CRC will proceed to argue the motion for the removal of Coddaire and Kime.

# # # #

Josephine Grayson .. Rosalie McGee..

Bessie Mitchell and Minnie Westray

Invite you on behalf of

THE PATTERSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

to join in a

TESTIMONIAL SUPPER

to

WILLIAM. L. PATTERSON

On the occasion of his 63rd Birthday

PATTERSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE
6 East 17th Street, Suite 200
New York, N.Y.

Enclosed find check for $________ for ______ reservations to the Testimonial Supper for William L. Patterson on August 26, 1954 at Smalls' Paradise.

Name________________________________

Address______________________________

____

William Patterson must spend his 63rd Birthday in prison at Danbury, Connecticut, but though he cannot be present, we will honor his lifetime of struggle for human and civil rights -- the reason for his persecution.

Smalls' Paradise (Air Cooled)   Thursday, August 26, 1954
2294 Seventh Avenue, N.Y.C.   7:00 P.M.

$2.00 per plate   For reservations call: WAtkins 4-6856
or use enclosed card.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS TRENTON SIX 1950 10/19

The Case of the Trenton 6

A fact sheet prepared by the Civil Rights Congress

THE MEN

Ralph Cooper, 26; Collis English, 26; McKinley Forest, 38; John McKenzie, 27; James Thorpe, 27; Horace Wilson, 40; all are Negroes.

THE ALLEGED CRIME

On January 27, 1948, in Trenton, N.J., a second-hand furniture dealer named William Horner, 72, and his common-law wife, were beaten in their store. Horner died in the hospital without regaining consciousness. $1,642 in cash was found on his body by police.

THE ARRESTS

The city administration of Trenton had just been charged with corruption and incompetence and Mayor Donal Connolly, one time Christian Front organizer, was about to stand trial on graft charges. Further, newspapers were charging a tie-up between the administration and gangland, leading to an unsolved crime wave. Put on the spot, police had to produce "culprits." When the Horner murder occured, a 15-man motorized bandit squad armed with machineguns patrolled Trenton's Negro ghetto, roughing up, questioning and arresting many Negroes in a wave of terror. Newspapers played down the Connolly trial and front-paged the search for the Horner murderers, crying that the "idle electric chair" must be filled. For two weeks the bandit squad enforced a curfew in the ghetto.

COLLIS ENGLISH

On Feb. 6, after his stepfather complained to police that he used the family car without permission, Collis English, Navy veteran, was arrested.

On Feb. 7, his brother-in-law, McKinley Forest, went to police to find out what had happened to English. Forest never returned.

On February 8, Ralph Cooper and Horace Wilson were arrested. They were two of eight men English named to prove his innocence of the Horner murder. The other six were never sought out. That same day, one-armed James Thorpe was arrested because police decided he fitted English's description of a man who "carried one shoulder higher than the other."

On February 11, police returned to the twice-stricken English home at dawn, woke the family and demanded "all the men in the house." They arrested without warrant, John McKenzie, Forest's nephew and the only man on the premises.

On February 13, police announced that the Horner killers had been apprehended and "five confessions" signed.

McKINLEY FOREST

THE "CONFESSIONS"

English, pensioned from the Navy for malaria and a rheumatic heart, was held for 100 hours by police, hit with a rubber hose, allowed practically no sleep, four times refused to sign prepared "confessions."

Thorpe, whose right arm had been amputated 8 days before the alleged crime, testified that he signed a statement written by the prosecutor because "I feared I'd be whipped on my stump."

Forest testified police forced a pill on him which blacked him out for 5 days. Cooper was given a cigarette which "made me feel very sleepy, drunkish," after which he blacked out for 4 days. McKenzie, given a similar cigarette, suffered hallucinations and remembered nothing for the next week.

A warden, a police guard, the president of the Bar Association, a medical examiner and others, all testified that during their grilling the six men appeared "dazed, incoherent, unintelligible and drowsy." Captain Andrew Delate, in charge of the investigation, admitted that he himself wrote the confessions.

THE COURTROOM FRAMEUP

Before an all-white jury from which Negroes had been excluded by New Jersey's State's Attorney, a 55-day trial began on June 7. The six men were represented by court-appointed attorneys. During the trial these proofs of innocence were brought out:

Alibis: all six men produced dozens of witnesses placing them conclusively elsewhere than at the scene of the murder. Wilson's employer produced payroll records to prove that Wilson was working 10 miles from Trenton on the murder day. Neighbors testified that English was at home all that day helping his mother wash clothes. Forest's employer stated that he had been plucking chickens that day and had deposited money for him at the bank that morning. Neighbors and a postman authoritatively placed Cooper at his girl friend's home that day. Like Forest, McKenzie spent the day working in a slaughterhouse, to which seven witnesses testified. Five witnesses placed Thorpe in front of his home helping his father repair a car.

Identification: Mrs. Virginia Barclay and Frank Eldracher, who saw men fleeing the Horner murder, testified that none of the six defendants resembled the men they had seen. Elizabeth McGuire, Horner's common-law wife, twice failed to identify the six defendants. After police showed her photos of the six men, Miss McGuire then was able to identify them as the "killers."

Originally she had described the criminals as light-skinned men of about 20. Four of the six defendants are dark complected; two were over 36. On the stand Miss McGuire admitted that police coaching was responsible for her final identification. Although she said she had bitten her assailant's finger, none of the Six had any such bite.

HORACE WILSON

Descriptions: Descriptions of the suspects originally sought by police and broadcast in 8-state teletype alarms, bore no resemblance to any of the six defendants. The prosecution has refused to produce these teletype messages. Further, police continued to send the alarms for one full week after they had gotten "confessions".

Impounding of Evidence: Police blotters, notebooks and reports which would establish the innocence of the defendants have been impounded by the prosecution, which refused to release this vital evidence for the use of the defense. The judge also refused to let the defense see this evidence.

Police Irregularities: Two detectives in charge of the original investigation said they believed the defendants innocent, asked to be relieved. The prosecution spirited away and kept hidden a "mystery man," Jerry Griswold, who lived and worked at Horner's store but disappeared the day after the murder. Director of Public Safety Andrew J. Duch stated before the first trial that Trenton police had "bungled" the case.

THE FIRST VERDICT

In August, 1948, court-appointed defense attorneys summed up with snide white-supremacist statements like this: the defendants "are men...whose great-grandfathers were brought here as wild men.. ..and these people had all the natural fears of the place that they come from. Just the way your little dog, if he doesn't know somebody, he regards them with a great deal of askance." State Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe summed up with these inflammatory words: "Remove and destroy this cancer upon the city. These people have no right...to be let loose....why, can you imagine having these men walking out of this courtroom.... what would happen in this community ladies and gentlemen?" He referred to Negro and Jewish witnesses as "rather comical...are you going to believe people like this, or...the police?"

On August 8, as the jury brought in verdicts of guilty for all six men, one woman juror fainted, another collapsed and required a doctor. Judge Charles P. Hutchinson imposed the most extreme penalty---death in the electric chair--- on all six men.

THE WOMAN WHO FOUGHT FOR JUSTICE

The morning after English's arrest, his sister, Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, a garment worker in New York, and a member of the I.L.G.W.U., was notified by her mother, Mrs. Emma English. Accompanied by the brother of Forest, Mrs. Mitchell went to the Trenton police but was refused permission to see the prisoners.

For the next four months, Mrs. Mitchell went to every organization she could find, seeking help for her innocent brother and his five fellow-victims of frame-up injustice. She asked the NAACP, the Governor, the Veterans Administration, the FBI, church groups, her union, the ACLU, newspapers and dozens of other groups. All refused help.

After the verdict of Guilty, Mrs. Mitchell continued to seek help. She learned of the Civil Rights Congress, sought its assistance, and got it.

THE APPEAL TO THE N.J. SUPREME COURT

With the entry of CRC into the case, lawyers were secured to prepare and present an appeal to the New Jersey Supreme Court. Bail for the Six was thrice denied by the court. At the same time CRC chapters and independent Committees to Save The Trenton Six began bringing the facts of the case to millions.

JAMES THORPE

THE MASS CAMPAIGN

From every corner of the world protests began pouring in, condemning the case as a "Northern Scottsboro" frameup. When the facts were widely circulated by CRC, Parisians picketed the U.S. embassy, 12,000 Czech workers voted their protest, 5,000 in Manchester, England, voiced a determination to work for the Six's freedom, tens of thousands of petitions, letters of protest and organizational resolutions from every nation flooded the desk of New Jersey Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll.

In every part of the U.S., organized by CRC chapters and members, mass meetings and rallies were held; petitions, letters and resolutions were mobilized in great numbers. The CIO, NAACP and ACLU were forced to drop their disinterest and file briefs supporting CRC's appeal.

THE SUPREME COURT VERDICT

On June 30, 1949, as the eyes of an aroused world watched, the N.J. Supreme Court reversed the conviction of the six men, declaring:

1. It was impermissable for Judge Hutchinson to pronounce death sentences when the jury had not brought back a verdict of first degree murder.

RALPH COOPER

2. Fingerprints and other vital evidence requested by the defense was withheld.
3. Confessions were extorted under duress.

THE SMEAR OF LAWYERS

On Dec. 16, 1949, while the date for a new trial was still awaited, on the very day CRC lawyers had subpoenaed evidence and witnesses to prove the state's star witness perjured herself, Hutchinson ordered the attorneys out of the case on the charge that they had cooperated with CRC in a mass campaign and in making charges against the court, which later were confirmed by the New Jersey Supreme Court.

The defendants immediately sought an injunction to restrain Hutchinson from depriving them of the CRC counsel for which they had asked, the same lawyers who had won a reversal of the case.

NEW JERSEY DEFIES CIRCUIT COURT

The U.S. Circuit Court eventually upheld the Trenton Six in their right to retain CRC counsel but, following its decision, Judge Hutchinson refused to accept the Court's decision. He refused to let the men be represented by these lawyers of their own choosing and refused to set a new trial date unless the CRC attorneys retired from the case. And he continued to refuse bail for the men.

THE CRC LAWYERS WITHDRAW

By December, 1950, it became obvious that the strategy of the state of New Jersey was to refuse to let the case come to trial, make the issue the alleged conduct of the lawyers and then blame the CRC because the men remained in jail and the case did not come to trial. In the face of this, CRC decided, despite the defendants' reluctance to give up the attorneys who had saved their lives, to step out of the case after making arrangements for as adequate replacements as possible.

THE SECOND TRIAL

The Trenton Six went on trial again March 5, 1951. Prosecutor Volpe excluded all Jewish and Negro jurors. Again an all-white jury has been selected. Again evidence requested by the defense has been withheld, even though Judge Ralph J. Smalley originally agreed to make the prosecution deliver the evidence to the defense. In his opening statement to the jury, Prosecutor Volpe indicated that the state's case will be identical with its original prosecution, despite the fact that the New Jersey Supreme Court reversed the conviction so gained. Just as Hutchinson once ignored the U.S. Circuit Court, so now does Volpe ignore the decision of his state Supreme Court.

The well-greased machinery of Trenton and the state of New Jersey is likely to produce another trial, thus risking another death sentence. Rather the prosecution can and must be forced to dismiss the case.

WHITE SUPREMACY IN TRENTON

Although Trenton is only 60 miles from New York City, its Negro citizens are treated the same as in Laurel, Miss., where Willie McGee fights for his life on a rape frame-up, or Martinsville, Va., where seven innocent Negroes were legally lynched on a similar frame-up.

Until shortly before Horner's murder, Negro children in Trenton were forced to attend segregated schools. At the height of the first Trenton Six campaign, a Ku Klux Klan fiery cross was burned near Trenton at the site of a Negro housing project. In the Trenton NAACP files are scores of affidavits proving that police systematically torture and beat Negroes who are daily arrested without charge. Volpe, at the same time he was prosecuting the Trenton Six, was defending a cafe owner who violated the state law against restaurants denying service to Negro customers.

WHY "LYNCHING---NORTHERN STYLE"?

CRC refers to the Trenton Six case as a "lynching. .Northern style," just as it refers to the McGee and Martinsville cases as "legal lynchings." The meaning of these terms becomes clear when we realize the mob lynchings have decreased recently in the face of international protests. Their place has been taken by cases like Trenton, Mrs. Ingram, McGee, Paul Washington, Wesley Wells and Martinsville, in which innocent Negroes are tried "legally" on false charges and often sentenced to death. Cases like Trenton and Wells in California show legal lynching as not just a product of the South. Prime movers of legal lynchings are not merely Southern plantation owners. They are joined by monopoly financiers of the North who control Mississippi and Georgia as well as Trenton and New Jersey.

JOHN McKENZIE

Consequently, the whole apparatus of the city of Trenton, the county of Mercer and the state of New Jersey is mobilized to accomplish this legal lynching. This includes the courts, administrative officials like the prosecutor and Governor, and the state legislature. Rather than the Trenton Six having committed a crime, this case is a crime of the government of New Jersey against six innocent Negroes and against all the Negro people of the state.

MRS. MITCHELL

THE STAKE OF LABOR

Numbers of trade unions throughout the U.S. have understood the threat to organized labor in the Trenton frameup. As they did in the McGee and Martinsville cases, protests, resolutions, money and forces have come from such unions as: Marine Cooks and Stewards, both international and locals; International Fur and Leather Workers; United Farm Equipment, Metal Workers; locals of United Public Workers; United Electrical, Radio, Machine Workers; Furrier's Joint Council of New York; locals United Shoe Workers (CIO); District 3, Furniture, Bedding, Allied Trades; Local 3, International Fishermen and Allied Workers (CIO); Distributive, Processing and Office Workers; and abroad, Czech Film Workers, the Manchester (Eng.) Trades Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Organized labor is seeing in these legal lynching attempts a drive to split union membership through white supremacy. In Laurel, Miss., where Willie McGee was framed, the union local was disastrously weakened. In Martinsville, Va., where DuPont has its largest Nylon plant and where furniture and tobacco factories employ most of the labor market, the frame-up of the Martinsville Seven resulted in a completely non-union town.

To the extent that this tactic is successful, the strength of unions is curtailed, and the profits of big monopolies increased. It is no accident that United States Steel has selected Trenton for the site of its stupendous new plant.

CRC AND THE SECOND TRIAL

By mobilizing the world to protest this "Northern Scottsboro," CRC saved the lives of six innocent men. While CRC attorneys did a magnificent job, their efforts would have come to naught without an aroused world opinion. The fact that CRC lawyers have been obliged to step out of the case for the welfare of the defendants does not end CRC's responsibility to these six innocent men.

Rather, CRC cannot now limit the possibility of building a tremendous mass campaign to free the Trenton Six. In a sense the job is easier this time since the NAACP and the ACLU are now directly involved, through their attorneys. Time is short, but millions must be moved to action before the end of the trial if we hope to save the Six.

THE ACTION

A SECOND TRIAL AFTER THE N.J. SUPREME COURT'S REVERSAL CAN ONLY MEAN THAT A SECOND FRAME-UP IS IN THE MAKING.

(1) Telephone, write and wire Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll, State Capitol, Trenton, N.J., demanding that the state stop its attempt at a second frame-up.

(2) Demand of Pres. Truman that he instruct his Attorney General to prosecute New Jersey officials under the Federal Civil Rights Act for coercing confessions in violation of the constitutional rights of the Trenton Six.

(3) Bring the story of the innocent Trenton Six immediately to your union, church, lodge, fraternal group, NAACP chapter, veteran's post, political club and campus group. Get them to telephone, write and wire Driscoll and Truman, adopt resolutions, sign petitions.

- -

Civil Rights Congress,
23 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

I wish to join in the nation-wide fight to save the lives of the Trenton Six. Will you send me (please indicate quantity):

☐ Petitions ☐ additional fact sheets at 5¢ each, $3 per 100

☐ I wish to become a member of the Civil Rights Congress and actively join in its struggle to free the Trenton Six. Enclosed please find $1 for my 1951 membership.

☐ I wish to support the defense of the Trenton Six. Enclosed please find my contribution.

(Name) ______________________________

(Address) ______________________________

____

WHY THE CRUSADE ON THE MARTINSVILLE SEVEN?

by

The Civil Rights Congress and

The Virginia Committee to Save The Martinsville Seven

November 2, 1950

On November 17 and November 20 seven young Negro men are being murdered by the State of Virginia for the "crime" of being Negroes.

Since 1908 forty-four Negroes have been executed by the State of Virginia on the charge of rape. This, if permitted, would make it fifty-one. During the same period no white man has been executed for rape in Virginia. Not long ago two white policemen of Richmond, Va. were convicted of raping a Negro woman. The penalty? Seven years imprisonment or less.

Though one third of the people of Virginia are Negroes, no Negroes sat on the jury which tried any of these men. 84 jurors - not one Negro among them. There is not a single Negro judge in the whole state of Virginia.

Though young (6 of them were 20 or 21 years old) and poor, and surrounded by a hostile white community, these Negro defendants were given the most apathetic defense by court-appointed lawyers. In fact, the most modern assembly line methods were introduced into their trials. They were convicted in separate trials at the rate of one a day. Ten in the morning to four in the afternoon, with two hours for lunch. Four hours for a murder trial -- and a death sentence.

The woman who cried "rape", Mrs. Ruby Floyd, told a story full of discrepancies and impossibilities. Then, immediately after telling her story in court, she disappeared and no one has been able to find her since.

Needless to say Virginia is a completely segregated state. Negroes and whites are not permitted to associate together. This goes hand in hand with such frameups as this, which have the dual purpose of confusing the white man with the constantly repeated false stories of "Negro criminality" and of keeping the Negro "in his place".

Lynching, as a method of keeping Negroes and whites apart, has been so vigorously opposed that it occurs less frequently than was formerly true. But it has simply been replaced by the "legal lynching", as in this case, or the Willie McGee case, or the Trenton Case, or the Ingram case, or the Paul Washington case, or the Wesley Wells case, or the Groveland case, or the Daniels case, or the Jerry Newson case, or (if you please) the Lieutenant Gilbert case.

A "legal lynching" differs in no material respect from the old type lynching, except it takes longer and often the people are able to prevent it. Statistics on lynchings which added "legal lynchings" to the old type lynchings, would show that lynchings are on the increase in the United States.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is handling the legal aspects of the Martinsville case. But this is not enough. Unless the people of the whole country, and the whole world, are mobilized to express themselves forcefully against this "murder" by the State of Virginia, and "legal lynchings" in general, these seven young men will surely die.

The main form of expression of this mobilization is a national crusade-delegation from all over the United States, made up of white and Negro people, which will convene in the city of Richmond, Virginia on November 15th to demand of Governor Battle that he pardon these men.

All who believe in democracy and oppose Jim Crow should do the following:

1. Join in the delegation.
2. Endorse the delegation and announce it to the press.
3. Demand a pardon from Governor Battle.
4. Demand federal intervention by President Truman.

* * *

65 dpowa

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS COMMUNIST PARTY - U.S.A. 1947, 1949 10/20

I ENDORSE THIS STATEMENT

MM Paul Robeson, Roscoe Dunjee and W. E. B. DuBois
23 West Twenty-sixth Street
New York City

Dear Friends:

I authorize you to add my signature to the petition calling upon President Truman and Congress to reject the proposal to illegalize the Communist party.

Name Cpl. John H., Hannah 44112030

Address Information & Education Center

Post Office Station Hospital, Fort Benning, G

MM Paul Robeson
23 W, 26 Street
New York City

Dear Sir .

I think that you are doing a great job with this petition, not only you but in and every negro that will let his signature be add I do wish there was more that I can do I know that I am in the service but will do all that I can If called upon.

My mailing address is as follow .

Cpl John H. Hannah 44112030
Information & Education Center
Station Hospital
Fort Benning, Georgia

Call on me anytime.

John H. Hannah

Infromation & Education Center
Station Hospital

Fort Benning, Georgia
29 April 1947

MM Paul Robeson
23 W, 26 Street
New York City

Dear Sir .

I think that you are doing a great job with this petition, not only you but in and every negro that will let his signature be add I do wish there was more that I can do I know that I am in the service but will do all that I can If called upon.

My mailing address is as follow .

Cpl John H. Hannah 44112030
Information & Education Center
Station Hospital
Fort Benning, Georgia

Call on me anytime.

John H. Hannah

Sgt. Nathaniel Callahan
6006 ASU. MP. Det. Nol Co "E"
N. Fort Lewis, Washington.

Sir;

I have been a full fledged Communist since 1940. Though I can't do much for the cause I still like it very much. I have talked a good many men in the party. and they like it very much. Though I can't talk much being a soldier I still would like to do something for the thing that I believe in.I have tried the other parties and I do not like them, so I decieded to try this. I hope that I can be of some use to you and that party. I believe that I can

I am hoping that you will take me up on this soon.

Truly yours
Nathaniel Callahan

BUS. PHONE 688

RES.: 721 SO. 7TH ST.

W. V. GENTRY
WATCH AND CLOCK REPAIRING
127 SOUTH 2ND STREET
MUSKOGEE, OKLA.

April 28-47

Mr Paul Robeson etc.
23 West 26th street.

Kind Sir:

The inclosed find cliping authorige you to adding my signature to the Petition call on the presiat Truman and congress to reject to proposal to illegalige the communist party.

Respt Yours-
W. V. Gentry Pres. the
Locall Muskogee N.A.A.C.P.
Branch.

Apr 29th 1947

Gentlemen Enclosed please find
signature of Myself and wife.-
We regret it is not a list containing 50 or a 100
names under the forceful statement as yours
publised in the "Pitsburg Courier"
Such facts stated in the public press is a
deadly blow to- and a genuine exposure of
the purpose and procedure of our American
Government. Please keep it up continually

Very Respt. Yours
A. Harrell
2123 N Jefferson St.
Phila. 21 Pa.

704 Garfield Ave
Kansas City, Kas.
May 2, 1947

Mm. Paul Robeson, Roscoe Dunjee, W E B Dubois,

Gentlemen.

I am happy To offer My Signiture To Petition To President Truman & Congress for Freedom To & For All As National President of The United Protective League For Freedom, Inc. I Also Pledge our Futher Support to All things for Uplift & Freedom.

Yours Truly.
Dr. William H. Williamson

333-E.55th St.
Chicago.37-Ill.
5/2/47-

My Dear Mr. Robson:

Enclosed you will find my endorsement of your plan -

Here's hoping you great success in the plan - We minorities, have a great fight ahead to maintain gains made under our late and beloved President F.D.R. -

I am poet and writer - my work has been published in the Crisis - Pittsburgh Courier "Chicago Defender" and in Anthologies in Holland and England, also numerous books in this Country I am the author of Book of Verse "Prelude", published by the Press of Flozari - Cleveland.

Again great success

I remain yours truly

Charles Enoch Wheeler -

Execution date
May 9th

431 E. 46th Place,
Chicago, Ill.
May 4 - 1947.

M.M. Paul Robeson, Roscoe Dunjee & W. E B Du Bois
23 W. 26th St
N. Y. C., N.Y.

Dear Friends; I have been writing letters & appeals now for a year in behalf of Willie Francis, the colored youth who is sentenced to ~~the~~ the electric chair for the second time by the State of La., and I do feel deep in my heart and his heart and in the hearts of our dear race that he should get clemency. So I am writing you gentlemen asking you if you will appeal to Gov. Davis, the Pardon Board at New Orleans or to the Supreme Court of La urging that clemency be return to this youth (who is a member of our race) who is facing the electric chair for a second time - That you, ever so many people & I feel that Executive Clemency is warranted in this Willie Francis Case,

I am working hard in his behalf gentlemen because I feel that he has been punished enough and needs another chance - that's why I am asking you to appeal for his death sentence, be commuted to life in prison. He even willed his eyes to my blind brother and just that alone proves that his heart is pure. We had the will void because my brother is very skeptical where the operation is concerned because he has only one eye. Please hurry!

Your Friend - Mrs. Wilmer Cox.

Augusta, Georgia.
Thursday, May 8th 1947
C/o_Mrs. Mattie Sumler
1436_9th Ave. Route_41
And Milliadgeville Road.

MM. Paul Robeson, Roscoe
Dunjee And Mr. W. E. B. Dubois
23_West_26th Street
New york, City_N. Y.

Dear Gentlemen:. I'am a veteran of World War 2. American Negro.

Please accept this song as a special gift for the occasion of Matters concerned.

Kindly help Me in every way to get this New wonderful New before American people. Thank you in advance. I were drafted in the army from New york city. Serial No. 42_087326.

Very Truly Yours,

("Drummer") Mr. William Smith, Jr.

P. S. Address aboved is My home at present. Due to Ill health of My Mother. Mrs. Mattie Sumler.

Classed with periodicals

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS—PART 2

(Testimony of Manning Johnson)

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 14, 1949

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

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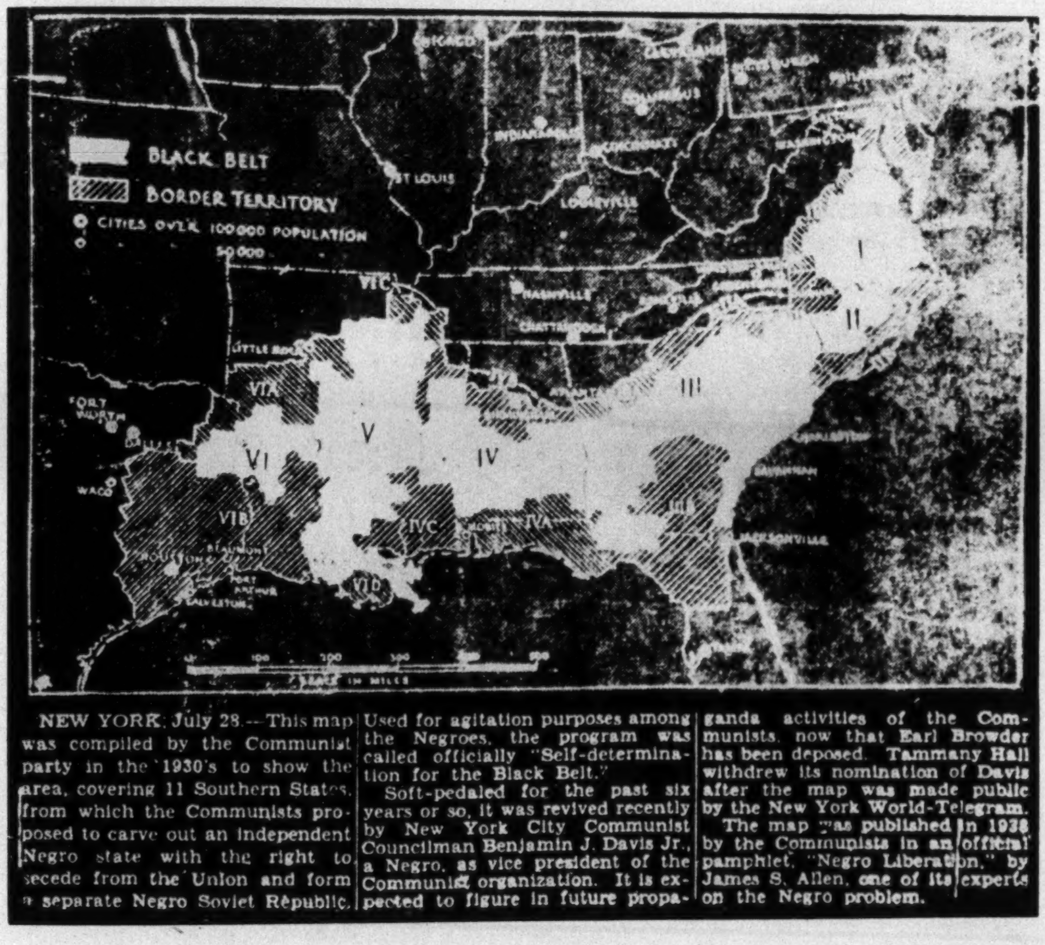
BLACK BELT
BORDER TERRITORY
CITIES OVER 100 000 POPULATION
50 000
CHICAGO
CLEVELAND
PITTSBURGH
COLUMBUS
INDIANAPOLIS
CINCINNATI
WASHINGTON
ST LOUIS
LOUISVILLE
NASHVILLE
CHATTANOOGA
LITTLE ROCK
FORT WORTH
DALLAS
WACO
HOUSTON
BEAUMONT
PORT ARTHUR
GALVESTON
CHARLESTON
SAVANNAH
JACKSONVILLE
MOBILE
I
II
III
IIIA
IV
IVA
IVC
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VI
VIA
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VID
100
200
300
400
500
SCALE IN MILES

NEW YORK, July 28.—This map was compiled by the Communist party in the 1930's to show the area, covering 11 Southern States, from which the Communists proposed to carve out an independent Negro state with the right to secede from the Union and form a separate Negro Soviet Republic. Used for agitation purposes among the Negroes, the program was called officially "Self-determination for the Black Belt."

Soft-pedaled for the past six years or so, it was revived recently by New York City Communist Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr., a Negro, as vice president of the Communist organization. It is expected to figure in future propaganda activities of the Communists, now that Earl Browder has been deposed. Tammany Hall withdrew its nomination of Davis after the map was made public by the New York World-Telegram.

The map was published in 1938 by the Communists in an official pamphlet, "Negro Liberation," by James S. Allen, one of its experts on the Negro problem.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

HEARINGS REGARDING COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

THURSDAY, JULY 14, 1949

United States House of Representatives,
Subcommittee of the Committee on
Un-American Activities,
Washington, D. C.

MORNING SESSION

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:50 a. m., in room 226, Old House Office Building, Hon. John McSweeney, presiding.

Subcommittee member present: Representative John McSweeney.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Louis J. Russell, senior investigator; Alvin W. Stokes, investigator; John W. Carrington, clerk; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and A. S. Poore, editor.

Mr. McSweeney. I would like the record to show that Mr. Wood has asked me to act as chairman of the subcommittee to hear the testimony this morning. I am present and others will be present a little later.

(Preliminary remarks, the following testimony, and testimony of other witnesses, Alvin Stokes, Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, George K. Hunton, Thomas W. Young, Lester B. Granger, Dr. Charles Johnson, C. B. Clark, and Jackie Robinson are printed in another publication under title "Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 1.")

Mr. Tavenner. I call Mr. Manning Johnson.

Mr. McSweeney. Mr. Johnson, you solemnly swear the testimony you will give this subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Johnson. I do.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON

Mr. Tavenner. Will you state your name and address, please?

Mr. Johnson. My name is Manning Johnson. I reside at 492 Convent Avenue, New York City.

Mr. Tavenner. Will you give the committee a brief outline of your education?

Mr. Johnson. I am a graduate of the Lovejoy Elementary School, Junior High School, and the Armstrong Technical High School in Washington, D. C. I also graduated from the Naval Air Technical School, Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Tavenner. What is your record of employment?

Mr. JOHNSON. At the present time I am international representative of the Retail Clerks' International Association, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Retail Clerks' International Association is the eighth largest union in the American Federation of Labor, with a membership of 250,000.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been associated in that work?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have been in the labor movement for 19 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. During any part of that time have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I was a member of the Communist Party for 10 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. When was your membership terminated?

Mr. JOHNSON. 1940.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me some documentary evidence of your prior connection with the Communist Party, and I would like to present it to you in order to make a matter of record the positions that you held in the Communist Party.

I have here, first, a pamphlet issued in November 1933, by the central committee, Communist Party U. S. A., entitled "Party Organizer," which carries an article over your signature relating to the place that a district organizer for the Communist Party might occupy in labor unions. Will you identify that, please, as being an article written by you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; this article was written by me when I was district organizer of the Communist Party in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1933.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce it in evidence as "Exhibit Johnson 1."[1]

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.

Mr. TAVENNER. I now have a pamphlet entitled "An American Holiday," which was for the May Day celebration in 1939, containing a list of officials including yourself, Manning Johnson, business agent, Cafeteria Workers Union, Local 302, A. F. of L. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence as "Exhibit Johnson 2."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.[2]

Mr. TAVENNER. I have also another pamphlet of October 1937 entitled "Second National Negro Congress," which carries the program of a meeting held at the Metropolitan Opera House, Philadelphia, Pa., and under "Trade Union Sessions" appears your name, Manning Johnson, as a delegate from the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302, A. F. of L. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct. I was a delegate there.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 3."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.[3]

Mr. TAVENNER. The American League Against War and Fascism was cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist-front organization, I believe. I have a statement here on the letterhead of that organization, in which your name appears as one of the members of the national executive committee. Is that correct?

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[1] See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 1.

[2] See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 2.

[3] See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 3.

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. It was a Communist-front organization at that time, was it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Definitely.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 4." [4]

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have also a pamphlet entitled "Program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, Monday, February 12, 1940." which shows that you took part in the panel III discussion on "Labor and Democracy" as one of the delegates. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 5."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It is received.[5]

Mr. TAVENNER. I have another document which was distributed by the Stuyvesant-Bedford section, Communist Party, entitled "The Road to Liberation for the Negro people," showing an appeal made by different persons, including yourself. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 6."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.[6]

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I have a letter on the letterhead of People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, Called by American League Against War and Fascism, the same organization to which I referred previously, and attached to it is a list of the national executive committee members. I believe you were one of these members, were you not?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That was a Communist-front organization at the time, was it not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that document in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 7."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. It will be received.[7]

Mr. TAVENNER. I also have a magazine entitled "Soviet Russia Today," which carried an advertisement entitled "An urgent appeal—Defend the Soviet Union." I believe your name appears as one of those sponsoring the advertisement.

Mr. JOHNSON. May I see it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes [handing document to witness].

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I recall that now. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to introduce it in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 8."

Mr. MCSWEENEY. So ordered.[8]

Mr. TAVENNER. I have also a copy of the Daily Worker of April 29, 1938, showing the participation of certain labor unions in a May Day

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[4-8] See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibits 4–8.

celebration, and giving your name as one of the members of the committee which sponsored Communist representation in that parade. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer this page of the Daily Wôrker in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 9."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.[9]

Mr. TAVENNER. I have another copy of the Daily Worker of April 12, 1938, of the same general description, and under the heading "More Unions Expected" it is stated: "Manning Johnson, Negro union leader and vice president of the United May Day Committee announced" certain facts relating to the parade. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that issue in evidence and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 10."

Mr. McSWEENEY. So ordered.[10]

Mr. TAVENNER. I have another issue of the Daily Worker giving similar information, bearing date April 7, 1938, which shows your activity in the same manner. Is that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer that issue in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 11."

Mr. McSWEENEY. So ordered.[11]

Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me now another copy of the Daily Worker, bearing date June 22, 1937, in which there appears an article entitled "Party Leaders Honor Negro Woman Leader," and it shows as being present a number of persons, including yourself, and I also notice as present Ben Davis, Jr., of the Daily Worker staff. Will you examine that article and state whether or not you were present and took part in that meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, I was present at this reception that was in recognition of 10 years of service by Maude White, who was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party at that time. At the time this affair was given I was a member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that issue in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 12."

Mr. McSWEENEY. So ordered.[12]

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now another issue of the Daily Worker, bearing date of February 17, 1936, which shows your participation in the Negro Congress held about the date indicated, and I will ask you to identify that and explain it.

Mr. JOHNSON. This was the first meeting of the National Negro Congress, which was held in Chicago, Ill., and to which I was a delegate. I spoke at one of the trade-union sessions of the congress.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer that sheet in evidence as "Exhibit Johnson 13."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.[13]

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you now another issue of the Daily Worker, bearing date January 21, 1936, and call your attention to an article en-

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[9-13] See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibits 9–13.

titled "Communists in United States Open Drive to Aid Brother Party in Italy," and I will ask if you took part in that meeting, and to state the names of others who were associated with you in that work.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I recall this drive. That was opened by the central committee, or national committee, of the Communist Party to raise funds to aid the Communist Party in Italy. I was on the sponsoring committee and was active in raising funds, and along with me on this committee were: William Z. Foster, Earl Browder, J. W. Ford, Mother Bloor, Margaret Cowl, Gil Green, I. Amter, John Little, Max Bedacht, Ben Gold, N. Schaeffer, M. Olgin, A. Bimba, Tito Nunzie, C. Nemeroff, M. Perlow, I. Candela, Secretary D. Green, and Treasurer A. Blake.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer this issue of the Daily Worker in evidence, and ask that it be marked "Exhibit Johnson 14."

Mr. McSWEENEY. It will be received.[14]

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Johnson, in addition to this documentary information relating to your positions in the Communist Party, what other positions have you held?

Mr. JOHNSON. I was national Negro organizer for the Trade-Union Unity League. The Trade-Union Unity League was a left-wing trade-union center in this country. It was an affiliate of the Red International of Labor Unions with headquarters at Hamburg, Germany. At the time it was headed by Losovsky.

I was also a member of the Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party. The Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party has the prime function of studying very carefully the problems of the Negroes in America and working out a program based upon the already accepted doctrines of the Communist movement. It organizes and directs movements among Negroes for the advancement of communism.

I was a member of the national trade-union commission of the national committee of the Communist Party. That commission has the major task and responsibility of directing Communist activities in the trade-unions.

At the convention of the Communist Party of United States of America in 1936, I was elected to the national committee of the Communist Party. I served throughout 1936, 1937, and 1938 as a member of that committee. During that period I attended meetings of the old Politburo of the National Communist Party.

I was also a member of the State committee of the Communist Party of New York, and was a member of the trade-union commission of the Communist Party of the State of New York.

I have held numerous other lesser positions in section and district organizations, but the positions I have named are the major and most responsible ones.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the period of your membership in the Communist Party, were you trained in any special way for the posts which you held?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I attended the national training school. That is a secret school conducted by the Communist Party of the United

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[14] See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 14.

States for the purpose of training functionaries for district leadership.

I spent 3 months in that school in New York City. The classes were held in the Communist Party headquarters on East Twelfth Street. The school lasted for 3 months. We had a very intensive and extensive course in Marxism and Leninism and the theory of world revolution, particularly in connection with our task in America, that of organizing the workers, the farmers, the intellectuals, the artists, the professionals, and the middle class elements, into various types of groups, utilizing and exploiting the grievances among them for the purpose of drawing them into the Communist world general movement.

The basic and final objective of this movement was the complete destruction of the American Government and the establishment of a soviet system of government in America. The system, of course, in America that we had planned and envisioned is a dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition from socialism to world communism.

This was based upon complete liquidation of all forces of opposition, that is, the owners of industry, the heads of government, in fact, everyone in the whole political, economic, and social life who could be identified with the capitalist class. Those professionals who would not go along with us would go to concentration camps. The most rabid would be liquidated. The banks would be confiscated; the whole capital system, from top to bottom, would be destroyed. The courts would be destroyed. The Army and Navy would be liquidated and new armed forces would be created.

That, generally, is what we were taught. We were taught the theory of revolution and the methods to be used. We were instructed to organize the workers, the farmers, and particular emphasis was placed on Negroes. We were instructed to aggravate grievances, organize strikes and rebellions, coordinating them and bringing about eventually insurrection generally.

There is one other important phase of our training I would like to deal with. We were taught that Soviet Russia is our fatherland; that we were no longer to show allegiance to America; that we had to pledge allegiance to the Soviet Government and accept it as our fatherland, and that we were sworn to defend it at all times.

In all our propaganda and agitation and work we were taught to emphasize the need of support of the Soviet Union, to popularize it among the people as the workers' government and that the American Government and other governments of the world were ganging up on Russia and seeking to destroy Russia, and that the workers should refuse to fight against Russia but on the other hand should fight against each and every attempt on the part of the American Government and the other governments to fight Russia, and to this end, if necessary, to take up arms against our Government and to use our guns against the leaders of our Government.

We were also trained in conspiratorial methods of organization. Conspiratorial methods of organization at that time were new and strange to me. It was rather difficult for me to grasp them at the time. But the foreign-born element, who have a tradition of intrigue and conspiracy in Europe, were the most able students in that class. When it comes to intrigue and conspiracy, the Negroes are ignorant, because they have no background, but the foreign-born element can readily understand it.

These methods were taught by J. Peters. He was a representative of the Kremlin here in America. In fact, he was one of the most capable organization men, from a technical point of view, who was ever in the American party to my knowledge.

These methods included the establishment of a parallel party organization to the one that you generally use. In other words, you had an open Communist apparatus and you had an underground apparatus. So when Mr. Granger spoke of driving the Communist Party underground it was amusing, because the Communist Party already has its underground apparatus, and has had it for many years.

The Communist Party, from its national committee to its lowest unit, has an underground apparatus, or what is known as an auxiliary leadership. All these things have been taken care of. In the early 1930's those things were taught in the class, and at that time every necessary step was taken in order to strengthen and consolidate that machine.

So when we speak today of breaking up the Communist Party, you have to consider it from the point of view of their legal apparatus and their illegal or underground apparatus. We were taught Communists use both legal and illegal methods of operation, those which are within the law and those which are without the law.

We use the civil rights provisions of our basic documents as a means to an end, but not as an end in itself. The bill of rights, when it serves our purposes, we use it; when it does not serve our purposes, we denounce it. We also use the Constitution and its provisions to destroy the Constitution and its provisions. Once the Communists come to power the Constitution will be burned on the public square and the liberties and freedoms now enjoyed will be completely suppressed. Thought will be regimented. Everybody will be governed according to the dictates of the Communist Party, which will be the party in power.

Those are the things we were taught in school, and those are the things I have found through reading many books on communism and through associations with top Communists, including Gerhart Eisler.

Mr. Tavenner. When did you attend the school to which you refer?

Mr. Johnson. In 1932.

Mr. Tavenner. Can you name any persons associated as instructors in that school, in addition to J. Peters?

Mr. Johnson. J. Peters, William Z. Foster, Jack Stachel, C. Markoff, Alexander Bittelman, Marko, Max Bedacht, Israel Amter, Rose Wertz, Gil Green, B. Amos, Harry Haywood, James Allen, Elizabeth Lawson. That is about all I can recall now.

Mr. Tavenner. How many would be in attendance at this school at one time?

Mr. Johnson. We had at this school approximately 80 students. They were selected from the various districts of the Communist Party on the basis of their ability.

Mr. Tavenner. And they were selected by whom?

Mr. Johnson. By the national committee of the Communist Party, upon recommendation of the leaders of the districts of the party.

Mr. McSweeney. Did you have to pay tuition?

Mr. **Johnson**. No. All expenses were paid by the national committee.

Mr. **McSweeney**. You had to give up work at that time?

Mr. **Johnson**. Yes.

Mr. **McSweeney**. You had no other source of income?

Mr. **Johnson**. No, except that which was provided by the Communist Party.

Mr. **McSweeney**. Did they provide you expense money while you were attending school?

Mr. **Johnson**. Yes. We had several apartments set aside for us at the Cooperative Colony on Allerton Avenue in the Bronx. That was the huge project built by the Communist Party and run by the Communist Party. They provided us with accommodations, and daily we were given a certain allowance to cover expenses.

Our transportation to and from New York was paid by World Tourists. Jacob Golos was the head of that. At that time they had the Martell Bus Line, which was controlled in some way by World Tourists, and we generally traveled on this bus line.

Mr. **Tavenner**. Over what period of time were those schools conducted, to your knowledge?

Mr. **Johnson**. They were conducted at least once a year. They were constantly turning out functionaries. You see, the Communist Party has several methods of educating its members for leadership. They had district schools, special schools for professionals and intellectuals, which were ultrasecret. Some of the most prominent persons were sent to Moscow. They were sending students to the Lenin School and Far Eastern University. I do know that a number of Americans attended the Lenin School and Far Eastern University, because when I was district organizer I recommended two students for the Lenin School in Moscow, and they were accepted. I was also asked to go there. I turned it down.

Mr. **Tavenner**. Did you know Steve Nelson?

Mr. **Johnson**. Yes, very well.

Mr. **Tavenner**. Do you know whether he was one of those selected to go to the Lenin School?

Mr. **Johnson**. Yes, I believe so. I had nothing to do with his recommendation, though.

Mr. **Tavenner**. Those selected to go to school in Moscow were chosen on what basis?

Mr. **Johnson**. They were chosen on the basis of (1) loyalty, (2) ability, and (3) potential leadership.

Mr. **Tavenner**. You mean they were selected on the basis of loyalty to this country?

Mr. **Johnson**. Loyalty to Russia and to the Communist movement, not to America.

Mr. **Tavenner**. You spoke of the teachings at this school which you attended dealing with world revolution. Do you know to what extent those teachings emanated from a foreign country and how they were actually imparted to the leaders here?

Mr. **Johnson**. From 1930 until the American party, on the surface, severed from the Communist International, we received our instructions from the Communist International. Our policy in America had to conform in every twist and turn and curve and retreat with the Communist Party line set forth by the world organization known as the "Exec" committee. We knew and understood that our duty, as far as Communists were concerned, was to follow the policies sent to us by the world organization.

After the formal severance of the American party from the Communist International, we continued to take instructions from the world organization. That was merely an action taken at that particular time to conform with certain agreements that had been made at that particular time with representatives of the Soviet Government. It was one of the conditions upon which recognition was achieved. It was understood generally in the party that that was merely a camouflage, and we understood that. We continued to take orders from Moscow, and I believe they continue to take them to this day.

Mr. Tavenner. How long did the conduct of these schools continue, for how many years?

Mr. Johnson. Those schools have been going on, to my knowledge, for many years. From 1930 up to 1940, the period of my knowledge, they had dozens of schools each year all over the Nation.

Mr. Tavenner. In your vast experience in the Communist Party, did you have occasion to meet Paul Robeson?

Mr. Johnson. Yes. I have met Paul Robeson a number of times in the headquarters of the national committee of the Communist Party, going to and coming from conferences with Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, and J. Peters. During the time I was a member of the Communist Party, Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party. Paul Robeson, to my knowledge, has been a member of the Communist Party for many years. In the Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party we were told, under threat of expulsion, never to reveal that Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party, because Paul Robeson's assignment was highly confidential and secret. For that reason he was not permitted to attend meetings of the national committee of the Communist Party, or any other than broad, general meetings.

Paul's assignment was to work among the intellectuals, the professionals, and artists that the party was seeking to penetrate and influence along Communist lines. As long as Paul Robeson's identity with the party was kept secret, so long would his work among these groups be effective and serve the best interests of the party. It was for that reason we were told never to reveal the fact that he was a member of the Communist Party.

As far as Paul Robeson's membership in the Communist Party, of that I have not one iota of doubt. Not only did we in the party hierarchy know he was a member of the party, but we generally understood he was engaged in certain secret work that was intercontinental in connection with his concert tours.

Of course Paul Robeson has, by background and his international connections, developed a complex. You recall the role he played, the role of Emperor Jones. He has delusions of grandeur. He wants to be the Black Stalin among Negroes. The Communist Party is encouraging that desire, because the Communist Party can very effectively use Robeson to further their penetration among Negroes. Because he is a popular and great artist, he can attract to him large groups of people, and at those meetings he can make subtle speeches

It is regrettable, indeed, that such a man has sold himself to Moscow. He has enjoyed many of the benefits of this country. In fact, all that he has achieved he has achieved in America, and he has sought to play the role of an exploiter of the injustices and ills of American democracy in the interest of a foreign power.

That is my opinion based on my years in the Communist movement and my association with the leaders of the Communist Party.

Mr. **Tavenner.** Did you have any personal associations, on your own part, with Paul Robeson?

Mr. **Johnson.** As I said, Paul Robeson never met in the committees of the party. His contacts were with Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, William Z. Foster, and J. Peters, and he held conferences with them from time to time. That is not only true of Paul Robeson. You have many persons in high places who have the same type of arrangement.

Mr. **Tavenner.** You told us you had been a member of the party for about 10 years.

Mr. **Johnson.** That is correct.

Mr. **Tavenner.** And that your membership was terminated in 1940. Will you tell us the circumstances of the termination of your membership and why?

Mr. **Johnson.** Well, there were a number of incidents over a period of years that led to my eventual break with the party. It began in the early 1930's, on the religious issue. When I came into the Communist movement I was profoundly religious. After I was in the Communist movement a while I was told I had to abandon my religious convictions, and that to be a good Communist I had to be an atheist. Finally they agreed to accept me, and they assured me that in the course of my experience in the party I would lose my religious convictions. That was No. 1.

No. 2 was their policy in connection with the Negro problem in the South. Their problem calls for the unification of the old Cotton Belt or Black Belt of the South into a single political unit, and to establish in that area a Negro republic. That was to be accomplished by revolution and armed insurrection in that area. That is a large stretch of territory from the Eastern Shore of Maryland across 9 States and 219 counties, driving a wedge into Texas. Lands in that area were to be confiscated and an independent government set up by the Negroes there. My opposition was that it would be a segregated government; that Negroes all over the United States would be relegated to that area. We had some very sharp discussions on that issue.

No. 3 was the insincerity of the Communists in the Scottsboro case. We were constantly told by James W. Ford and others that we were not interested in saving the lives of the "damn" Scottsboro boys; that we were interested in using the Scottsboro case to penetrate Negro churches and civic organizations which we could not reach except for a cause of that kind, and in the course of the development of this campaign to raise the slogans of the Communist Party, and during our contacts with these large masses of Negroes to seek out the best elements among them and recruit them into the party.

Anybody who did not want to carry out that particular line was considered an opportunist. It was around this issue we had some sharp differences, and some very good people who had come into the movement because of sincerity were expelled from the party. I resented that.

In addition to that, there was considerable prejudice. They were using the Negro as a figurehead. They would take a guy like James W. Ford—a fellow who couldn't pour water out of a boot with instructions on the heel—and set him up as a leader of the Negroes; a man who was absolutely divorced from all contact with the Negroes.

Mr. McSweeney. I am sorry to interrupt, but those bells are a call of the House. The subcommittee will recess until 2:30 this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:50 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Moulder. The subcommittee will be in order.

The record should show that the chairman has designated me as a subcommittee to continue the proceedings.

Mr. Tavenner. I would like to call Mr. Johnson for further examination.

SWORN TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON—Resumed

Mr. Tavenner. At the time of the morning recess you were answering a question as to your reasons for terminating your membership in the Communist Party, and you were in the act of telling us about certain plans that the Communists had relating to the formation of a Negro State in the South. I believe that was the point where you were when we adjourned.

Mr. Johnson. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. Tavenner. Will you proceed.

Mr. Johnson. The program of the Communist Party in relation to the Negroes in the South, particularly in the old Cotton Belt, relates to the establishment of a black republic in the South. It is in line with the policy of Lenin——

(Represenetative Wood enters and assumes the Chair.)

Mr. Johnson (continuing). The leader of the Bolshevik revolution, which sets forth the principle of self-determination for national minorities.

The Communist International, the Communist Party generally, considers the Negro people in America as a national minority, and as a national minority they are entitled to the right of self-determination; that is, the right to secede from the Government of the United States and to establish an autonomous republic in the Black Belt.

I have already outlined the geographical location of this republic, and I don't think it is necessary here to engage in any repetition.

The spearhead for the establishment of such a republic began in the early thirties through the establishment of a Sharecroppers' Union and a number of other organizations in the South. These organizations had as their policy the organization of Negro sharecroppers and agricultural workers in the South to raise specific demands for the right to seize the land; the question of smashing the plantation system of the South.

This was to be accomplished by organizing masses of Negroes in the South for action, including demonstrations, riots, and so forth, leading to armed rebellion in that area and the seizure of governmental power.

Communists generally were charged with the responsibility for arousing sentiment throughout the world in support of this program. A number of Moscow-trained organizers were sent into the South. They were to head this particular movement.

They made some headway, but not according to their expectations. There were a number of us in the hierarchy of the party who disagreed with the program, because we felt it meant a segregated State, and that in the long run it would result in all Negroes being relegated to this so-called Black Belt.

The Negroes in the hierarchy of the party who opposed this program were quietly and sternly reminded of the resolution of the Comintern and the teachings of Lenin, and politely told that was the line and that we must hew to it.

That shut off the opposition. Some continued to disagree, and as a result of this continued disagreement they were expelled from the party. At that particular time I accepted the line of the party on the Negro question, and for that reason I didn't get the ax.

James W. Ford, who had been set up as the leader of the Negroes, was considered by all of the Negroes in the party as an incompetent, a "Charlie McCarthy," because James W. Ford had no abilit for leadership. He had never participated in any of the so-called mass programs of the Negroes. He didn't rise, as a result of activities of Negroes, from the ranks, and was never considered by them as a leader.

He was mechanically put into a position of responsibility by the Communist Party, and that is the type of person the Communists want, a person who will follow blindly whatever they tell him.

James W. Ford never wrote a speech to my knowledge the whole time that he was the titular head of the Negro movement in the party. Most of his speeches were written for him and he read them. Where important issues arose involving problems of the Negro, when James W. Ford was asked to take a stand or a position he never did. He would have to consult Browder or Jack Stachel or some of the white leaders, and as a result of that we characterized him as an "Uncle Tom." To us his name was synonymous with everything we despise and detest. Some of us were outspoken in our criticism of him, and as a result some of us were called in by the disciplinary commission of the Communist Party.

I shall never forget when I was called by Charles Dirba, secretary of the national disciplinary commission of the party. Incidentally, the national disciplinary commission is the American Soviet secret police agency in this country. I say that without equivocation and without the slightest hesitation. Charles Dirba was secretary of that commission, and Golos, the head of World Tourists, was chairman.

Because I had insisted that Paul Robeson be called in to assist in our fight against white chauvinism, Dirba said by making such requests I was doing irreparable harm to the Communist Party, because in the first place it was not Paul Robeson's work, and that by the promiscuous use of Paul Robeson's name it would become general knowledge that he was a member of the Communist Party, and they could not afford to have such knowledge become general, because it would endanger much work Paul Robeson was engaged in.

I had to accept that or accept expulsion from the party.

In 1939, along came the Nazi-Soviet pact. I shall never forget that occasion. We were in the national office of the party reading over the newspaper accounts of the Nazi-Soviet pact, and discussing it among ourselves. We were shocked and mortified. We could not believe what the papers stated, and we refused to answer the statements of the press that such a pact had been entered into, because the day before we were out denouncing the Nazis, bitterly denouncing all of those who supported nazism, and beating the drums for the destruction of the Nazi power, and all of a sudden we read in the press there is a pact between the Nazi Government and the Soviet Union.

Newspaper reporters called us for a statement. We couldn't get together on a statement, because the Soviet Union had not tipped us off in advance. You can imagine the confusion that existed in the hierarchy of the party.

When word came through that it was authentic, Browder hastened to make a statement on the Nazi-Soviet pact.

I felt the pact was a betrayal of the world labor movement, the world Communist movement; that many honest liberals who had gone along with Russia before had been sold down the river; and I expressed my opinions openly and very bitterly, and the result was I was called in again by Charles Dirba and severely reprimanded.

I continued in the party for several months, trying to determine whether or not to make the break. I had been in the Communist movement since 1930. I had become thoroughly indoctrinated, and it was a difficult task for me to make a break at that time, but I realized I had to make a break because a series of incidents had so rankled me and disillusioned me I felt I had to do it then or never.

I began to drop out of meetings, until finally I made the complete break by refusing to attend any further meetings of the party.

As soon as word got around I had left the party, the party sought to assassinate my character by accusing me of being a traitor to labor, an opportunist, and a host of other things. It was during that period I realized the viciousness and the horrible evil of the Communist movement, because no one could honestly disagree with those people without being besmirched, dragged through the gutter.

Every single place I went to try to reestablish myself in the labor movement, they did everything they could within their power—and, mind you, they were powerful in the ranks of labor at that time—to prevent me from working in any labor organization.

Unfortunately, along came war. I served honorably in the Navy during the war and was able to rehabilitate myself, but these were trying years in which there were many threats of physical violence, threats I would be thrown in the gutter; people who used to applaud me when I spoke at meetings refused to speak to me. But I took all that on the chin and kept my head high, determined I was going to keep my labor connections and stay in the labor field in spite of them.

That in brief, is the story of my break with the Communist Party.

Mr. **Tavenner**. You spoke of the disciplinary commission. Can you name the persons who served on that commission, to your knowledge?

Mr. **Johnson**. Dirba and Golos were the two I had dealings with.

There were others, of course, but I never had occasion to meet with them.

Mr. **Tavenner.** You have also spoken of persons being selected for special training in Moscow. Do you know persons who were selected for that purpose?

Mr. **Johnson.** Yes. I selected two students for the Lenin School. When I was district organizer in Buffalo I was asked by the national committee if I wanted to go to the Lenin School, and I refused by stating that I would consider it at a later date. So they asked me to make two recommendations, and I recommended a young Russian Jewess by the name of Ethel Stevens and a young electrician by the name of Parkhill as students to the Lenin School. They did go to the Lenin School. They were there, I think a couple years. There were also Timothy Holmes, alias George Hewitt; Otto Hall; Haywood; and others whose names I cannot recall at this time, who went to the Lenin School.

Mr. **Tavenner.** What was the system of training used in Moscow, if you know?

Mr. **Johnson.** I know generally, but I would suggest that the committee call one of the students who was over there. He would be more competent to testify on that than I would be. You don't want generalities; you would like specific information.

Mr. **Moulder.** Can you suggest the name of a student who would cooperate and testify?

Mr. **Johnson.** George Hewitt, I believe, would testify on that phase of it.

Mr. **Wood.** Do you know his address?

Mr. **Tavenner.** We have it.

Mr. **Johnson.** Mr. Stokes has it. He talked to us in New York about 2 years ago and convinced me I should take part before this committee.

Mr. **Wood.** Do you know a man named Nowell?

Mr. **Johnson.** Yes, from Detroit. He was a student. So were Charles White and a number of others whose names I cannot recall.

Mr. **Tavenner.** According to your testimony you were a member of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party?

Mr. **Johnson.** Yes.

Mr. **Tavenner.** Will you describe the work of that commission?

Mr. **Johnson.** The Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party had the major responsibility of coordinating and directing the work of the Communist Party among the Negro people in America. It worked out the program and policy; devised various Communist-front organizations around different issues; worked out resolutions, and so forth, and the programs for each of the Communist-front organizations set up. That was their function. In other words, our job was to win the Negro in America over to communism.

Mr. **Tavenner.** What was the relationship of that Commission to the American Negro Labor Congress, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, and the National Negro Congress?

Mr. **Johnson.** The Negro League was formed by the Communist Party, and its program was identical with the program of the Communist Party for the Negro.

The majority of members of the American Negro Labor Congress were Communists or fellow-travelers. It was a very narrow, sectarian organization, and the party decided to change its name and broaden its activities, so the name was changed to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. It continued the program of the American Negro Labor Congress. It published a newspaper, the Liberator, and it had a news agency which supplied propaganda and money to all the colored newspapers. I think it was called the Crusader News Agency, headed by Cyril Briggs.

Mr. Tavenner. How were those organizations financed?

Mr. Johnson. I didn't finish answering your question. If you will hold that question in abeyance. I will finish with the American Negro Labor Congress.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights was never successful in penetrating any broad sections of the Negro people. It remained a very narrow and sectarian organization. So the party, after having received the open letter, which was really drawn in Moscow and called for breaking away from narrow organizations, in line with this open letter, at a meeting of the national committee which, as I recall, was in the latter part of 1934 or early part of 1935, we discussed the general situation among Negroes, and the conclusion was that there was considerable unrest among them and that the time was historically right for the formation of a broad and all-inclusive organization.

As a result of that discussion and that conclusion, the national committee of the party, upon the recommendation of one of the members of the Negro commission present at that meeting, decided to set up the National Negro Congress. The national committee gave James W. Ford the responsibility, along with the Negro commission of the national committee, to form that congress.

We were fishing around for someone to head the congress, and we found there was no finer person to get who was not a member of the party than A. Philip Randolph. He was approached and agreed.

We had a party member of the committee, John P. Davis, who was a member of the party until the time I left. He served as secretary of the provisional committee.

They contacted liberals all over the country and requested that they became sponsors for this congress, and they succeeded in getting many Negro leaders to sponsor the congress. They didn't know it was a Communist-front organization. They were interested in combating lynching, Jim Crowism, and so forth.

The first meeting of the National Negro Congress, which I attended, was well represented. They had representatives from all walks of Negro life as well as from white society.

The first National Negro Congress was successful beyond the wildest dream. We met in advance as a Communist fraction and drew resolutions and had our people planted on every panel to guarantee we would not lose control of the congress, because we were afraid it might fall into the hands of those who were not Communists, and therefore we would not be able to carry through the party line in the congress.

From time to time the executive board of the congress met. We met often in Max Yergan's office in New York City. It is interesting to note that before each meeting we would have a fraction meeting, and we would decide what we would ram down the throats of the non-Communists. We would be there about an hour before they came, and with them it was a question of accepting what we said.

We had some people who were known to be Communists, and some not known to be Communists but who were in reality Communists. When a non-Communist would recommend a proposition, the nonparty people would oppose it. The people who could not be identified as Communists had the responsibility of convincing the non-Communists that the Communists were right and they should go along with them. Sometimes we had differences with non-Communists, and they dropped out.

The second National Negro Congress was held in Philadelphia in 1937. I think it was in October 1937, to be exact. That was even more successful than the first Congress.

The third—and fatal—National Negro Congress was held in Washington, D. C. The Communists had become so drunk with power, and they felt they had such strong control over the congress, that they thought they could walk roughshod over the liberals, and they antagonized A. Philip Randolph and he began to fight James W. Ford and others.

James W. Ford and others insisted I fight A. Philip Randolph, and I refused to do so, and at that time I predicted they were on the road to breaking up the congress.

The fight widened to such an extent that Randolph began to speak openly against Communist domination. I used to wonder how Randolph could be so naive as to not know it was a Communist-front organization.

Before the third congress met, we got wind that Randolph was going to resign. We had Communists go to that congress representing various paper organizations so as to give them control in voting.

When Randolph saw the Congress was packed with Communists, Randolph resigned and walked out. Before Randolph did that, however, the Communists held a big caucus and we briefed all the Communists about what was going to take place. John P. Davis and others were telling us to blast Randolph.

Mr. Tavenner. You spoke of an open letter being received from Moscow. That, of course, was during the period when directions were received directly from Moscow in the operation of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. Johnson. That open letter was directed by Moscow to the American Party because the American Party was not growing as fast as Moscow felt it should. It was really a call to the American Party to broaden and extend its influence and organization among section of the workers and farmers and intellectuals and middle-class elements that they had never been in contact with before.

Mr. Tavenner. You spoke this morning of a severance, on the surface, of the Communist Party of the United States from the Communist International. What did you mean by that?

Mr. Johnson. I meant exactly this, that the American Communist Party formally severed their relation, but in reality they maintained and continued that relation. The formal severance was for general consumption.

Mr. **Tavenner**. Was there any difference in the policy line before and after this took place?

Mr. **Johnson**. There was no change at all in the policy before and after.

Mr. **Tavenner**. You said a few moments ago that Dirba discussed Paul Robeson with you. Did any other member of the Commission or of the Communist Party discuss him with you?

Mr. **Johnson**. Yes; J. Peters. J. Peters was one of those who threatened us with expulsion from the party if we ever mentioned that Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. **Tavenner**. You have spoken of these various Communist-front organizations which were organized by the work of the Communists. How were those organizations financed?

Mr. **Johnson**. They were financed directly by the party. That is, the initial money was appropriated by the party. Of course, after they were developed, then they conducted their own campaigns and sought to collect funds from the public generally.

Whenever we were in desperate financial straits the party had a way of subsidizing them through front organizations. The International Workers Order would give substantial contributions and, in short, all the front organizations would contribute substantially to the work and activities of these groups. In that way they were able to function. When they had served their usefulness, of course, they were abolished and new organizations were formed.

That is why it is so difficult for the layman to keep track of all the different organizations that come into existence, live for a season, and perish.

Mr. **Tavenner**. This morning, in connection with your testimony, you mentioned the Scottsboro case. What was the object in the strategy of the Communist Party in regard to that case and the Herndon case and other cases of that nature?

Mr. **Johnson**. The Communist Party was looking for some issue that they could use to penetrate the ranks of the Negro people. The Scottsboro case was made to order for them. They seized upon that as a sort of key that would enable them to open the doors of the Negro churches and civic organizations and through this medium to link up the question of the Scottsboro case with the whole question of the right of self-determination and the overthrow of this Government and the establishment of the Soviet type of government, and so forth.

It was a case they felt they could really exploit. As I said this morning, in the Negro commission of the national committee we were definitely told by James W. Ford and other leaders of the party: "We don't give a darn about the Scottsboro boys. If they burn it doesn't make any difference. We are only interested in one thing, how we can use the Scottsboro case to bring the Communist movement to the people and win them over to communism."

We had trouble with Samuel Liebowitz, counsel for the defense. He opposed the Communist line in the defense of the boys. We discussed that and decided to get rid of him. Benjamin Davis was appointed to go talk to the mothers of the boys and get them to decide to drop Liebowitz as counsel. Ben Davis went down there and did that job and they praised him highly for that.

Once Liebowitz was out, the Communists felt by getting other attorneys who would go along with them, they could continue to have mass meetings and parades. That was what the Communists wanted. Liebowitz wanted to fight the case on legal grounds. The Communists wanted to dramatize the issues around these mass meetings and riots so that they could radicalize the masses, in the first place, and, secondly, it would be a good opportunity to indoctrinate them.

They felt if some of the demonstrations were broken up by the police they could say: "Here you are protesting against the legal lynching of innocent boys. The police club you for it. The police are instruments of the capitalist class, and the only way to get rid of this condition is by the complete destruction of the whole system. It is a very subtle manner of propaganda. If you hammer away at it long enough you will impress a lot of people.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, that was the general attitude of the Communist Party towards race riots?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. They were willing to foment race riots, if necessary. They were interested in creating confusion and opposition to the courts and the Government and the whole system.

Mr. WOOD. Was the cost of such tactics in human lives ever discussed?

Mr. JOHNSON. They used to tell us the people would never learn about the Communist movement unless they were trampled or beaten over the head. Human life, to Communists, is cheap.

Mr. WOOD. I understand they were willing to sacrifice the boys in the Scottsboro case to further communism?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right, they were willing to sacrifice them in order to win over Negroes to the Communist Party and its world revolutionary program.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have touched upon it at many different places in your testimony, but will you summarize briefly what you consider to be the Communist plan of operation in infiltrating into Negro labor unions, or into the labor movement generally?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, the Communists have organized cells or fractions in many labor unions. These cells operate in a well-coordinated and well-directed way. In fact, they meet and they work out a policy. Their policy mainly is to find issues around which they can win over the rank and file, and after they have won over the rank and file, have them voted into positions of leadership.

Once they have gained control of a particular local, then they proceed to change its whole policy. You will find in resolutions, in documents, and in decisions they will carry out the Communist line in every respect.

I remember when the Communist Party decided in the early thirties to organize the automobile industry. The best Communist organizers and forces were shoved into Detroit. The party dumped hundreds of thousands of dollars in the organization work, and succeeded in controlling the powerful automobile union until Reuther and his group succeeded in unseating them, but prior to that they controlled over 1,000,000 members. Through concentration and unity, keeping a solid front against opposition, they were able to maintain control successfully, because any organized minority can control a disorganized majority.

The same example can be shown in the transportation industry in New York. We in the national office decided the transportation industry should be reorganized, and we assigned hundreds of Communists to work in the transport industry. The party subsidized the movement in the form of leaflets and so forth.

We picked up Mike Quill and Santos and Hogan, and they did a successful job in organizing that industry. Of course, Quill has turned against the Communists, and I gave him a lift because I testified against Santos in the immigration hearing, and once Santos and Hogan were exposed, the authorities completed the job.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the attitude of the Communist Party toward the recognized Negro leadership in the United States?

Mr JOHNSON. The Communist Party has nothing but utter contempt for Negro leadership in America. This was best expressed by Paul Robeson at the Rockham Palace meeting in Washington. I might say for my years in the party and sitting in the higher circles of the party, where we discussed Negro leaders, all the Negro leaders, with few exceptions, were considered by the Communists as Negro petty bourgeois nationalists. Most of them, they contended, would want to be capitalists, but because of the absence of basic industry among Negroes, they had not attained that goal, but their thinking and acting and everything was along the line of that of any other capitalist group; that the Negro leaders such as those who headed NAACP, Urban League, and large segments of the clergy, were tools of the bourgeois state; that they were apologists for all those who were champions of the Negro people. In some literature they actually called them "Uncle Toms."

The Communists are fighting for control of the Negroes, and in order to do that they must destroy the Negro leadership we have in NAACP, Urban League, and other organizations which have some of the finest leaders that the Negro race has ever produced, men basically and fundamentally loyal to America who are unalterably opposed to communism, and because the Communists know this they fear them; and the only way they can gain control over the Negro people is to destroy Negro leadership.

Paul Robeson, who wishes to become the Black Stalin, is exploiting discrimination and other ills for that purpose. The Negro people have leaders who are fully able and capable of straightening out each and every problem that confronts them. I think as time goes on that leadership will be strengthened and broadened and will bring about great results in the coming years.

The record of NAACP has been remarkably fine. The record of the Urban League has been remarkably fine. And the record of a large section of the clergy has been splendid. As a result of their efforts, considerable progress has been made. Paul Robeson would like to destroy that progress, because he would like to ride into power on the broken backs of Negro leaders who are good Americans.

I was talking to them, and they, like I, have faith in the future of America. We believe that as America has solved those problems in the past, America will solve them in the future. Good Americans without alien connections will work out a policy and program which I believe will result in the extension of all democratic rights to the Negro minority.

To summarize, if the heads of our Government would speak out in this direction and support a broad civil-rights program; and if the leaders of the church, and fathers and mothers in the home, and civic organizations, would deal with this problem of discrimination and segregation and Jim-Crowism; I believe it would go a long way in eliminating the inequalities and ills that exist in our republic, and bring a new burst of freedom for the Negro people.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you prepared a list of organizations which you consider to be, and which according to your own knowledge are, Communist-front organizations?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have here a list that I would like to read into the record of Communist-front organizations among Negroes. It is a long list.

Mr. WOOD. We will be glad to have it in the record.

Mr. JOHNSON. African Blood Brotherhood: That was one of the earliest Communist-front organizations among the Negroes. That was headed by Richard B. Moore and Cyril Briggs. That organization now is out of existence.

All Harlem Youth Conference: That, also, is no longer functioning, but it was one of the organizations aimed at penetrating the Negro youth of Harlem.

American Committee for a Free Indonesia: This is a Communist-front organization. When they speak of a Free Indonesia they mean a Communist-dominated Indonesia.

Mr. WOOD. That organization is still in existence?

Mr. JOHNSON. That organization is still in existence.

American Committee for a Korean People's Party: That organization is at present in existence, and it has as its objective the winning of support of the Negro people for the Communist Party program in Korea, to raise funds and give moral support to it.

American Committee for Indonesian Independence: That is similar to the American Committee for a Korean People's Party.

American Negro Labor Congress: That is now out of existence.

Artists Committee for Protection of Negro Rights: That had as its object Communist penetration of Negro artists. It is now out of existence.

Citizens Committee for the Appointment of a Negro to the Board of Education: That, also, was a Communist-front organization which is now defunct.

Civil Rights Congress: That is a Communist-front organization which is at the present time operating.

Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training: This is an organizaton that came about during the war. It is not functioning at the moment, but it had as its objective the winning over of Negroes in the armed services to the Communist policy.

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy: This organization is still functioning. It has as its program the support of Communist policy in the Far East.

Committee for the Negro in the Arts: This is a Communist-front organization to win over Negroes in the arts to the Communist policy.

Committee to Abolish Peonage: That was a Communist-front organization aimed at penetrating the deep South. It is no longer functioning.

Committee to Aid the Fighting South: That organization is still functioning. It is another Communist-front organization to penetrate the Negroes in the deep South.

Committee to Defend Angelo Herndon: That organization is out of existence. Most of you remember Angelo Herndon was arrested in Georgia and sentenced to 20 years. I think he was convicted under an old slave insurrection law. Ben Davis defended him.

Council of Young Southerners, also known as League of Young Southerners: That was another Communist-front organization which is now out of existence.

Council on African Affairs: That is a Communist-front organization to develop moral support for the Communist Party in Africa.

Defense Committee for Claudia Jones: Claudia Jones is a Communist who was arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as an enemy alien. She is out on bail. That committee is still in existence.

George Washington Carver School: That was a school set up by the Communist Party in Harlem. Its purpose is to teach Negroes Marxism, Leninism, and proletarian revolution.

Mr. WOOD. Is that still in existence?

Mr. JOHNSON. I think it went out of existence in the last few weeks. It may be functioning in a sharply curtailed way, but I am not too sure. I know it was in existence until recently.

Harlem Committee to End Police Brutality: That committee is no longer functioning, but it was also a Communist-front organization among Negroes.

Harlem Committee To Free the Trenton Six: That is a Communist-front organization among Negroes which is still in existence.

Harlem Council on Education: That was also a Communist-front organization, now nonexistent.

Herndon Defense Committee: That was also a Communist-front organization which is no longer functioning.

International Committee of Negro Workers: That was a Communist-front organization. It is now out of existence.

International Committee on African Affairs: That committee is no longer functioning. It was a Communist-front organization.

International Trade Union Committee for Negro Workers: That is a current Communist-front organization.

International Workers Order: That is a Communist-front insurance organization. They use insurance in order to get into the Communist movement generally many people who won't join the Communist Party, but who, through their contributions and moral support, aid the party.

Mr. WOOD. They are still in existence?

Mr. JOHNSON. They are still in existence.

League for Protection of Minority Rights: That was a Communist-front organization which is now out of existence.

League of Struggle for Negro Rights: That organization is now out of existence.

League of Young Southerners: That was a Communist-front organization to penetrate Negroes in the South. It is now out of existence.

National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax: That was a Communist-front organization. It is no longer in existence.

National Conference of Negro Youth: That was another Communist-front organization which is no longer in existence.

National Emergency Committee to Stop Lynching: That was a Communist-front organization. It is now out of existence.

National Negro Congress: That is a Communist-front organization now out of existence with the exception of a few scattered chapters, but for all practical purposes its influence is absolutely nil among Negroes.

National Student Committee for Negro Problems: That is out of existence.

Negro Cultural Committee: That committee is out of existence.

Negro Labor Victory Committee: That was a Communist-front organization very active during the war. It is now out of existence.

Negro People's Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy: That committee is no longer functioning.

Scottsboro Defense Committee: That committee is now out of existence.

Southern Negro Youth Congress: That was another Communist-front organization used to penetrate Negroes in the South. It is no longer in existence.

Southern Youth Legislature: That organization is no longer in existence.

United Aid for Peoples of African Descent: That organization was used to develop moral and financial support for the Communist movement in Africa.

United Front for Herndon: That is now out of existence.

United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization: That is a Communist-front organization which still has units functioning in Harlem at the present time.

United Negro and Allied Veterans of America: That is a current Negro veterans' organization. Immediately after the war the Communists made desperate efforts to win over Negro veterans, and this organization was one of the Communist fronts set up to get the Negro veterans into the Communist Party.

Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York: That is a Communist front aimed at winning over Negro veterans to the Communist Party.

Communist-front publications:

Negro Champion. That is no longer functioning.

Liberator. No longer functioning.

New Africa. That is a Communist front.

People's Voice. No longer in existence. It was a front publication for the Communist Party.

That completes the list of organizations and publications which I have here for insertion in the record.

Mr. TAVENNER. You made reference to an alien enemy proceeding. At this time I think there is no such thing. You must mean a deportation proceeding?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the operations of the Communist Party, how did it proceed to raise the funds which were necessary to carry on its work?

Mr. JOHNSON. The party had numerous methods of raising funds.

The party had heavy and substantial contributors among very wealthy people. In the party we used to call them "bleeding hearts." That meant persons with plenty of dough who wanted to do something for the working people. We used to tap them, and they were tapped heavily and made substantial contributions to the party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you tap "bleeding hearts" in and around the District of Columbia?

Mr. JOHNSON. We had them all over the country. Wherever there was a Communist movement we found "bleeding hearts" we could go to and get substantial contributions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Can you name any large contributors here in the District of Columbia?

Mr. JOHNSON. I would suggest you defer that question until a future date. I didn't come prepared to go into that phase of it.

Mr. WOOD. Was not one of the methods of getting these contributions, in order to make it more attractive to the donors to make the contributions, to set up front organizations under appealing names, obtain certificates from the Treasury Department that contributions to those organizations were tax-free, and therefore tax-free contributions were funneled into the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. During the Scottsboro campaign hundreds of thousands of dollars were collected all over the country by Communists. Very little of it was spent for the defense, and very little got back to the Scottsboro boys or their parents. I remember at one time the Scottsboro parents complained because they were not helped out financially. So they decided to send the Scottsboro mothers $15 a week. That was a drop in the bucket compared to the money collected. Money collected for the Scottsboro boys was used for Communist Party activities. All they paid for the defense were counsel fees and transcripts, and the balance of the money was siphoned off for Party activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you anything else to say about their methods of raising money?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mostly through contributions and collections. They were pretty good at making collections. When you have a good issue, people will contribute. As far as the newspaper is concerned, the International Press was a form of subsidy to the Communist Party.

The information that you have gotten from me today was not prepared before I came here. Mr. Stokes spoke to me about a couple years ago in New York, and met with me again several months ago, and I discussed with him some of the things which I have put in the record. They are more or less familiar to me. To answer some of the questions you ask thoroughly and as they should be answered would necessitate my refreshing my recollection and checking on certain records and so forth which I have. I will be glad to come at any future time to assist you in establishing the facts as to Communist activities in this republic .

Mr. WOOD. Do you know a party by the name of James S. Allen?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. I have known him over 15 years.

Mr. WOOD. Is he known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. He was a member of the Communist Party when I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Wood. Did he publish a periodical of some sort known as Negro Liberation?

Mr. Johnson. Yes. He was second only to Harry Haywood on this subject.

Mr. Wood. It seems in one of the publications of Negro Liberation in 1938 a map was included, a blueprint of which I hand you, and I ask you if that corresponds in area to the plan you testified had been promulgated sometime ago for the establishment of a Negro republic in the South?

Mr. Johnson. Yes. I have seen this in the pamphlet, Negro Liberation, and I am fully familiar with this map. This represents the territory which I mentioned in my earlier testimony. This is the old Cotton Belt, or the old Black Belt.

Mr. Wood. The area in white on the map is the area that was to be included in the Negro republic?

Mr. Johnson. That is right.

Mr. Wood. And I believe you said the plan that was promulgated by the Communist Party of America was that the Negroes in that area were to secede from the Union?

Mr. Johnson. That is correct.

Mr. Wood. By force and violence, if necessary?

Mr. Johnson. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. Wood. Was it ever discussed what the cost in lives would be?

Mr. Johnson. They don't care about that so long as they carry through their program. They are the most ruthless and unscrupulous politicians the world has ever produced.

Mr. Wood. Is it your opinion any person in responsible position in the Communist Party at the time that plan was under consideration had the faintest idea such plan could succeed in this republic of ours?

Mr. Johnson. No. I would say this, that the majority of Negroes who were attracted to the Communist Party never understood that particular phase of the policy. It was only a small minority of leaders, the top strata of Negro Communists, who were familiar with this.

Mr. Wood. I am talking of the top strata of the Communist Party, do you think any of them had the faintest idea this plan could succeed?

Mr. Johnson. They are positive it is possible of achievement, and they are determined to carry it through.

Mr. Wood. You think that is the policy today?

Mr. Johnson. That, in my opinion, is still the policy. I know of no example of their changing the basic line already set forth. They seek to destroy the Government, and I assume, Mr. Chairman, you would be the first one they would liquidate.

Mr. Wood. I have had that idea for some time.

The Chair offers that map in evidence. It has been identified.[42]

You are here in response to a subpena served upon you?

Mr. Johnson. Yes.

Mr. Wood. Any further questions?

Mr. Stokes. While you were a functionary of the Communist Party, were you ever sent out of the United States on a Communist mission?

Mr. Johnson. Yes. I was secretary of the American Commission to Cuba, and I was sent to Cuba to help the revolutionary forces there.

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[42] See appendix, p. 523, Manning Johnson Exhibit 15. Reproduced as frontispiece.

I might say, from the point of view of background, that Cuba at that time was in a state of revolution. They had overthrown the government of Machado, and the Mendieta-Batista revolutionary junta had come into power.

We were assigned to tour the island and assist the Communist forces to overthrow the Mendieta-Batista junta and put in power Grau San Martin and his group. They considered the Grau San Martin government would be a government that would permit Communists to operate openly.

That is all I can recall at the present time. But I do know we were thrown in jail down there, and I never will forget the experience. We sailed on the *S. S. Oriente* a short time after the *Moro Castle* burned.

When we arrived in Cuba we were herded like cattle off the *S. S. Oriente* to a separate part of the dock, and there we were lined up, searched, surrounded by the national police and a lot of other law-enforcement agencies, then lined up two abreast, marched into a motor boat, and taken to shore. We were surrounded by armed guards. They had pistols, tear gas, and everything. We were marched up a winding hill, and every 2 or 3 minutes they would stop us and count us.

They took us in a heavily barricaded room and placed us with a soldier, bayonet fixed, and with pistol and club, at the foot of each bunk.

We had to sleep on a double-decker bunk with no mattress, nothing but ordinary springs. In the morning they served us fruit and hardtack and coffee. Those who could sleep were rudely awakened by the butt of a rifle.

Finally, we were able to contact the American consulate, through whose intervention we were freed and shipped back to the States on the steamship *Oriente*. The group who had come to the docks to meet us were severely slugged.

Mr. STOKES. You say "we." Who accompanied you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Clifford Odets was chairman. I was the secretary. That was the same year of the *Moro Castle* catastrophe. We came to Washington at that time to protest to the State Department. Jefferson Caffrey was ambassador to Cuba at that time.

Mr. STOKES. So you were sent to Cuba to participate in the revolution in that country?

Mr. JOHNSON. Of course. What other purpose did we have for going there?

Mr. WOOD. Any further questions?

Mr. TAVENNER. You referred to the People's Voice, I believe, in your testimony. Was that the People's Voice published in New York?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WOOD. Thank you very much for coming here and for the information you have given us. You may be excused under your subpena unless you are otherwise notified by the committee.

Mr. JOHNSON. Thank you.

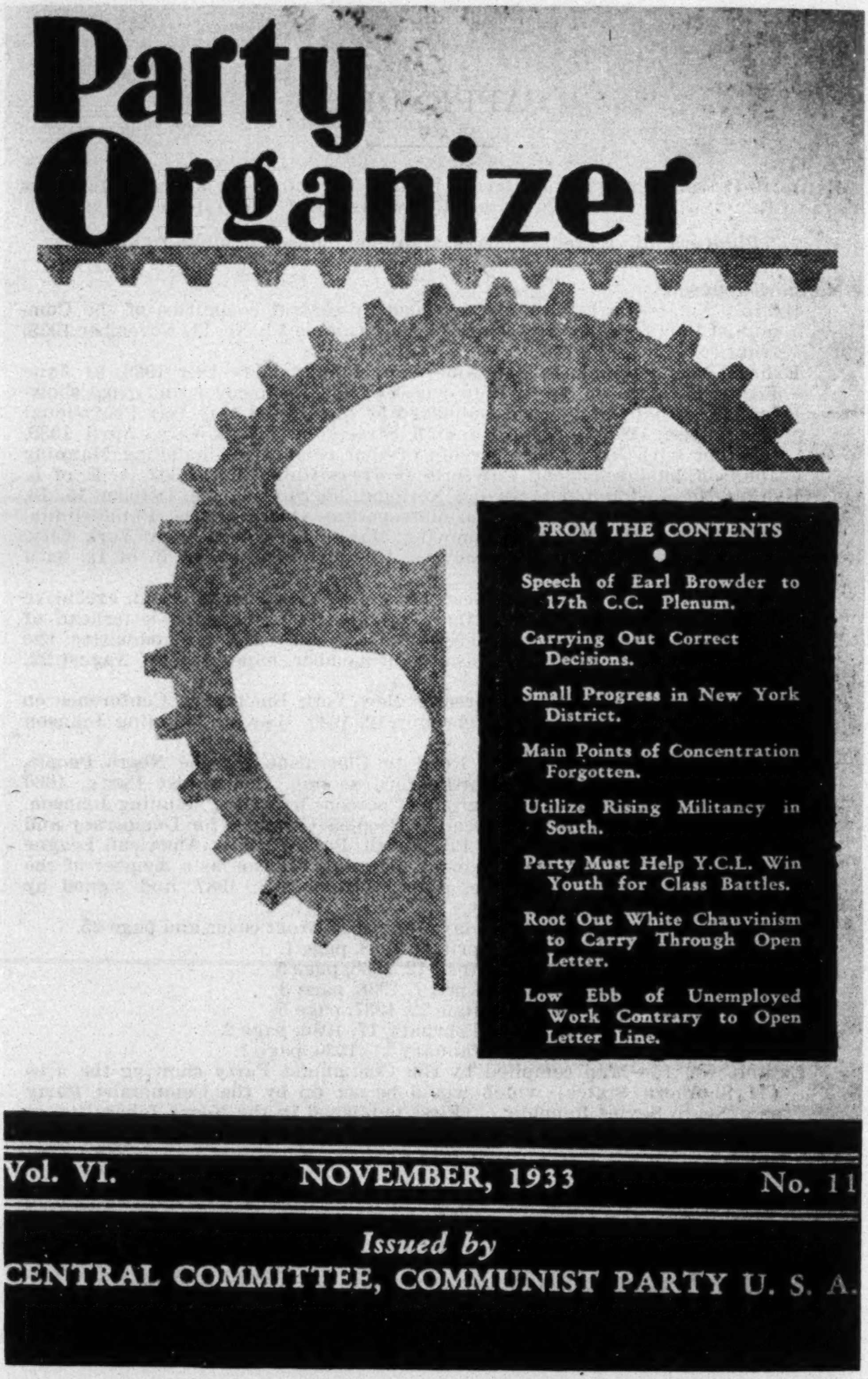
(Whereupon the hearing continued with testimony of C. B. Clark, printed under same title, pt. 1.)

APPENDIX

EXHIBITS INTRODUCED INTO THE RECORD DURING TESTIMONY OF MANNING JOHNSON AND RETAINED IN THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

(Photographic reproductions of Manning Johnson exhibits follow)

Manning Johnson:
- Exhibit No. 1—Party Organizer, issued by central committee of the Communist Party, United States of America, volume VI, No. 11, November 1933, front cover and page 11.
- Exhibit No. 2—Pamphlet, An American Holiday, May Day 1939, by Jane Filley, Department Store Employees' Union, front cover and page showing that this pamphlet was published by the United May Day Provisional Committee, 125 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City, April 1939, together with list of membership of that committee, including Manning Johnson, business agent, Cafeteria Workers Union, Local 302, A. F. of L.
- Exhibit No. 3—Pamphlet, Second National Negro Congress, October 15, 16, and 17, 1937, annual program, Metropolitan Opera House, Philadelphia, Pa.; front cover and page showing Manning Johnson, New York City, delegate from Cafeteria Employees' Union, Local 302, A. F. of L., as a discussion leader.
- Exhibit No. 4—Letter to City Secretary, signed by Paul M. Reid, executive secretary, American League Against War and Fascism, on letterhead of that organization, showing officers and national executive committee, the latter including Manning Johnson as a member, under date of August 22, 1935.
- Exhibit No. 5—Program, the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Right, Monday, February 12, 1940, showing Manning Johnson as a speaker.
- Exhibit No. 6—Pamphlet, The Road to Liberation for the Negro People, distributed by the Stuyvesant-Bedford section, Communist Party, 1660 Fulton Street, an appeal by a group of persons including Manning Johnson.
- Exhibit No. 7—Letter on letterhead of People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, November 26–28, 1937, Pittsburgh, Pa., called by American League Against War and Fascism, showing Manning Johnson as a member of the national executive committee, dated November 3, 1937, and signed by James Lerner, youth secretary.
- Exhibit No. 8—Soviet Russia Today, June 1935, front cover and page 25.
- Exhibit No. 9—Daily Worker, April 29, 1938, page 1.
- Exhibit No. 10—Daily Worker, April 12, 1938, page 5.
- Exhibit No. 11—Daily Worker, April 7, 1938, page 3.
- Exhibit No. 12—Daily Worker, June 22, 1937, page 5.
- Exhibit No. 13—Daily Worker, February 17, 1936, page 2.
- Exhibit No. 14—Daily Worker, January 21, 1936, page 1.
- Exhibit No. 15—Map compiled by the Communist Party showing the area (11 Southern States) which would be set up by the Communist Party as a Negro Soviet Republic. (First published in the Negro Liberation in 1938 by James S. Allen.) (Frontispiece.)



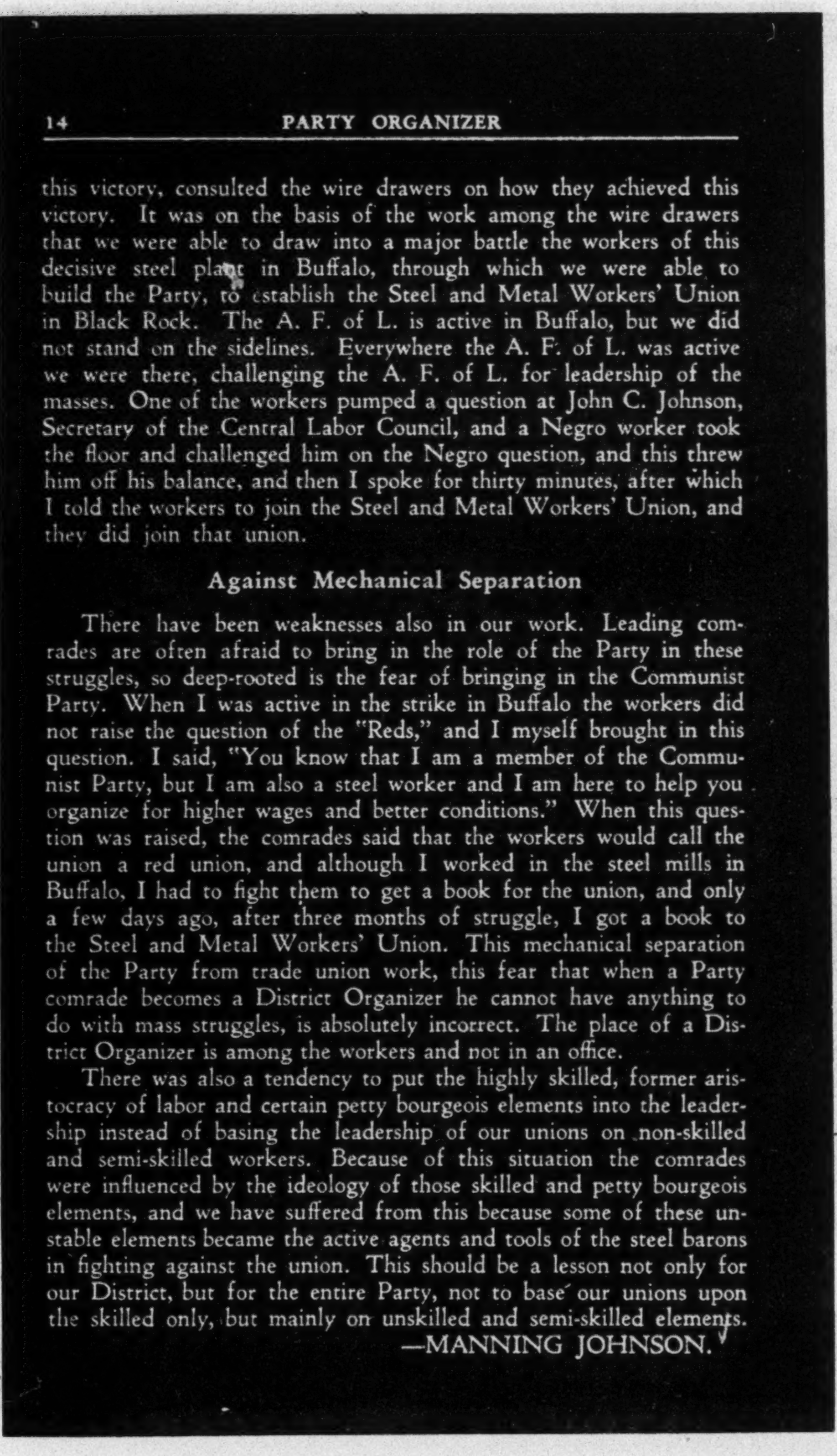
Party Organizer

FROM THE CONTENTS

- Speech of Earl Browder to 17th C.C. Plenum.
- Carrying Out Correct Decisions.
- Small Progress in New York District.
- Main Points of Concentration Forgotten.
- Utilize Rising Militancy in South.
- Party Must Help Y.C.L. Win Youth for Class Battles.
- Root Out White Chauvinism to Carry Through Open Letter.
- Low Ebb of Unemployed Work Contrary to Open Letter Line.

Vol. VI. NOVEMBER, 1933 No. 11

Issued by
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A.



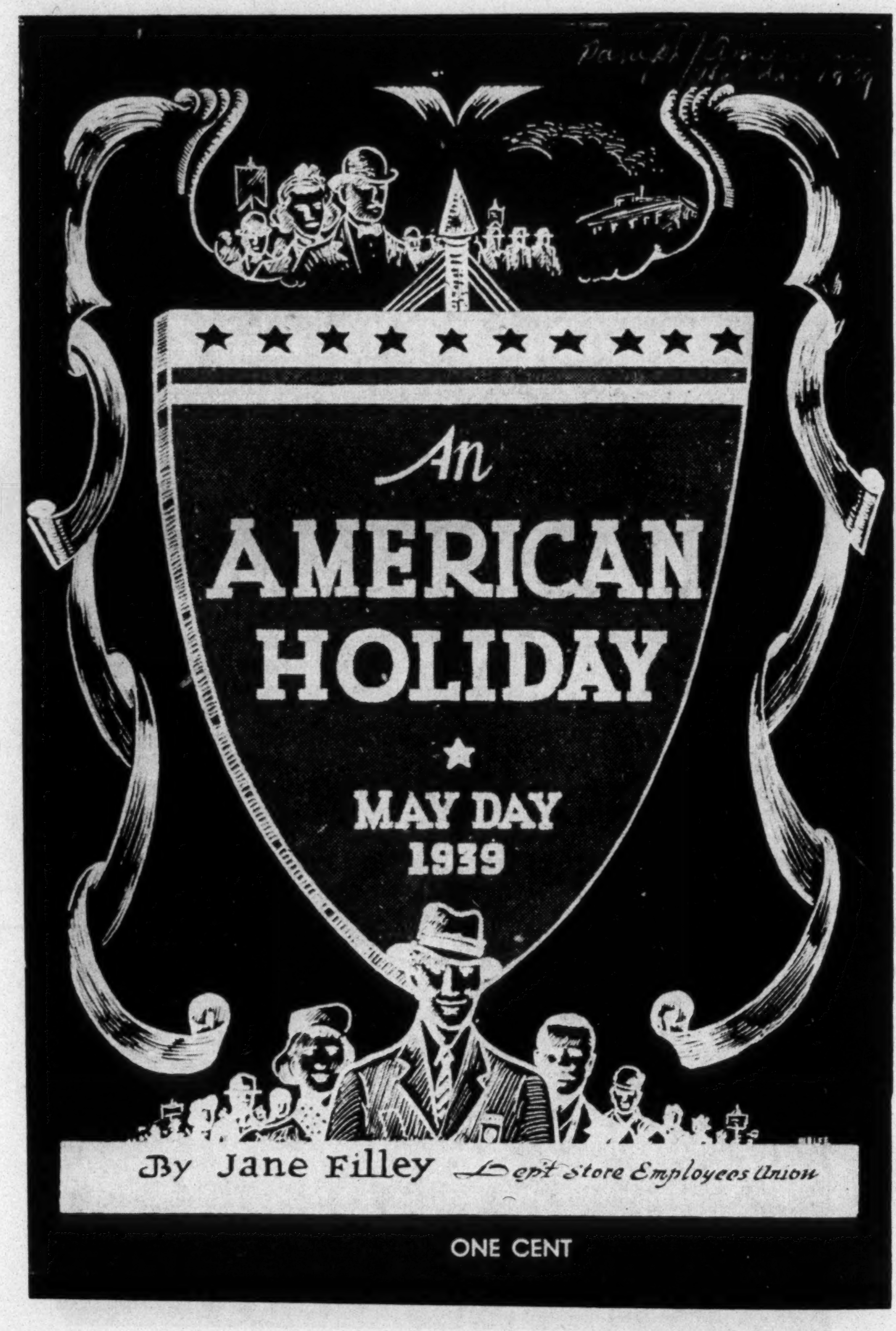
this victory, consulted the wire drawers on how they achieved this victory. It was on the basis of the work among the wire drawers that we were able to draw into a major battle the workers of this decisive steel plant in Buffalo, through which we were able to build the Party, to establish the Steel and Metal Workers' Union in Black Rock. The A. F. of L. is active in Buffalo, but we did not stand on the sidelines. Everywhere the A. F. of L. was active we were there, challenging the A. F. of L. for leadership of the masses. One of the workers pumped a question at John C. Johnson, Secretary of the Central Labor Council, and a Negro worker took the floor and challenged him on the Negro question, and this threw him off his balance, and then I spoke for thirty minutes, after which I told the workers to join the Steel and Metal Workers' Union, and they did join that union.

Against Mechanical Separation

There have been weaknesses also in our work. Leading comrades are often afraid to bring in the role of the Party in these struggles, so deep-rooted is the fear of bringing in the Communist Party. When I was active in the strike in Buffalo the workers did not raise the question of the "Reds," and I myself brought in this question. I said, "You know that I am a member of the Communist Party, but I am also a steel worker and I am here to help you organize for higher wages and better conditions." When this question was raised, the comrades said that the workers would call the union a red union, and although I worked in the steel mills in Buffalo, I had to fight them to get a book for the union, and only a few days ago, after three months of struggle, I got a book to the Steel and Metal Workers' Union. This mechanical separation of the Party from trade union work, this fear that when a Party comrade becomes a District Organizer he cannot have anything to do with mass struggles, is absolutely incorrect. The place of a District Organizer is among the workers and not in an office.

There was also a tendency to put the highly skilled, former aristocracy of labor and certain petty bourgeois elements into the leadership instead of basing the leadership of our unions on non-skilled and semi-skilled workers. Because of this situation the comrades were influenced by the ideology of those skilled and petty bourgeois elements, and we have suffered from this because some of these unstable elements became the active agents and tools of the steel barons in fighting against the union. This should be a lesson not only for our District, but for the entire Party, not to base our unions upon the skilled only, but mainly on unskilled and semi-skilled elements.

—MANNING JOHNSON.



Pamph/American
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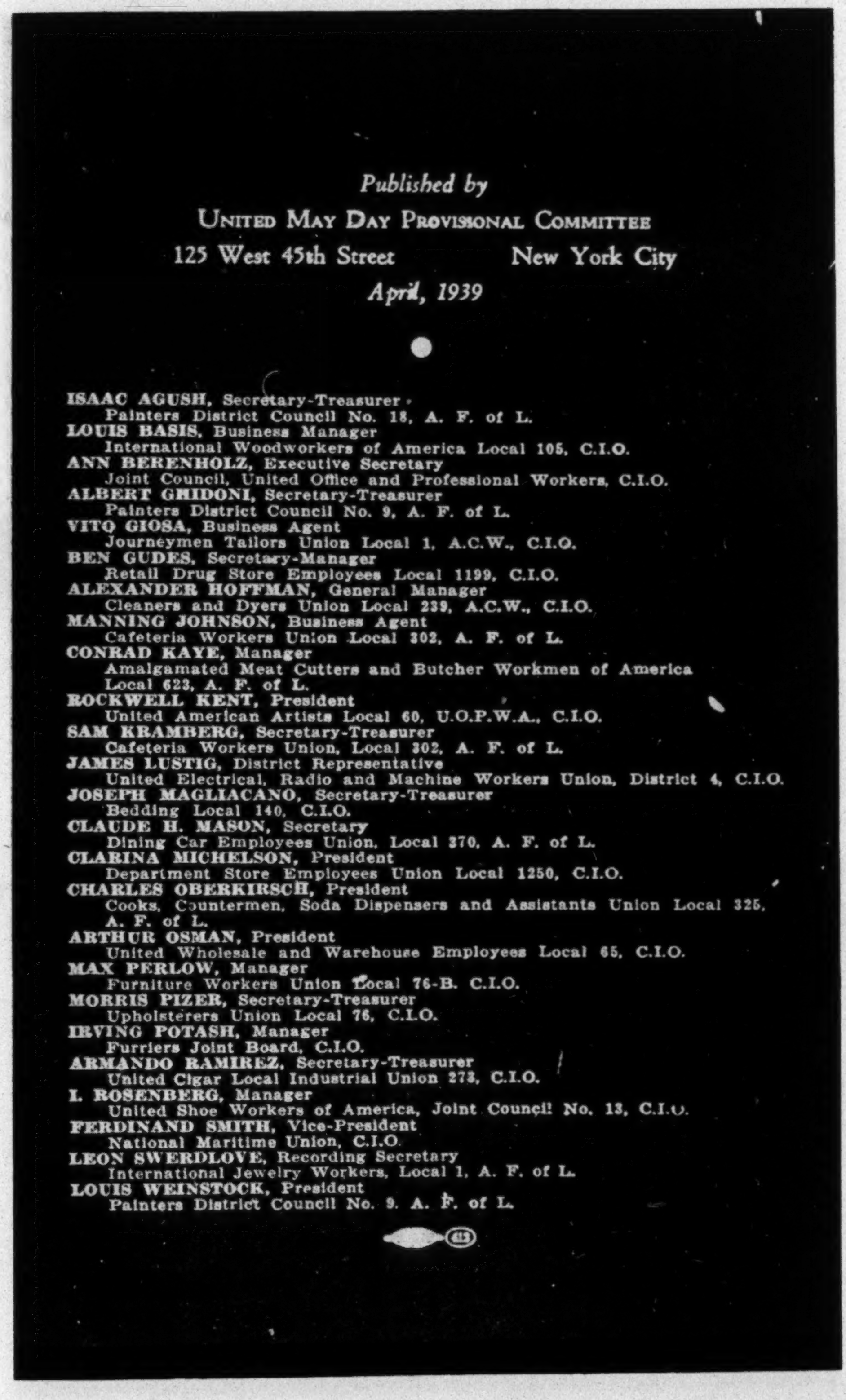
MAY DAY
1939

By Jane Filley Dept store Employees Union

ONE CENT



Published by
UNITED MAY DAY PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE
125 West 45th Street New York City
April, 1939

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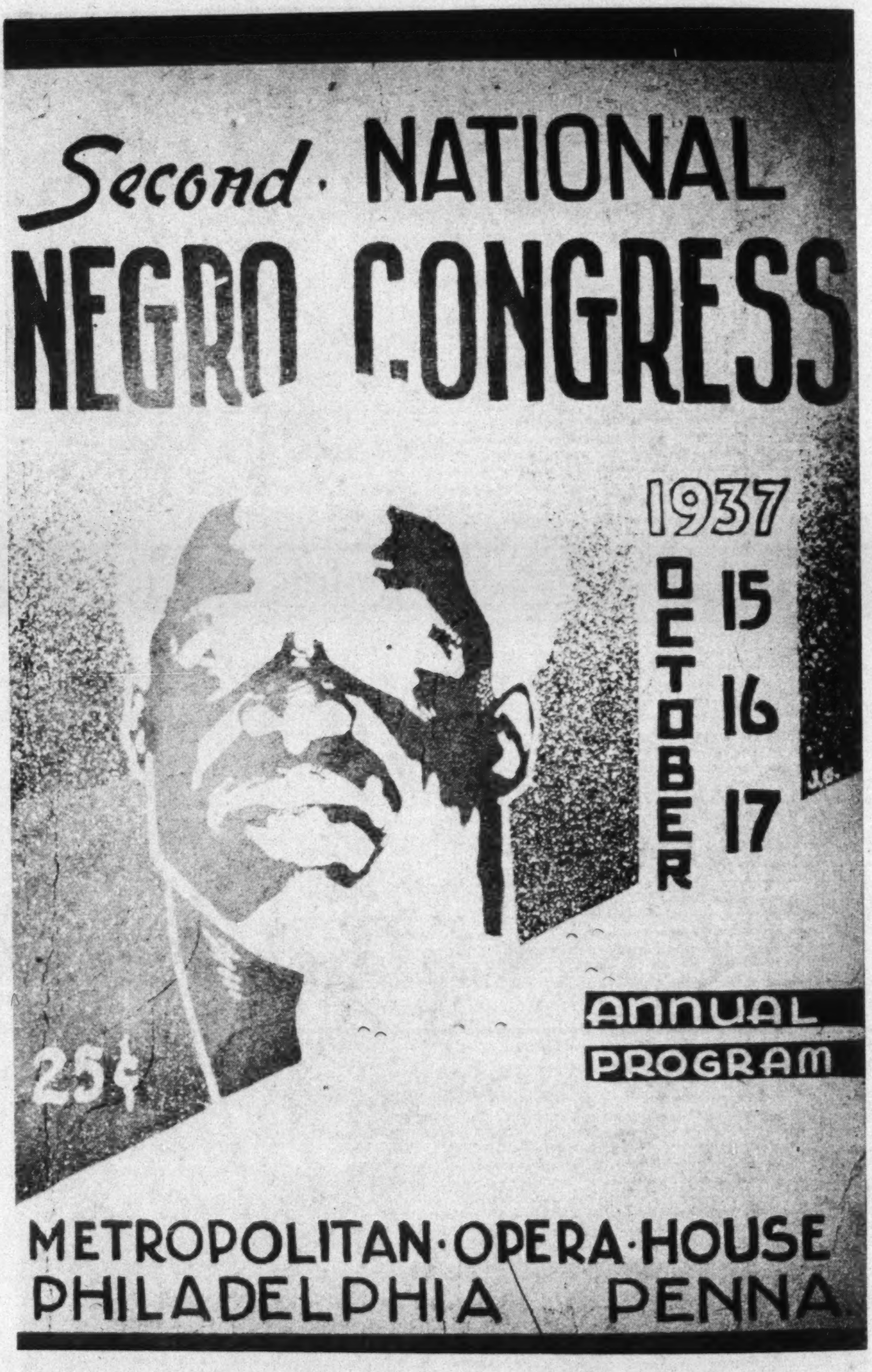

Second NATIONAL
NEGRO CONGRESS

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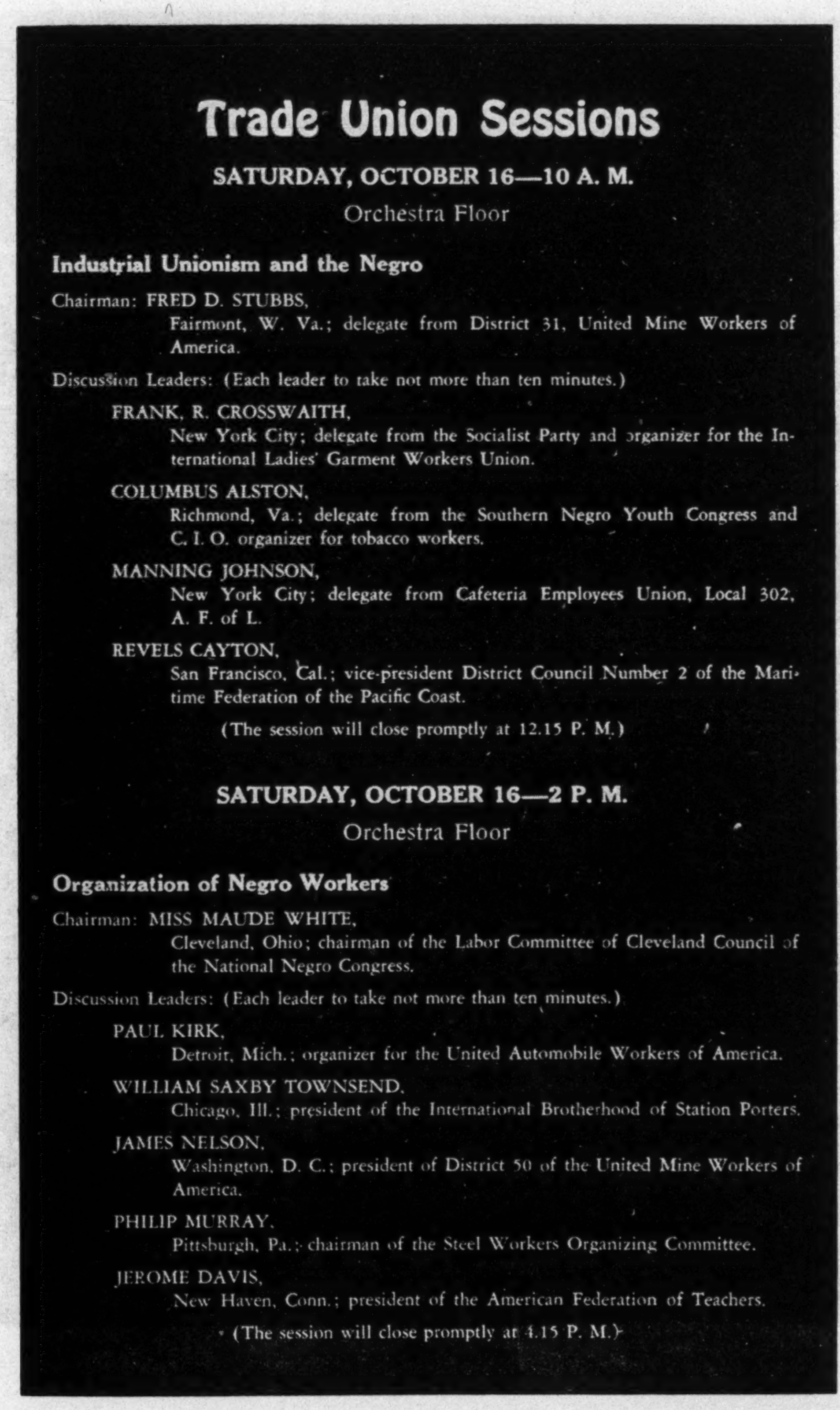
ANNUAL
PROGRAM

METROPOLITAN · OPERA · HOUSE
PHILADELPHIA PENNA



Trade Union Sessions

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16—10 A. M.

Orchestra Floor

Industrial Unionism and the Negro

Chairman: FRED D. STUBBS,
Fairmont, W. Va.; delegate from District 31, United Mine Workers of America.

Discussion Leaders: (Each leader to take not more than ten minutes.)

FRANK, R. CROSSWAITH,
New York City; delegate from the Socialist Party and organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

COLUMBUS ALSTON,
Richmond, Va.; delegate from the Southern Negro Youth Congress and C. I. O. organizer for tobacco workers.

MANNING JOHNSON,
New York City; delegate from Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302, A. F. of L.

REVELS CAYTON,
San Francisco, Cal.; vice-president District Council Number 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast.

(The session will close promptly at 12.15 P. M.)

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16—2 P. M.

Orchestra Floor

Organization of Negro Workers

Chairman: MISS MAUDE WHITE,
Cleveland, Ohio; chairman of the Labor Committee of Cleveland Council of the National Negro Congress.

Discussion Leaders: (Each leader to take not more than ten minutes.)

PAUL KIRK,
Detroit, Mich.; organizer for the United Automobile Workers of America.

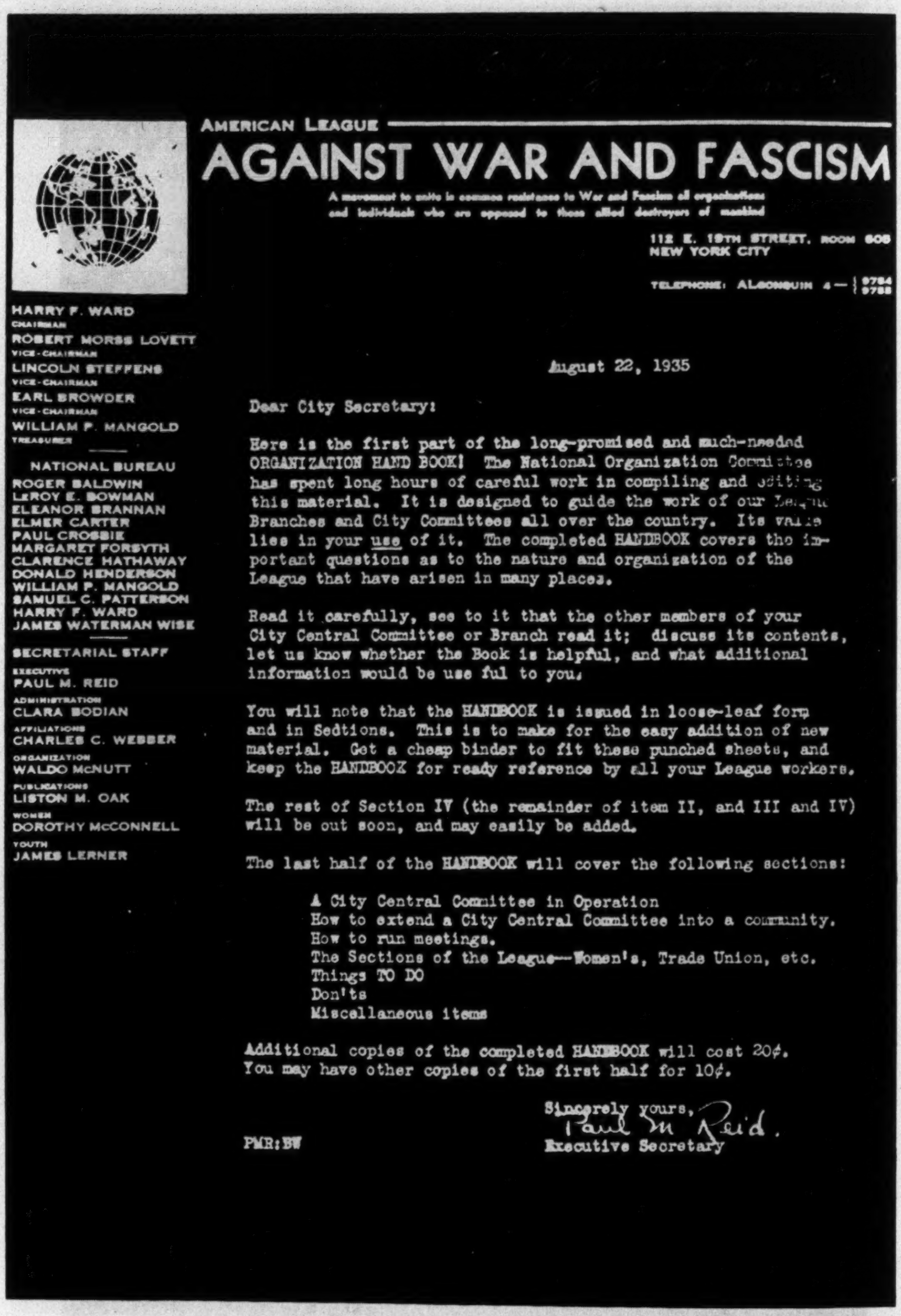
WILLIAM SAXBY TOWNSEND,
Chicago, Ill.; president of the International Brotherhood of Station Porters.

JAMES NELSON,
Washington, D. C.; president of District 50 of the United Mine Workers of America.

PHILIP MURRAY,
Pittsburgh, Pa.; chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

JEROME DAVIS,
New Haven, Conn.; president of the American Federation of Teachers.

(The session will close promptly at 4.15 P. M.)



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AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
A movement to unite in common resistance to War and Fascism all organizations
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August 22, 1935

Dear City Secretary:

Here is the first part of the long-promised and much-needed ORGANIZATION HAND BOOK! The National Organization Committee has spent long hours of careful work in compiling and editing this material. It is designed to guide the work of our League Branches and City Committees all over the country. Its value lies in your use of it. The completed HANDBOOK covers the important questions as to the nature and organization of the League that have arisen in many places.

Read it carefully, see to it that the other members of your City Central Committee or Branch read it; discuss its contents, let us know whether the Book is helpful, and what additional information would be use ful to you.

You will note that the HANDBOOK is issued in loose-leaf form and in Sedtions. This is to make for the easy addition of new material. Get a cheap binder to fit these punched sheets, and keep the HANDBOOK for ready reference by all your League workers.

The rest of Section IV (the remainder of item II, and III and IV) will be out soon, and may easily be added.

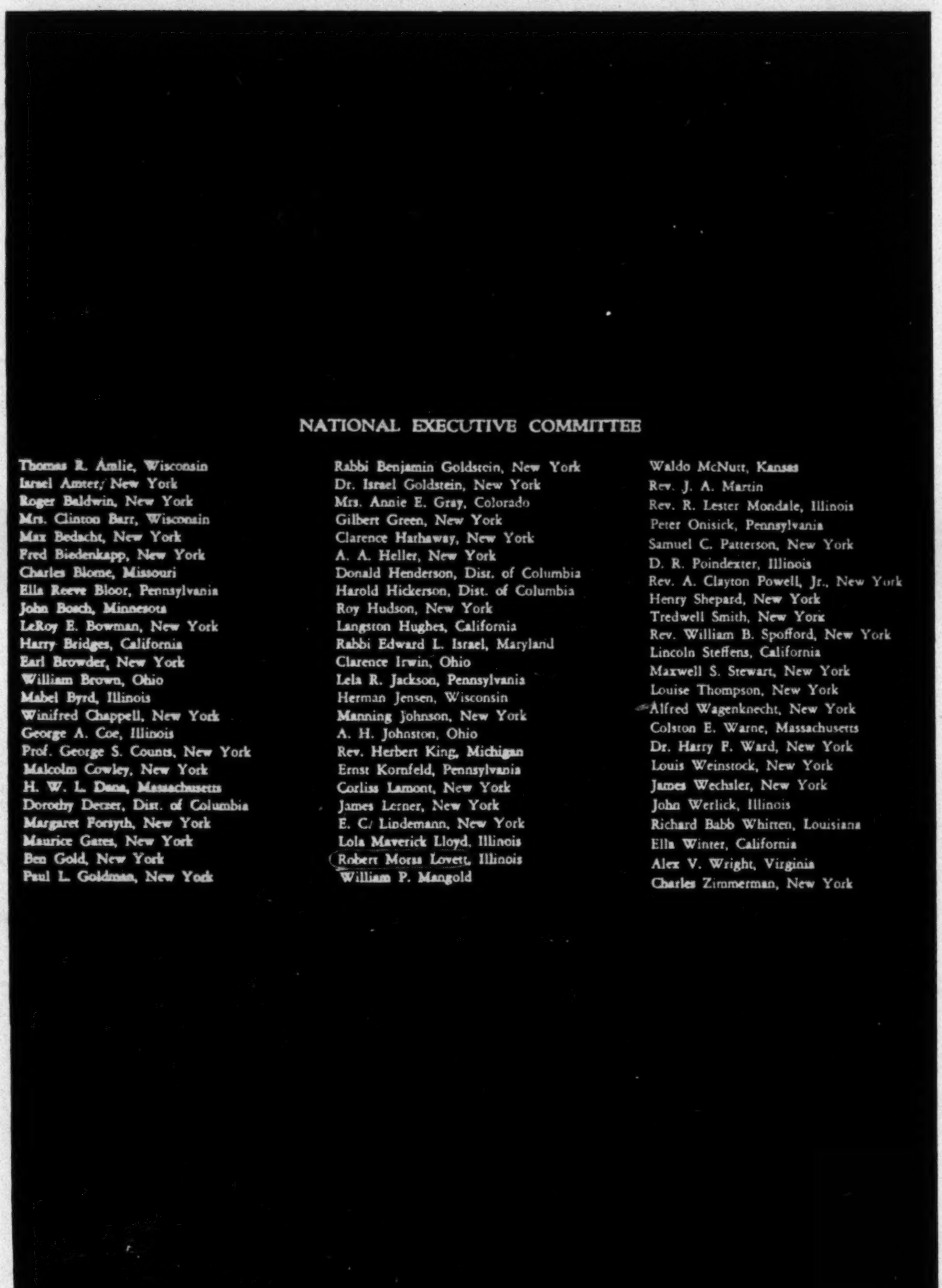
The last half of the HANDBOOK will cover the following sections:

A City Central Committee in Operation
How to extend a City Central Committee into a community.
How to run meetings.
The Sections of the League—Women's, Trade Union, etc.
Things TO DO
Don'ts
Miscellaneous items

Additional copies of the completed HANDBOOK will cost 20¢.
You may have other copies of the first half for 10¢.

Sincerely yours,
Paul M. Reid.
Executive Secretary

PMR:BW



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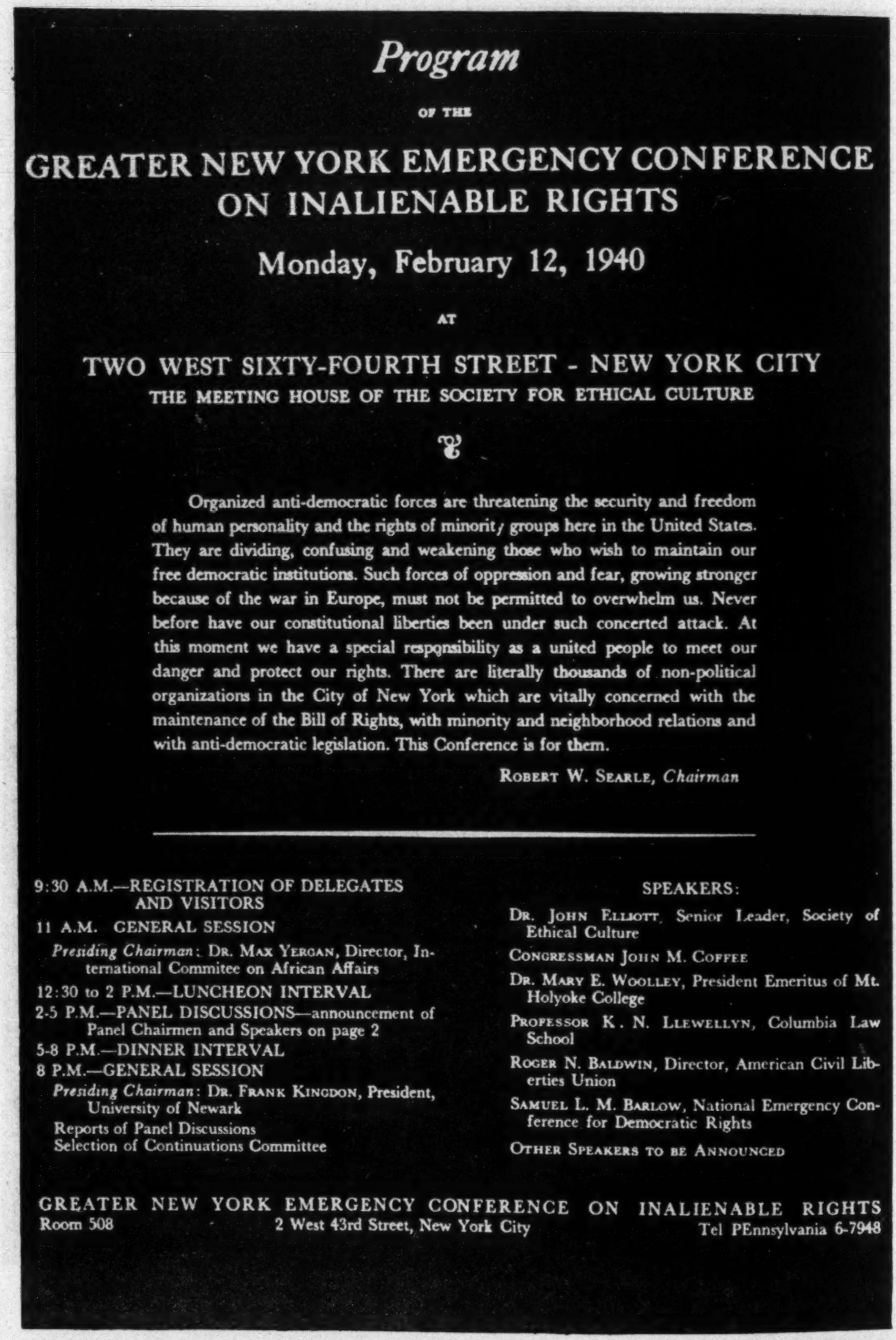


Program

OF THE

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS

Monday, February 12, 1940

AT

TWO WEST SIXTY-FOURTH STREET - NEW YORK CITY
THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE

Organized anti-democratic forces are threatening the security and freedom of human personality and the rights of minority groups here in the United States. They are dividing, confusing and weakening those who wish to maintain our free democratic institutions. Such forces of oppression and fear, growing stronger because of the war in Europe, must not be permitted to overwhelm us. Never before have our constitutional liberties been under such concerted attack. At this moment we have a special responsibility as a united people to meet our danger and protect our rights. There are literally thousands of non-political organizations in the City of New York which are vitally concerned with the maintenance of the Bill of Rights, with minority and neighborhood relations and with anti-democratic legislation. This Conference is for them.

ROBERT W. SEARLE, *Chairman*

9:30 A.M.—REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES AND VISITORS

11 A.M. GENERAL SESSION

Presiding Chairman: DR. MAX YERGAN, Director, International Commitee on African Affairs

12:30 to 2 P.M.—LUNCHEON INTERVAL

2-5 P.M.—PANEL DISCUSSIONS—announcement of Panel Chairmen and Speakers on page 2

5-8 P.M.—DINNER INTERVAL

8 P.M.—GENERAL SESSION

Presiding Chairman: DR. FRANK KINGDON, President, University of Newark

Reports of Panel Discussions
Selection of Continuations Committee

SPEAKERS:

DR. JOHN ELLIOTT, Senior Leader, Society of Ethical Culture

CONGRESSMAN JOHN M. COFFEE

DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY, President Emeritus of Mt. Holyoke College

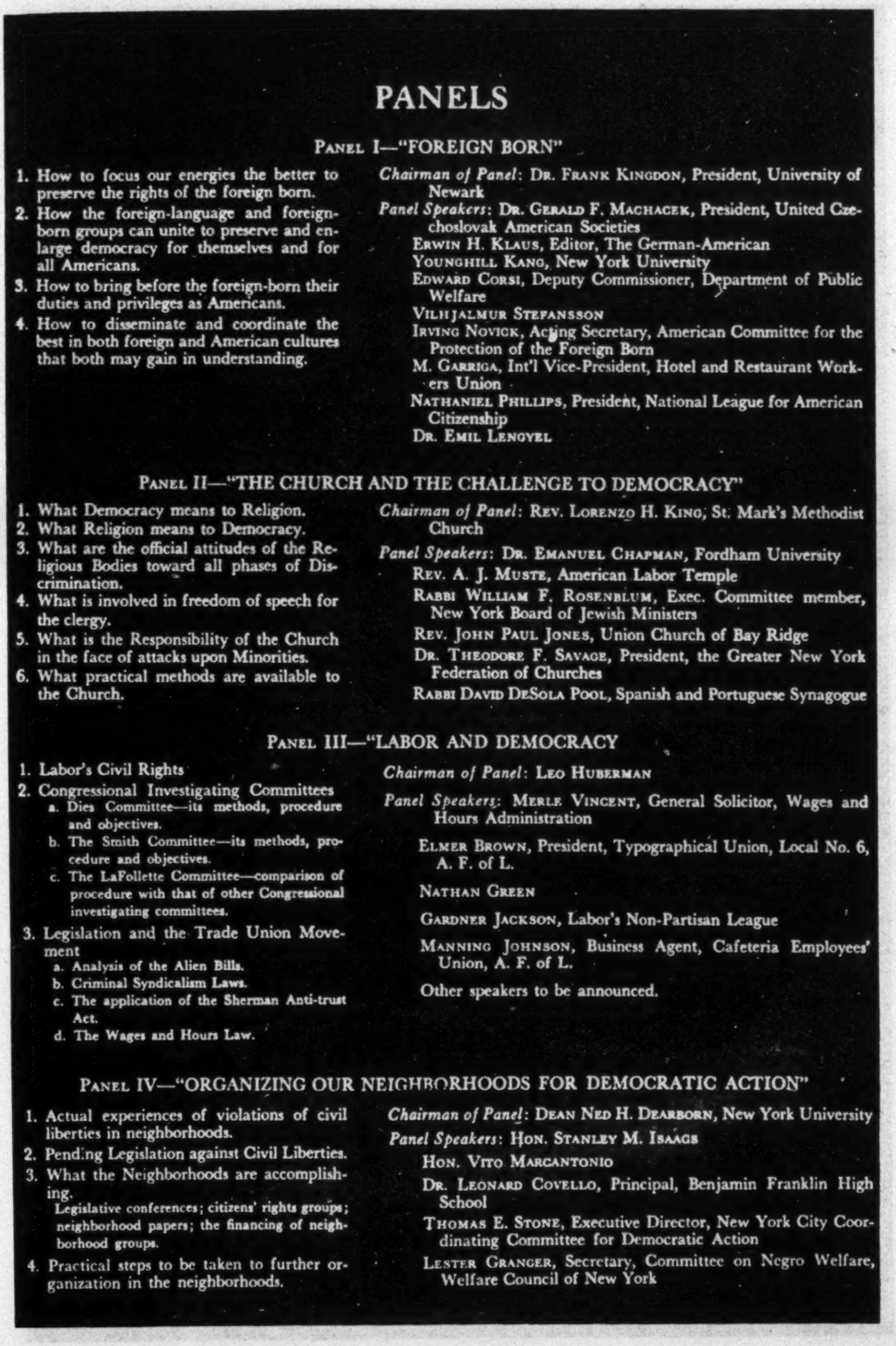
PROFESSOR K. N. LLEWELLYN, Columbia Law School

ROGER N. BALDWIN, Director, American Civil Liberties Union

SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights

OTHER SPEAKERS TO BE ANNOUNCED

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS
Room 508 2 West 43rd Street, New York City Tel PEnnsylvania 6-7948



PANELS

Panel I—"FOREIGN BORN"

1. How to focus our energies the better to preserve the rights of the foreign born.
2. How the foreign-language and foreign-born groups can unite to preserve and enlarge democracy for themselves and for all Americans.
3. How to bring before the foreign-born their duties and privileges as Americans.
4. How to disseminate and coordinate the best in both foreign and American cultures that both may gain in understanding.

Chairman of Panel: Dr. Frank Kingdon, President, University of Newark

Panel Speakers: Dr. Gerald F. Machacek, President, United Czechoslovak American Societies

Erwin H. Klaus, Editor, The German-American

Younghill Kang, New York University

Edward Corsi, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare

Vilhjalmur Stefansson

Irving Novick, Acting Secretary, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born

M. Garriga, Int'l Vice-President, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union

Nathaniel Phillips, President, National League for American Citizenship

Dr. Emil Lengyel

Panel II—"THE CHURCH AND THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY"

1. What Democracy means to Religion.
2. What Religion means to Democracy.
3. What are the official attitudes of the Religious Bodies toward all phases of Discrimination.
4. What is involved in freedom of speech for the clergy.
5. What is the Responsibility of the Church in the face of attacks upon Minorities.
6. What practical methods are available to the Church.

Chairman of Panel: Rev. Lorenzo H. King, St. Mark's Methodist Church

Panel Speakers: Dr. Emanuel Chapman, Fordham University

Rev. A. J. Muste, American Labor Temple

Rabbi William F. Rosenblum, Exec. Committee member, New York Board of Jewish Ministers

Rev. John Paul Jones, Union Church of Bay Ridge

Dr. Theodore F. Savage, President, the Greater New York Federation of Churches

Rabbi David DeSola Pool, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue

Panel III—"LABOR AND DEMOCRACY

1. Labor's Civil Rights
2. Congressional Investigating Committees
   a. Dies Committee—its methods, procedure and objectives.
   b. The Smith Committee—its methods, procedure and objectives.
   c. The LaFollette Committee—comparison of procedure with that of other Congressional investigating committees.
3. Legislation and the Trade Union Movement
   a. Analysis of the Alien Bills.
   b. Criminal Syndicalism Laws.
   c. The application of the Sherman Anti-trust Act.
   d. The Wages and Hours Law.

Chairman of Panel: Leo Huberman

Panel Speakers: Merle Vincent, General Solicitor, Wages and Hours Administration

Elmer Brown, President, Typographical Union, Local No. 6, A. F. of L.

Nathan Green

Gardner Jackson, Labor's Non-Partisan League

Manning Johnson, Business Agent, Cafeteria Employees' Union, A. F. of L.

Other speakers to be announced.

Panel IV—"ORGANIZING OUR NEIGHBORHOODS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION"

1. Actual experiences of violations of civil liberties in neighborhoods.
2. Pending Legislation against Civil Liberties.
3. What the Neighborhoods are accomplishing.
   Legislative conferences; citizens' rights groups; neighborhood papers; the financing of neighborhood groups.
4. Practical steps to be taken to further organization in the neighborhoods.

Chairman of Panel: Dean Ned H. Dearborn, New York University

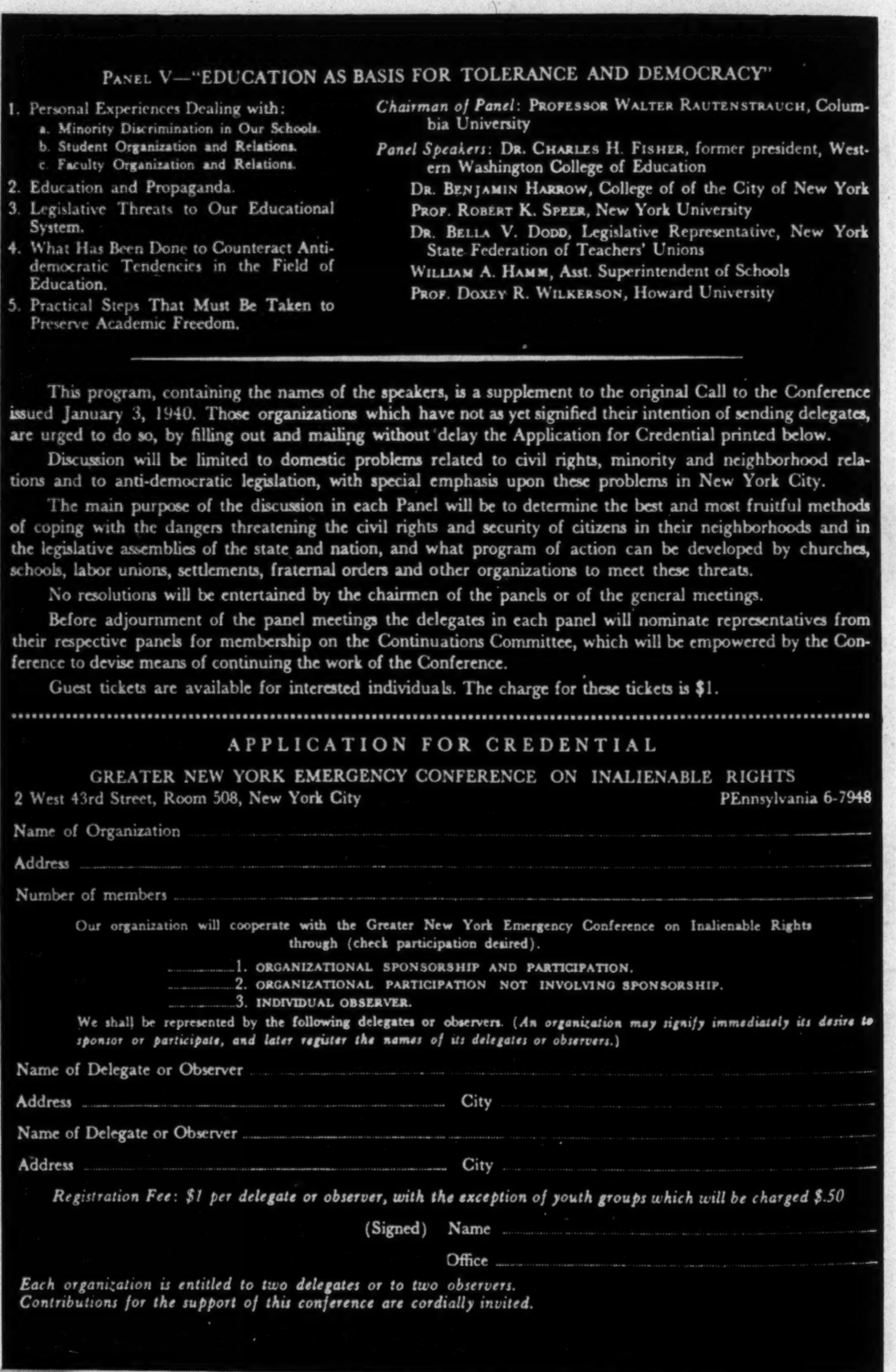
Panel Speakers: Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs

Hon. Vito Marcantonio

Dr. Leonard Covello, Principal, Benjamin Franklin High School

Thomas E. Stone, Executive Director, New York City Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action

Lester Granger, Secretary, Committee on Negro Welfare, Welfare Council of New York



PANEL V—"EDUCATION AS BASIS FOR TOLERANCE AND DEMOCRACY"

1. Personal Experiences Dealing with:
    - a. Minority Discrimination in Our Schools.
    - b. Student Organization and Relations.
    - c. Faculty Organization and Relations.
2. Education and Propaganda.
3. Legislative Threats to Our Educational System.
4. What Has Been Done to Counteract Anti-democratic Tendencies in the Field of Education.
5. Practical Steps That Must Be Taken to Preserve Academic Freedom.

Chairman of Panel: PROFESSOR WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH, Columbia University

Panel Speakers: DR. CHARLES H. FISHER, former president, Western Washington College of Education

DR. BENJAMIN HARROW, College of of the City of New York

PROF. ROBERT K. SPEER, New York University

DR. BELLA V. DODD, Legislative Representative, New York State Federation of Teachers' Unions

WILLIAM A. HAMM, Asst. Superintendent of Schools

PROF. DOXEY R. WILKERSON, Howard University

This program, containing the names of the speakers, is a supplement to the original Call to the Conference issued January 3, 1940. Those organizations which have not as yet signified their intention of sending delegates, are urged to do so, by filling out and mailing without delay the Application for Credential printed below.

Discussion will be limited to domestic problems related to civil rights, minority and neighborhood relations and to anti-democratic legislation, with special emphasis upon these problems in New York City.

The main purpose of the discussion in each Panel will be to determine the best and most fruitful methods of coping with the dangers threatening the civil rights and security of citizens in their neighborhoods and in the legislative assemblies of the state and nation, and what program of action can be developed by churches, schools, labor unions, settlements, fraternal orders and other organizations to meet these threats.

No resolutions will be entertained by the chairmen of the panels or of the general meetings.

Before adjournment of the panel meetings the delegates in each panel will nominate representatives from their respective panels for membership on the Continuations Committee, which will be empowered by the Conference to devise means of continuing the work of the Conference.

Guest tickets are available for interested individuals. The charge for these tickets is $1.

....

APPLICATION FOR CREDENTIAL

GREATER NEW YORK EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON INALIENABLE RIGHTS
2 West 43rd Street, Room 508, New York City PEnnsylvania 6-7948

Name of Organization ....

Address ....

Number of members ....

Our organization will cooperate with the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights through (check participation desired).

..........1. ORGANIZATIONAL SPONSORSHIP AND PARTICIPATION.
..........2. ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION NOT INVOLVING SPONSORSHIP.
..........3. INDIVIDUAL OBSERVER.

We shall be represented by the following delegates or observers. (*An organization may signify immediately its desire to sponsor or participate, and later register the names of its delegates or observers.*)

Name of Delegate or Observer ....

Address .... City ....

Name of Delegate or Observer ....

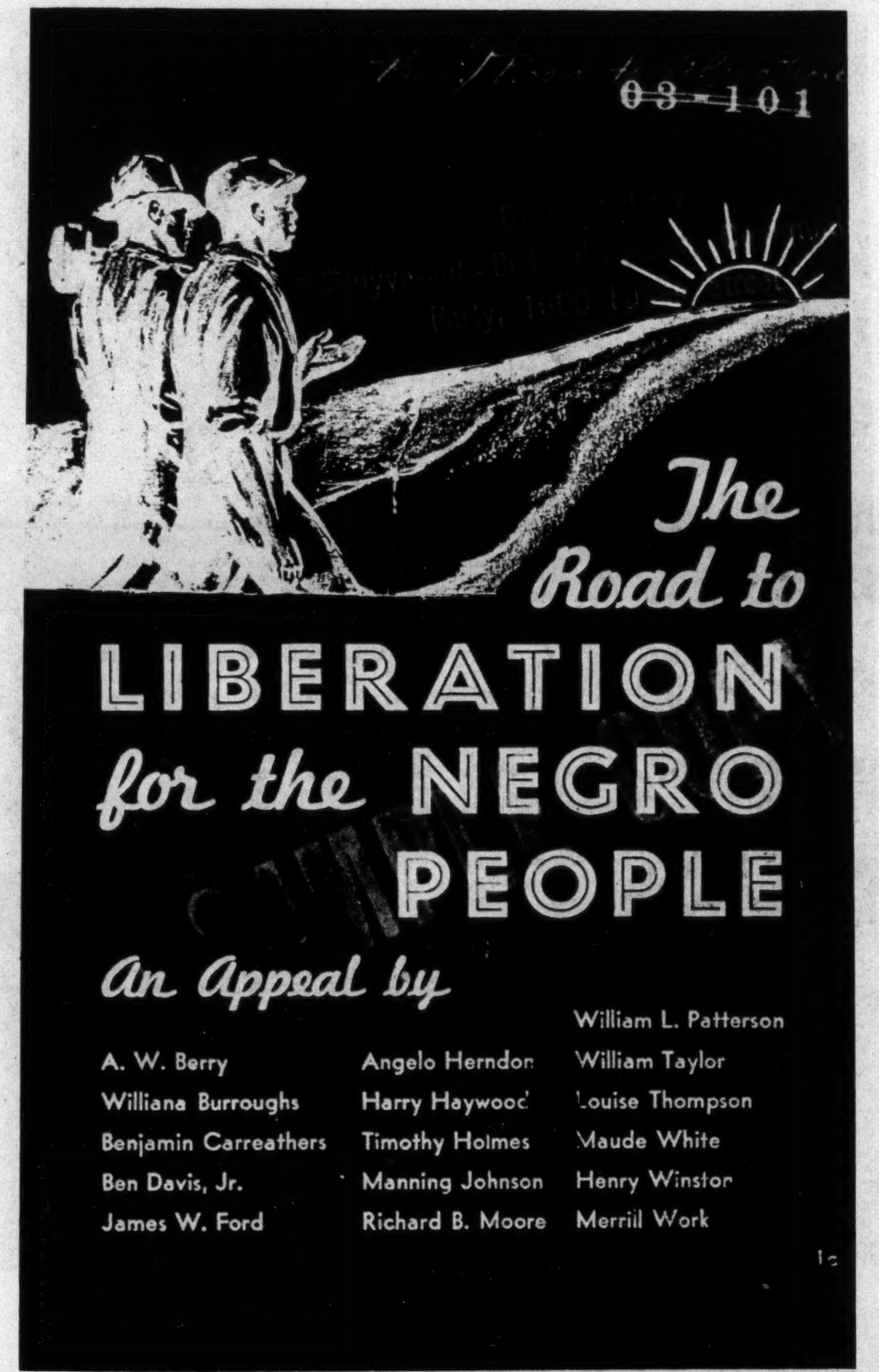
Address .... City ....

Registration Fee: $1 per delegate or observer, with the exception of youth groups which will be charged $.50

(Signed) Name ....

Office ....

Each organization is entitled to two delegates or to two observers.
Contributions for the support of this conference are cordially invited.



~~03-101~~

The Road to LIBERATION for the NEGRO PEOPLE

An Appeal by

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A. W. Berry	Angelo Herndon	William Taylor
Williana Burroughs	Harry Haywood	Louise Thompson
Benjamin Carreathers	Timothy Holmes	Maude White
Ben Davis, Jr.	Manning Johnson	Henry Winston
James W. Ford	Richard B. Moore	Merrill Work

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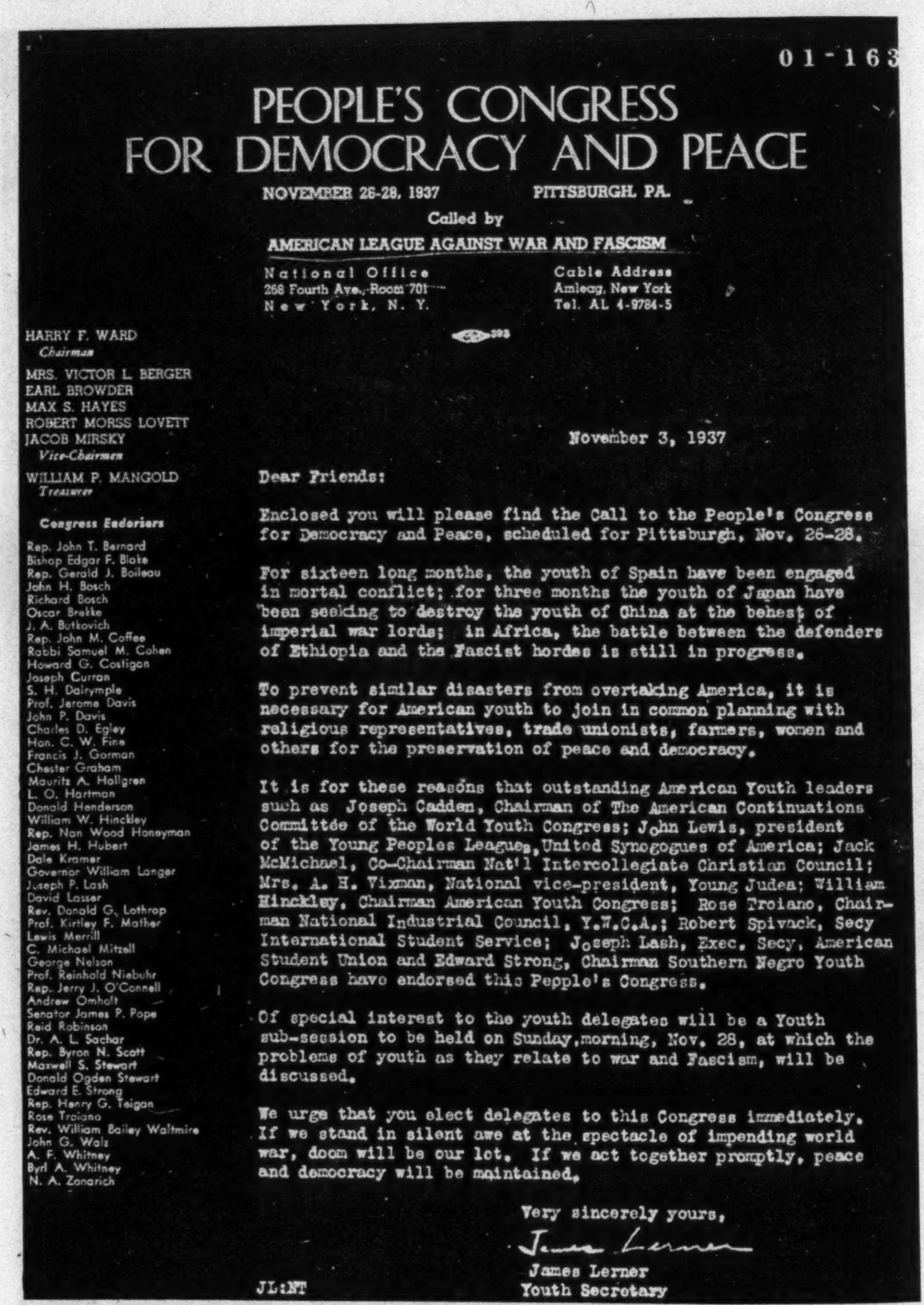

01-163

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
FOR DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

NOVEMBER 26-28, 1937 PITTSBURGH, PA.

Called by

AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

National Office
268 Fourth Ave., Room 701
New York, N. Y.

Cable Address
Amleag, New York
Tel. AL 4-9784-5

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November 3, 1937

Dear Friends:

Enclosed you will please find the Call to the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace, scheduled for Pittsburgh, Nov. 26-28.

For sixteen long months, the youth of Spain have been engaged in mortal conflict; for three months the youth of Japan have been seeking to destroy the youth of China at the behest of imperial war lords; in Africa, the battle between the defenders of Ethiopia and the Fascist hordes is still in progress.

To prevent similar disasters from overtaking America, it is necessary for American youth to join in common planning with religious representatives, trade unionists, farmers, women and others for the preservation of peace and democracy.

It is for these reasons that outstanding American Youth leaders such as Joseph Cadden, Chairman of The American Continuations Committee of the World Youth Congress; John Lewis, president of the Young Peoples League, United Synogogues of America; Jack McMichael, Co-Chairman Nat'l Intercollegiate Christian Council; Mrs. A. H. Vixman, National vice-president, Young Judea; William Hinckley, Chairman American Youth Congress; Rose Troiano, Chairman National Industrial Council, Y.W.C.A.; Robert Spivack, Secy International Student Service; Joseph Lash, Exec. Secy, American Student Union and Edward Strong, Chairman Southern Negro Youth Congress have endorsed this People's Congress.

Of special interest to the youth delegates will be a Youth sub-session to be held on Sunday, morning, Nov. 28, at which the problems of youth as they relate to war and Fascism, will be discussed.

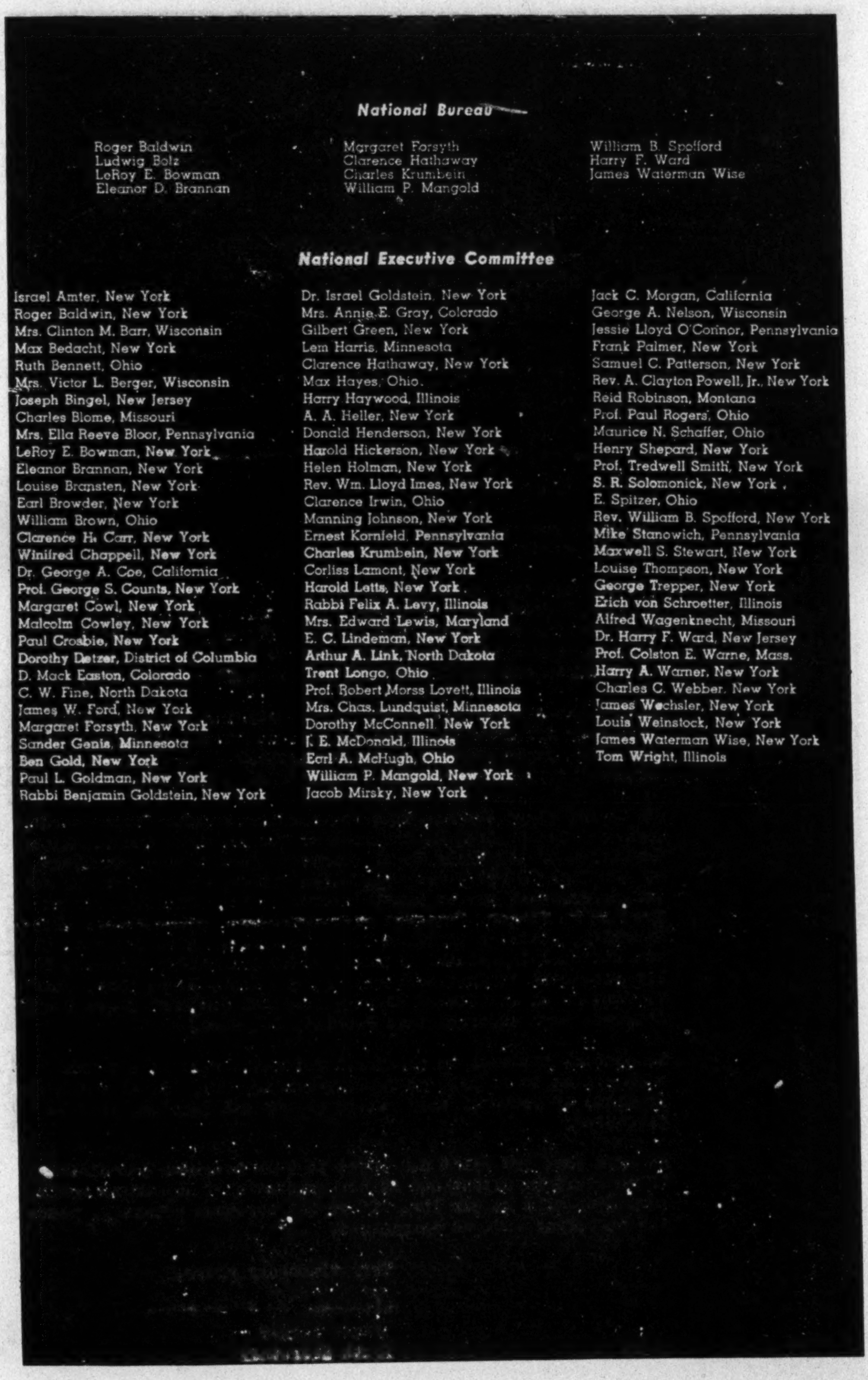
We urge that you elect delegates to this Congress immediately. If we stand in silent awe at the spectacle of impending world war, doom will be our lot. If we act together promptly, peace and democracy will be maintained.

Very sincerely yours,

James Lerner

James Lerner
Youth Secretary

JL:NT



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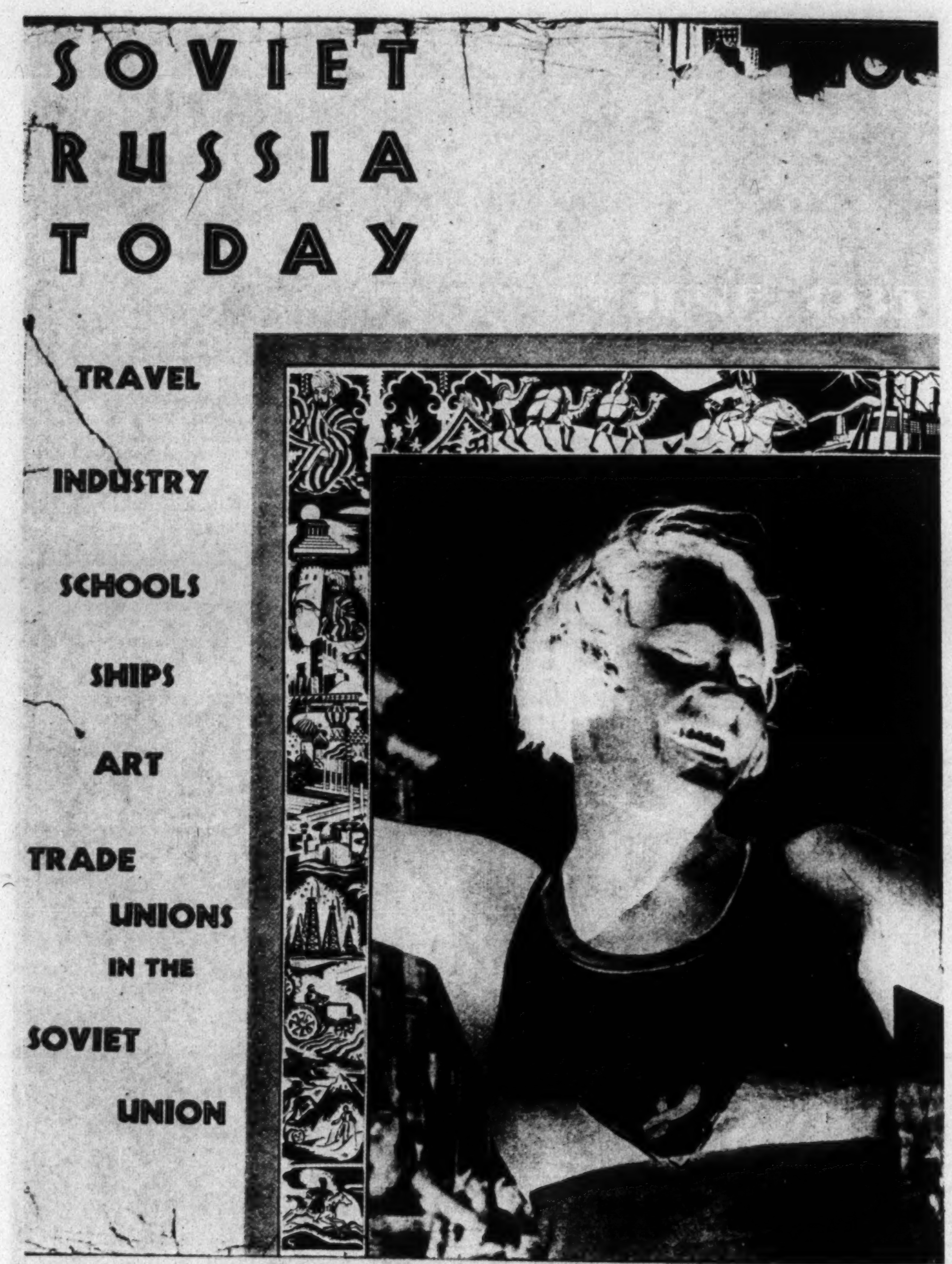

SOVIET
RUSSIA
TODAY

TRAVEL

INDUSTRY

SCHOOLS

SHIPS

ART

TRADE
UNIONS
IN THE
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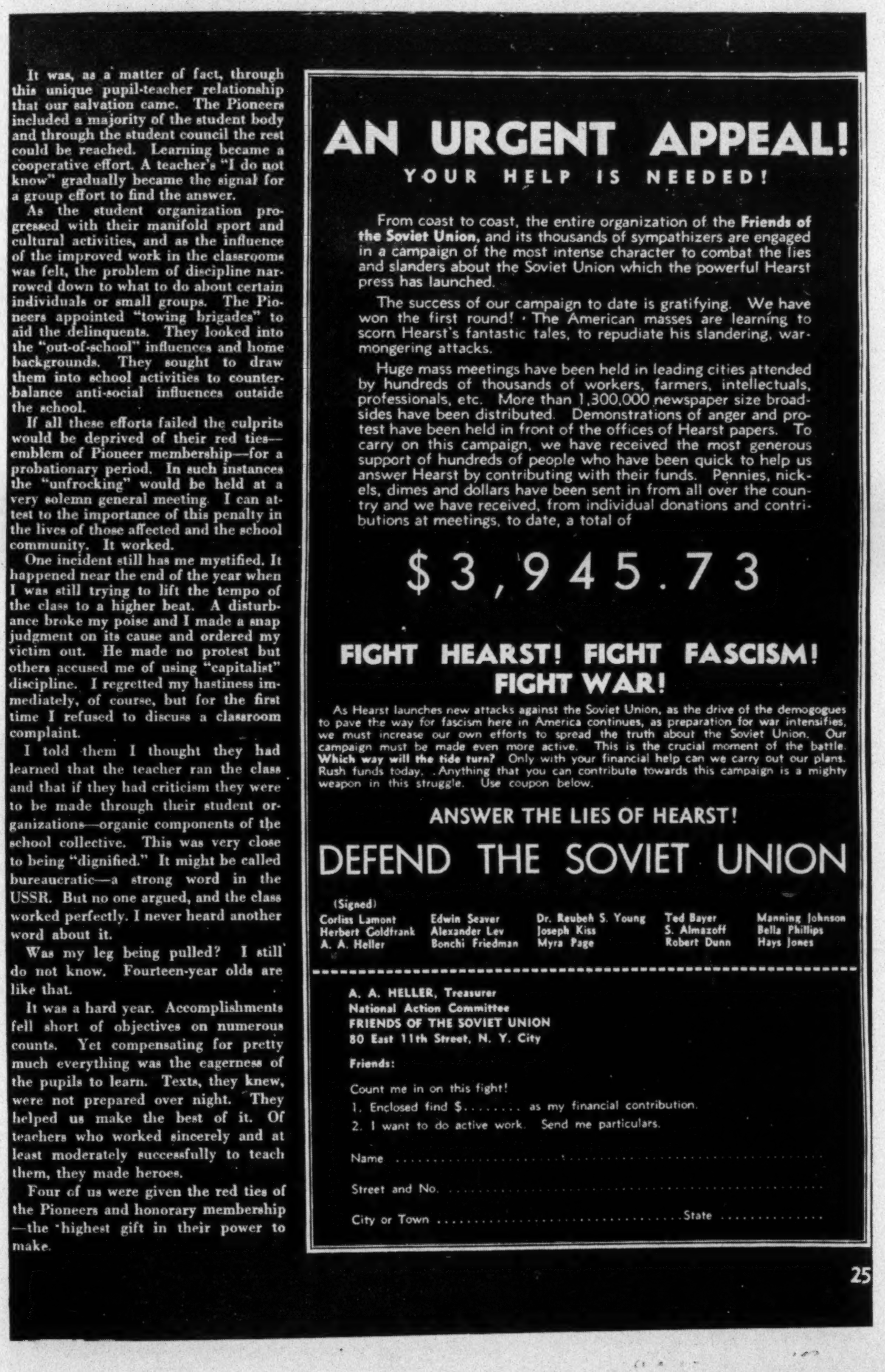

It was, as a matter of fact, through this unique pupil-teacher relationship that our salvation came. The Pioneers included a majority of the student body and through the student council the rest could be reached. Learning became a cooperative effort. A teacher's "I do not know" gradually became the signal for a group effort to find the answer.

As the student organization progressed with their manifold sport and cultural activities, and as the influence of the improved work in the classrooms was felt, the problem of discipline narrowed down to what to do about certain individuals or small groups. The Pioneers appointed "towing brigades" to aid the delinquents. They looked into the "out-of-school" influences and home backgrounds. They sought to draw them into school activities to counterbalance anti-social influences outside the school.

If all these efforts failed the culprits would be deprived of their red ties—emblem of Pioneer membership—for a probationary period. In such instances the "unfrocking" would be held at a very solemn general meeting. I can attest to the importance of this penalty in the lives of those affected and the school community. It worked.

One incident still has me mystified. It happened near the end of the year when I was still trying to lift the tempo of the class to a higher beat. A disturbance broke my poise and I made a snap judgment on its cause and ordered my victim out. He made no protest but others accused me of using "capitalist" discipline. I regretted my hastiness immediately, of course, but for the first time I refused to discuss a classroom complaint.

I told them I thought they had learned that the teacher ran the class and that if they had criticism they were to be made through their student organizations—organic components of the school collective. This was very close to being "dignified." It might be called bureaucratic—a strong word in the USSR. But no one argued, and the class worked perfectly. I never heard another word about it.

Was my leg being pulled? I still do not know. Fourteen-year olds are like that.

It was a hard year. Accomplishments fell short of objectives on numerous counts. Yet compensating for pretty much everything was the eagerness of the pupils to learn. Texts, they knew, were not prepared over night. They helped us make the best of it. Of teachers who worked sincerely and at least moderately successfully to teach them, they made heroes.

Four of us were given the red ties of the Pioneers and honorary membership—the highest gift in their power to make.

AN URGENT APPEAL!

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED!

From coast to coast, the entire organization of the **Friends of the Soviet Union,** and its thousands of sympathizers are engaged in a campaign of the most intense character to combat the lies and slanders about the Soviet Union which the powerful Hearst press has launched.

The success of our campaign to date is gratifying. We have won the first round! The American masses are learning to scorn Hearst's fantastic tales, to repudiate his slandering, war-mongering attacks.

Huge mass meetings have been held in leading cities attended by hundreds of thousands of workers, farmers, intellectuals, professionals, etc. More than 1,300,000 newspaper size broadsides have been distributed. Demonstrations of anger and protest have been held in front of the offices of Hearst papers. To carry on this campaign, we have received the most generous support of hundreds of people who have been quick to help us answer Hearst by contributing with their funds. Pennies, nickels, dimes and dollars have been sent in from all over the country and we have received, from individual donations and contributions at meetings, to date, a total of

$3,945.73

FIGHT HEARST! FIGHT FASCISM! FIGHT WAR!

As Hearst launches new attacks against the Soviet Union, as the drive of the demogogues to pave the way for fascism here in America continues, as preparation for war intensifies, we must increase our own efforts to spread the truth about the Soviet Union. Our campaign must be made even more active. This is the crucial moment of the battle. **Which way will the tide turn?** Only with your financial help can we carry out our plans. Rush funds today. Anything that you can contribute towards this campaign is a mighty weapon in this struggle. Use coupon below.

ANSWER THE LIES OF HEARST!

DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION

(Signed)

Corliss Lamont	**Edwin Seaver**	**Dr. Reubeh S. Young**	**Ted Bayer**	**Manning Johnson**
Herbert Goldfrank	**Alexander Lev**	**Joseph Kiss**	**S. Almazoff**	**Bella Phillips**
A. A. Heller	**Bonchi Friedman**	**Myra Page**	**Robert Dunn**	**Hays Jones**

A. A. HELLER, Treasurer
National Action Committee
FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION
80 East 11th Street, N. Y. City

Friends:

Count me in on this fight!

1. Enclosed find $........ as my financial contribution.
2. I want to do active work. Send me particulars.

Name ....

Street and No. ....

City or Town ....State ....

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE 1955 10/21

Sent to Paul

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February 28, 1955

Dear Friend:

In the enclosed article Frank Donner tells a disturbing story of the witch hunt at the local level. These local persecutions are multiplying. Unless they are stopped, they may well present a threat even more serious to American freedom than the witch hunt in Washington.

Since the enclosed article was written, 43 additional persons have been subpoenaed to appear before the current grand jury in Dade County, Florida, to answer questions about their political views. New pressures have been exerted upon individuals to force them to become informers. The victims of the Florida witch hunt need help more than ever. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is trying to help them defend themselves in the courts. They need your support and financial assistance.

With your help the Florida witch hunt may be stopped before sedition indictments are brought against the already harassed victims. If these can be stopped, American freedom will be the winner and all Americans will benefit.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman
Clark Foreman

cf:sl

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THE Nation
Reprinted from

January 22, 1955
20¢

Frank Donner

The Miami Formula

An Exposé of Grass-Roots McCarthyism

Miami

SINCE *The Nation* reported on the Red Hunt in Miami in its issue of August 7, 1954, events have converted this vacation land into a unique symbol of organized repression. County officials, the local press, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with some aid from the House Committee on Un-American Activities (the Velde committee), have produced what can be termed the "Miami formula" for making McCarthyism work at the grass roots.

More than a hundred persons have been subpoenaed to testify about their political beliefs and affiliations before the Dade County grand jury and in the office of George A. Brautigam, state attorney. Thirty-one who pleaded the privilege against self-incrimination have been convicted of contempt, thirty of them receiving jail sentences of one year. Established legal procedures were repeatedly and flagrantly violated; in one instance a judge issued orders from the bench based on events in a grand-jury room which had not yet taken place; in another, involving the disbarment of a local attorney for pleading the Fifth Amendment, the man who had instigated the action sat as judge in the proceedings. Citizens of the community who for years enjoyed excellent reputations have been smeared by the press, in some instances with catastrophic economic consequences to them and their families.

The target is not just the Communist. The current campaign originated in a grand-jury investigation in January, 1954, of the politics of a Miami Beach councilman active in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Witnesses have been questioned intensively about membership in such organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the F. D. R. Club, the American Veterans Committee, and the Progressive Party. One witness was asked about postcards mailed to Florida's Senators protesting the Walter-McCarran immigration act. It is noteworthy that the first peak of the campaign of repression was reached in the months immediately following the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision. According to the Miami *Herald* of August 29, 1954, a University of Miami research group reported to state Attorney Gen-

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FRANK J. DONNER is a New York lawyer who specializes in constitutional law and civil-liberties cases.

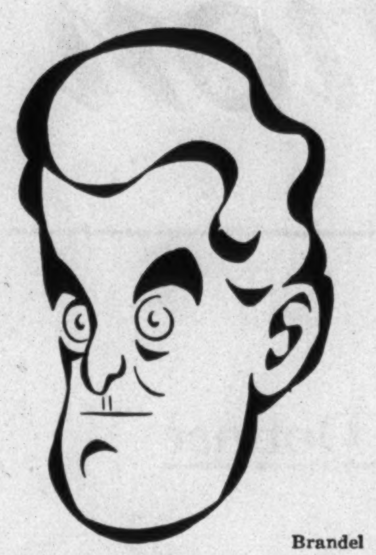
eral Richard Ervin that "competent officials have been reluctant to take initial steps [toward integration] for fear of being branded Communists." W. Hayden Hamilton, president of Florida States' Rights, Inc., has charged that Communists were behind the move for immediate enforcement of the desegregation decision.

An ugly thread of anti-Semitism also runs through the campaign. Twenty-nine of the thirty-one persons convicted of contempt were Jews, including five leaders of Jewish community groups. The Miami Jewish Cultural Center has been a repeated object of grand-jury investigations and on at least one occasion of a bomb threat. In recent weeks a number of new witnesses have been subpoenaed, all of them Jewish; included among them were the cantor of a synagogue whose spiritual leaders had been actively resisting the witch hunt.

I have referred to a "first" peak in the Miami story. A second is still to come. The Miami formula can be said to have evolved in two stages, the first of which ended recently when the Florida Supreme Court completed the reversal of all thirty-one contempt convictions. The reversals were based on United States Supreme Court precedents which clearly established the right of witnesses in political investigations to invoke the Fifth Amendment. But in closing one avenue of prosecution the Florida Supreme Court opened another by suggesting in its decision that state anti-subversion statutes make it an element of a crime to be a member of the Communist Party or of a "Communist-front" organization.

Snatching victory from defeat, State Attorney Brautigam immediately announced to the press that the court's decision was "just what we are looking for. Now we can go forward and seek indictments on mere membership in the Communist conspiracy." Early last week he declared that he would seek the first of the new indictments within a fortnight. The *Daily News* reported this development on January 12:

> "Up to a point," [Brautigam] said, "we are following somewhat the same order of procedure in the investigation as we did before the state supreme court decision. We question persons first in my office. If they invoke the Constitutional protection against self-incrimination, they then are subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury."



Representative Velde

> Those who continue to refuse to answer inquiries before the grand jury, he indicated, will be subject to indictment as members of the Communist Party conspiracy against the state of Florida. Anyone who has been involved in any way in a continuing conspiracy such as the Communist Party, the prosecutor explained, cannot quit merely by "ceasing active participation." "In the eyes of the law," Brautigam said, "once a Communist always a Communist—unless they can prove otherwise."

In short, Brautigam proposes to obtain indictments against those who plead the privilege and prove his case by evidence of mere past membership in a proscribed organization. As this is written, fifteen persons have already been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury on January 20, according to the *Daily New* report, which adds that Brautigam expects to include in the new series of indictments "many of the thirty-one Miamians" previously convicted of contempt and freed by the state Supreme Court.

The scene is now set for the second stage of the evolving Miami story, which for months was a sensation in the local press but never got out to the country at large. The story is worth detailed study as an example of how vigilantism can flourish behind a façade of legality and as a dangerous pattern for similar campaigns of repression elsewhere in the United States, under local auspices and away from the spotlight of Washington.

The Hirsch Case

THE case of Samuel Hirsch, a Miami theater man, gives the flavor of what has been happening here. Hirsch was indicted by Brautigam's grand jury on eight counts—each count carrying a penalty of twenty years' imprisonment—charging perjury in denying Communist Party membership and in denying certain activities on the University of North Carolina campus in 1946-48. The leading witness against Hirsch is Ralph V. Long, an F. B. I. informer now living in Durham, North Carolina. The Miami *Daily News* and its Red "expert," Damon Runyon, Jr., are promoting the affair as a "little Hiss case" and a "rewrite of the famed Hiss-Chambers drama." But it may be that the *Daily News* is gloating too soon. The man who is supposed to bring Hirsch to trial, Dade County Solicitor John Marsh, has as yet made no move to do so. "Florida law," explained Mr. Marsh publicly, "requires that we have at least two witnesses to substantiate a perjury charge. So far my office has found the grand jury's indictments of eight counts against Hirsch were based on testimony of one witness [Long] in some counts and none in others." Mr. Marsh also stated that in his view political investigations were frequently directed at "sincere liberals," adding wryly that he hoped he would not be called a Communist for so thinking.

The Velde committee held its Miami hearings from November 29 to December 1, after Hirsch had been indicted. Long's testimony was the chief feature of the session; it drew from Chairman Velde the comment that here was "one of the most outstanding witnesses ever to appear before this committee." In view of this praise Long's history is worth some study. At the time of his appearance in Miami his home-town newspaper, the Durham, North Carolina, *Morning Herald*, had this to say about him:

> Long has a police record extending from September 11, 1949, through November 3, 1954. He has been tried twenty times for public drunkenness and each time has either served time, paid a fine, or appealed the judgment to the Superior Court. Several of the appeals are now pending. In addition, Long has been tried twice for disorderly conduct and twice for assault and battery. A nol pross with leave was taken in the first case of disorderly conduct, while Long paid court costs in the second. The first case of assault and battery was nol prossed; no disposition was recorded in the second.

Long's twenty-first conviction for drunkenness came on November 4, less than a month before his appearance before the committee. Apparently his thirst overcame him again only a few days after he returned from Miami, for the records of the Recorder's Court in Durham, as printed in the *Morning Herald* of December 7, show that on December 6 he was again found guilty of drunkenness and sentenced to thirty days. It was his twenty-second conviction in five years (see photostat reproduced on this page).

The handling of Hirsch by the committee was on a par with the use of a confirmed drunkard as a leading witness. Although Hirsch faced a serious criminal trial, he was subpoenaed to testify on the very issues involved in the perjury case against him. Long was a surprise witness and Hirsch had no opportunity to cross-examine him and no protection against incompetent, hearsay, and opinion evidence which, smeared over the first pages of the Miami newspapers, poisoned public opinion against him in advance of his trial. The committee gave the screw a final twist by turning his testimony over to the Justice Department for possible federal perjury prosecution.

The Velde hearings did show one thing on the plus side—namely, that at least some informers may come to be without honor in their own country, even when their own country is Miami. This was the first investigation of subversion here without benefit of Paul Crouch, informer extraordinary, who is no longer used by the F. B. I. and whom Attorney General Brownell has promised to investigate.

The Press

THE heart of the Miami formula is the press, especially the Miami *Daily News*, which for six years has been systematically shocking the community with Red scares. In 1948 the newspaper "covered" a public meeting addressed by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist leader, by printing pictures of the audience and telling its readers that the center of subversion in the United States had shifted from California to Miami. In 1949 the newspaper repeated the tactic, this time in connection with a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. Then it called upon Paul Crouch for a series of articles which elaborated the thesis that Miami was the hub of an international Red network covering Latin America. Crouch's charges that Armand Scala, a Pan-American employee, was a Communist courier between the United States and Latin America resulted in a successful libel suit. But Scala's legal victory did nothing to lessen the fear and intimidation which by this time had engulfed a sizable portion of Miami's permanent community. Liberal organizations purged their memberships of "radical" suspects; liberals themselves retired from organizations which they thought might be vulnerable; many persons left the community altogether.

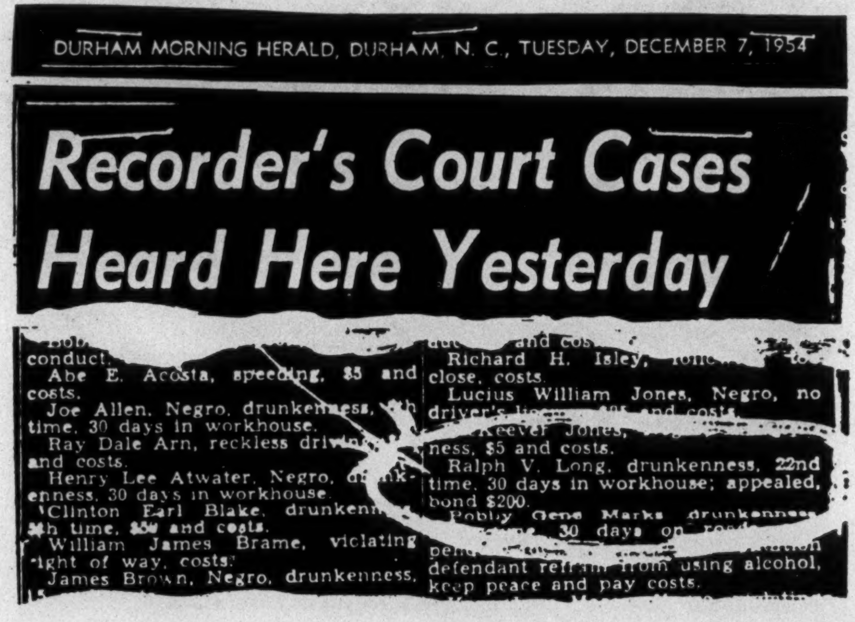
Then and since, the *Daily News* has exploited the familiar types of witch-hunt propaganda—the irresponsible listing of individuals prominent in liberal movements as Reds or subversives and the political horror story giving a hair-raising account of espionage and sabotage. Specialists in this field have been Crouch ("The Reds infiltrated Miami as a dispatch point for couriers to revolutionaries in Latin America"); Joseph Mazzei ("The Reds tried to take over the Opa-locka naval station as an invasion base for the Red Army"); and Al Spears, who seems to think the Reds have been trying to convert Opa-locka into a model Soviet village. There are other types—the public repentance story ("I was lonely and the Reds made a dupe out of me"); and the padded reports of former undercover F. B. I. agents ("Now my breathtaking adventures can be told").

The *Daily News* coupled these scare stories with constant urgings to readers to "repent" or "inform," preferably of course in the newspaper's own columns. Of a witness who had remained silent under interrogation Runyon remarked that had he agreed to testify he would have come to no more grief "than such talking ex-Communists as Whittaker Chambers, Louis Budenz, and Paul Crouch. He might've even wound up writing—with the aid of some itinerant rewrite man—the story of his Red life." The newspaper has been as adept with the carrot as with the stick.

In June, 1954, Runyon collaborated with Al Spears, who claims to have been an F. B. I. undercover agent, on a series of articles charging that at least three hundred card-holding Communists lived in the area and complaining that all of them still seemed able to earn a living. Actually about fifty alleged Reds were named, many of them on hearsay evidence. The series also smeared organizations which had never before been charged with subversion, among them the F. D. R. Club, a Miami Beach discussion forum, and the First Unitarian Church of Miami.

Far from being an abstract exercise in the art of smearing, the articles had highly practical results. Runyon had been claiming that witnesses before a previous grand jury had shown reluctance to inform. Now a new grand-jury investigation was started, and most of the individuals named in the *Daily News* articles were supoenaed for questioning. Under these conditions it is hardly surprising that the newspaper treated the investigation as its own private journalistic fief. We shall see later how Brautigam, conducting the proceedings, used the press for his purposes.

Runyon had a field day as the grand



DURHAM MORNING HERALD, DURHAM, N. C., TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1954

Recorder's Court Cases Heard Here Yesterday

[illegible] conduct.

Abe E. Acosta, speeding, $5 and costs.

Joe Allen, Negro, drunkenness, [illegible] time, 30 days in workhouse.

Ray Dale Arn, reckless driv[illegible] and costs.

Henry Lee Atwater, Negro, drunkenness, 30 days in workhouse.

Clinton Earl Blake, drunkenn[illegible] [illegible]h time, $[illegible] and costs.

William James Brame, violating right of way, costs.

James Brown, Negro, drunkenness,

[illegible] and cos[illegible]

Richard H. Isley, [illegible] to close, costs.

Lucius William Jones, Negro, no driver's li[illegible] and costs.

[illegible]Keever Jones, [illegible]ness, $5 and costs.

Ralph V. Long, drunkenness, 22nd time, 30 days in workhouse; appealed, bond $200.

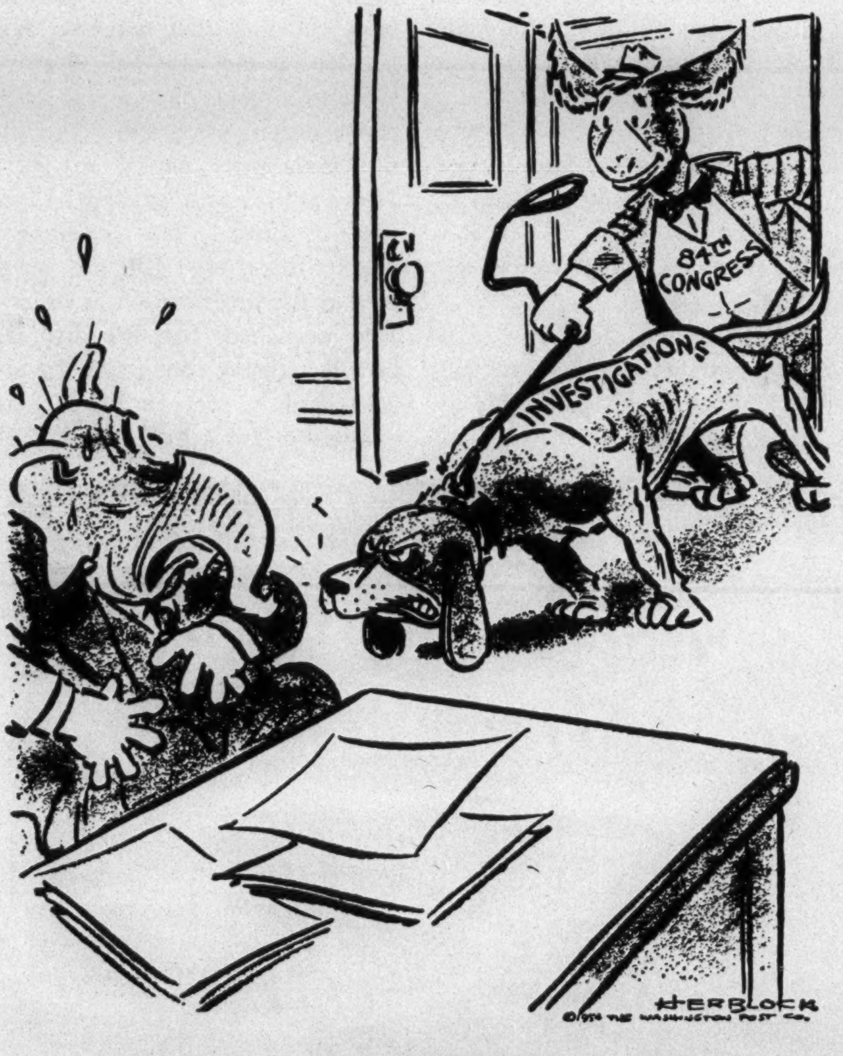
Bobby Gene Marks, drunkenness, [illegible] 30 days on [illegible] pen[illegible] defendant refrain from using alcohol, keep peace and pay costs.

Jury ground out subpoenas and contempt-actions. "The Communist Party in Miami," he wrote, "already has complete plans of the stockade [the new police lock-up] which were obtained in anticipation that all would be rounded up when Soviet Russia attacks the United States." In another article he wrote: "The Communist Party's method of preying on lonely people was described yesterday by a pretty German girl, a former atomic-bomb technician, who said she unwittingly fell into Communist hands." The story was illustrated with a photograph of the girl—in a scanty sun suit, of course—bearing the caption, "I was lonely . . ." The disbarment of the local attorney who pleaded the Fifth Amendment brought from Runyon the announcement: "The legal arm of the Communist Party [has been] smashed." When the disbarred lawyer moved away from Miami, the *Daily News* carried a huge front-page headline, "New Czar for Reds in Miami," but who the new "czar" was or where he came from the newspaper has never bothered to say, then or since.

Runyon's inventiveness was wide-ranging. "Reds' Safety in Jail Feared as Inmates 'Haze' Smolikoff," ran the headline over a story which reported that Charles Smolikoff, one of the men jailed for contempt, had been beaten by fellow-prisoners in an effort to make him sing patriotic songs "backward and forward." The *Daily News* ran the story for a full day after it had been denied by the sheriff.

Max Shlafrock, another of the contempt-charge victims, was pilloried by Runyon when an advertisement over Shlafrock's name appeared in the *Sunday Worker* congratulating the Communist newspaper on its thirtieth anniversary. The *Daily News* did print Shlafrock's denial that he had sent the advertisement. Subsequently the contractor established that he had been the victim of a frame-up; both the order for the advertisement and the check accompanying it had been forged; the check had been drawn on a bank in which Shlafrock had no account. But the exposure of the fraud did not save the victim, a contractor who had received official commendation from the Miami municipality for his building activities, from economic ruin. The buildings he had already put up were checked for sabotage!

The pattern of frame-up is widespread. Even letters sent to the editor of the *Daily News* have been used. In 1949 a letter received by the newspaper over the name of a young Miamian, Walter Marks, said: "I am a Communist and proud of it. . . . I defy you to have a representative of your filthy yellow, capitalistic, reactionary press interview me." Marks denied he ever sent the letter, a denial which in the circumstances can certainly be believed. Marks recalls that he received a large shipment of Communist literature while he was in the army during the war from someone who faked a sender's name and address. Similar entrapment maneuvers are in use in Miami today. Individuals named in the press in connection with the witch hunt often receive "dear comrade" letters which seek to involve them in fantastic conspiratorial adventures.



"For heaven's sake, use more restraint than I did!"

The State Attorney

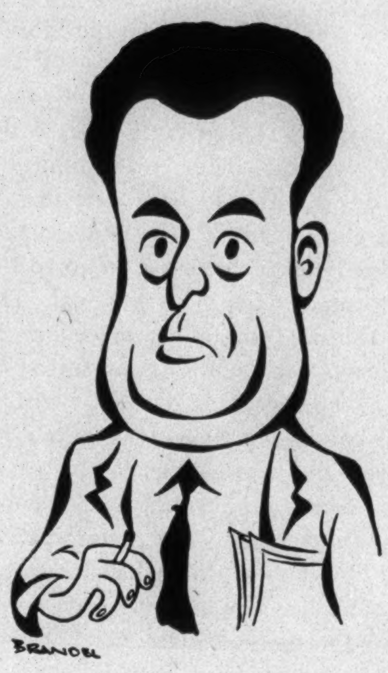
THE reversal of the convictions Brautigam obtained in the contempt cases is not the only blow he has suffered in the course of his career as state attorney. According to the Miami *Herald*, former Acting Governor Charley Jones, disturbed by the prevalence of gambling, prostitution, and other crimes in Dade County, threatened several times to suspend or transfer Brautigam. Each time Brautigam's supporters insisted that such action would impede the investigation into subversion. Finally in November, shortly before his term ended, the Acting Governor transferred Brautigam to Pensacola on the ground that a Dade County murder case was being mishandled. The State Attorney has only just returned from his "exile" and has told friends that he intends to get right back into his holy crusade against Reds.

Basic to the Miami formula is the use of government machinery for extralegal purposes. Brautigam, arguing for his contempt convictions, insisted that his witnesses had no right to plead the self-incriminating privilege because he was not investigating whether crimes had been committed but was merely inquiring about their affiliations and associations during a period antedating the statute of limitations. But this argument disregards the fact that a state attorney and a grand jury have power to inquire only into the commission of crimes and certainly have no power to exact disclosure of private matters unless they are relevant to that purpose. In using the threat of a contempt indictment to force confessions of political heresy rather than as a means of removing obstructions to the discovery of crime, Brautigam has extended the frontiers of the witch hunt. There is an obvious parallel between these tactics and the ones used by Congressional committees which, without legislative purpose, seek to jail witnesses for contempt because they refuse to "expose" themselves or become informers.

On another occasion Brautigam sought to justify his line of questioning by declaring that he was only trying to find out whether Communists had been receiving any pension or welfare benefits in violation of law. None of the witnesses called were shown to have received any such benefits.

While in "exile" in Pensacola, Brautigam was reported in the Pensacola press to have made a speech in which he boasted that he was in charge of a secret organization of fifty Dade County attorneys who reported regularly to his office on what was happening throughout the county on the "subversion" front. He referred to the group as a "little F. B. I." At the same time he announced plans to interrogate five Dade County lawyers who, he hinted, had instructed witnesses on how to evade the law. From Miami he sent out chain letters to prominent McCarthyites throughout the country boasting of the effective results he had been achieving in his own bailiwick.

Starting from a premise which the state Supreme Court has since declared to be false, Braufigam handled the witnesses with a remarkable disregard for both common decency and common legal practice. It was not unusual for subpoenas to be served in the dead of night or before dawn. In one case a subpoena was served upon a sick woman whose husband had already been indicted and jailed. When a doctor certified that her illness prevented her from answering the subpoena, he was himself subpoenaed. The woman's sickroom was then broken into by another server, and this time she was forced to answer, was cited for contempt, and jailed despite her illness. The woman's father, suffering from a heart condition, was likewise subpoenaed and was excused only after his physician had courageously warned Brautigam's office that response would be fatal. In another case a subpoena was served on a woman in a maternity ward who had given birth to a child only a few days before; the server declared that he had been given permission by the woman's physician to make service. A woman of eighty, deaf and partially blind, was subpoenaed. In one instance the parents of adopted children were threatened that unless they cooperated their children would be taken from them.


George A. Brautigam

Once subpoenaed, witnesses were "tried" and found guilty by the press before they ever reached the grand-jury room. Frequently Fred Jones, Brautigam's chief investigator, invited TV camera men to "shoot" witnesses waiting in the anteroom, at the same time turning "dossiers" on them over to newsmen. Samuel Hirsch's appearance in the courthouse was turned into a journalistic circus. He was called, excused, and then recalled in an atmosphere of fanfare. While he was waiting to be recalled, newspapers headlining lurid charges about him were distributed in the courthouse. Members of the grand jury were seen reading the newspapers during a recess only an hour before Hirsch appeared before them. One of the appellant's briefs charges that Brautigam insisted on being present during the deliberations and final vote on many of the cases. Florida law specifically provides that "no person shall be present while the grand jurors are deliberating or voting."

Once while Brautigam was waiting to argue before County Judge Holt that a group of witnesses should be cited for contempt, the witness read in the *Daily News* that they had already been cited. Pressed for an explanation, Brautigam said: "Don't believe everything you read in the papers." But the *Daily News* story turned out to be excellent prophecy. On another occasion the same newspaper had two witnesses convicted five days before they were tried!

The Courts

ON September 22, 1954, Judge Holt signed orders requiring seventeen witnesses to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt as the result of their refusal to answer questions before the grand jury. "Show cause" orders of this kind are not unusual; normally they are issued in response to a petition by the state attorney upon vote of the grand jury. But in this instance none of the witnesses had as yet appeared before the grand jury; they were not subpoenaed to testify, as a matter of fact, until September 23, twenty-four hours after the show-cause orders against them were issued. Thus the orders signed by Judge Holt recited facts which had not yet taken place. Moreover, mimeographed opinions, identical in text, stating Judge Holt's reasons for convicting the seventeen witnesses were filed in advance of the hearings on the contempt citations.

Judge Holt and Brautigam gave varying explanations of the incredible affair, so reminiscent of the *lettres de cachet* of the French Revolution. The Judge blamed the whole thing on a "clerical error." But Brautigam, according to the Miami *Herald,* explained the matter to the Florida Supreme Court somewhat differently. The *Herald* said:

> The state attorney [Brautigam] conceded Judge Holt had signed the show-cause order in advance. . . . He said this was done as a convenience to the state attorney and the order was to be served only if [the witness] did not answer ques-

tions for the grand jury. . . . Justice Elwyn Thomas commented that Judge Holt apparently had delegated his authority to issue court orders to Brautigam, and Justice E. Harris Drew said it appeared Judge Holt had acted judicially before the matter was before him. Retired Justice Rivers Buford, sitting for an absent justice, said, "As far as I'm concerned, it's out the window."

When the Reverend Joseph Barth, pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Miami, and his secretary, Mrs. Helen F. Williams, filed an affidavit asking Judge Holt to disqualify himself from hearing the cases because of his handling of the "show-cause" orders, the Judge promptly ordered them to show cause why they should not be held in contempt. The affair was finally settled without Mr. Barth or his secretary having to pay a fine or go to jail.

The show-cause incident is the most dramatic but by no means the only example of irregularity in the judicial handling of the contempt cases. A note of persecution is perceptible throughout. Normally, for instance, bail applications in Florida are summary proceedings; in these cases, however, most of the witnesses indicted suffered substantial periods of incarceration before they were ultimately released. Mike Shantzek spent more than five weeks in jail; Charles Smolikoff a month. In most cases the bail was raised from an initial $2,500 to $5,000.

Judge Holt, presiding at the contempt trials, affirmed Brautigam's thesis that the witnesses were not entitled to plead the Fifth Amendment because they were being questioned concerning matters antedating the statute of limitations. His opinion ignored the applicable decisions of the United States Supreme Court; indeed, he insisted that it was the "American way" that "each case must be decided on its own basis." Yet he inadvertently destroyed the basis of his own argument by admitting from the bench that the witnesses had substantial reason to fear self-incrimination if they answered questions. "I don't care what the [Florida] Supreme Court does," he declared in the hearing of defense counsel, "these people will be indicted for criminal communism."

The Judge twisted the screws on the witnesses at every opportunity. Smolikoff, for instance, was given his one-year sentence for contempt by Judge Holt on July 6. On July 17 the Florida Supreme Court ordered Smolikoff released from custody under a writ of habeas corpus. Judge Holt reheard the matter two days later, reaffirming his previous denial of bail despite the higher court's ruling. The Judge stated that Smolikoff would have to go to the state Supreme Court to get bail. The court followed a similar procedure in every case. Each witness was forced to apply to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus, involving extra expenses and fees, and was compelled to remain in the county jail pending its issuance. The ultimate unanimous determination by the Florida high court that the thirty-one appellants should never have been convicted in the first place merely serves to emphasize the harsh prejudgment involved in the denial of bail.

Although there are nine circuit judges, Judge Holt, as presiding judge, reserved all the contempt cases for his own consideration. At his insistence cases were held up while he spent a vacation in Spain and were presented to him upon his return. During the trials he attacked the defendants from the bench, permitted proceedings in his chambers to be televised, and found nothing improper in accepting a "patriotism" award for his handling of the cases even while some were yet to be tried and others were on appeal. Nor did he consider the fact that appeals were pending in one group of cases a reason for staying punishment in the others.

Three years ago Miami passed an ordinance requiring registration of all Communists or "followers of the party line" who remained in the city for more than forty hours. The ordinance also required that meetings of Communists be licensed and that all Communist literature be published in a daily newspaper before it could appear under its own imprimatur. This extreme ordinance was enjoined by Judge Holt himself as unconstitutional. Nevertheless, when the latest witch hunt started, the Judge dissolved his own earlier injunction.

The disbarment of the Miami attorney for pleading the privilege against self-incrimination—probably the first case of its kind in the country—is another example of Dade County justice. Circuit Court Judge Vincent C. Giblin both instigated the complaint and presided at the trial. Yet this was not the only surprising feature of the case. Before he attained his present judicial eminence Judge Giblin was a lawyer for notorious gamblers, including Al Capone, and on one occasion was himself convicted of contempt, invoked the Fifth Amendment in his own defense, and was given a ninety-day sentence. But this did not stop him from saying, in his oral decision disbarring the Miami attorney:

> I concede the witness's right, as it is the right of any witness, to refuse to testify under oath in response to a question when his answer may tend to incriminate him. He has that constitutional right, but he does not have the constitutional right to practice law, and the American legal profession demands and should demand that no lawyer invoke the Fifth Amendment in refusing to discuss frankly and openly his activities, so that we judges and lawyers of the profession may determine whether he is or is not loyal to the Constitution of the United States.

His subsequent written opinion turned out, in large measure, to be a paean of hate against "intellectuals" who, according to Judge Giblin,

> . . . give the greatest aid and comfort to the enemy. These pigmies on stilts who parade as giants are sometimes found in our institutions of higher learning; and waving their master's degrees they pose as the defenders of personal liberties and the promoters of international good-will. But they only think they think.

Runyon hailed the disbarment as setting the stage for a local purge of the legal profession. Brautigam liked the decision so much that he wrote a laudatory foreword to it, reprinted the whole in pamphlet form, and sent out hundreds of copies—this in a case in which Brautigam was himself the prosecutor and in which the appeal had not been exhausted.

Some sections of the press and public did not permit the decision to go unchallenged, and the Judge struck back sharply. As a trustee of the University of Miami he denounced faculty critics as "snakes tempting students with Marxian apples." He charged that the editorial staff of the Miami *Herald* was infiltrated with Reds. And with the appeal still pending, he has been energetically defending his action in speeches before patriotic groups.

Not the least important cog in the Miami machine is the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Brautigam has no investigative staff other than Fred Jones, yet

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

subpoenas were served upon persons who were strangers in Miami and who, when questioned, found that information had been gathered about their activities and associations in their home states in the distant past. The relationship between the F. B. I., the grand jury, the press, and Brautigam remains unknown except to those directly involved. All the evidence indicates that it was close. Otherwise, how could it happen, for instance, that two witnesses in a recent New York perjury trial were newly recruited informers who had been turned over to the F. B. I. by Brautigam's office?

The Formula at Work

BY NOW it must be clear that a well-organized junta in Miami is cultivating the myth of subversive witchcraft practiced by large numbers of doom-bearing Reds. To the junta's operations the *Daily News* contributes the very considerable power of its headlines, capable of destroying the witches economically; the State Attorney and Judge Holt contribute the power to jail those who will not confess; and the F. B. I. contributes its witches' dossiers. Each partner has much to gain. The F. B. I. recruits reformed witches ready to identify their unregenerate sisters; the county officials can count on sensational press notices to further their political advancement; the *Daily News* is paid in headlines, circulation, and the opportunity to play Warwick to Brautigam. Already the State Attorney has been named Dade County Democrat of the Year. The runner-up? Dan Mahoney, publisher of the *Daily News*.

The Miami formula is basically a local product. A host of citizens' organizations have sprung up in support of Brautigam's objectives. The most recent is the Subversive Activities Commission, dedicated to forcing legal action against those exposed as Reds, to pressing for anti-subversive legislation, and to collecting information on subversive activities. The commission's directorate interlocks in many places with that of the Constitutional Club, a group with similar objectives organized by Charles Allen Gould, a close associate of Brautigam. Offshoots of the Constitution Club are the Breakfast Club and the Freedom Club.

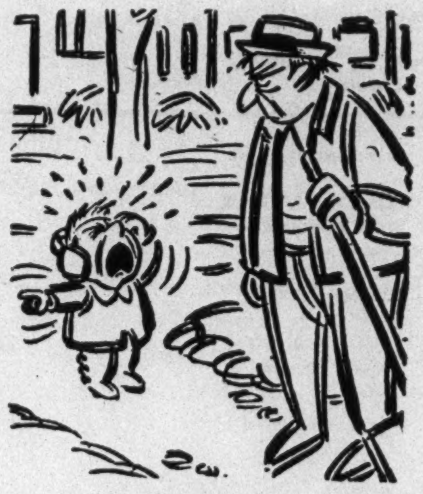
The Velde committee was a transitory phenomenon in Miami, and not all of its activities were helpful to the local crusaders. The fact is that Chairman Velde, not normally addicted to moderate views on the problem of subversion, admitted after his hearings here that "the situation is not as bad in Florida as in other parts of the country." Despite several visits to this city the committee has yet to recommend a single prosecution for perjury. All this has irked the local crusaders: Runyon condemned the committee's performance as inept and noted that few of sixty "friendly" witnesses which Brautigam has at his disposal cooperated with Velde.

The engineers of the Miami formula have the support of a vociferous minority in this febrile tourist city, where the gangster, the crackpot, and fanatics of all sorts flourish amid the amused tolerance of the vacation-minded. Where but here could racketeers make a good thing out of a fraudulent appeal for funds to finance a probe into juvenile subversion? Yet despite the fear it has spread over this city's relatively small permanent community, it would be wrong to think that the Miami formula has not met with resistance, some of it heroic. Judges, newspaper columnists, clergymen, and other community leaders have spoken out. One of the most significant signs of the strength of the resistance is the recent election to the state legislature of John B. Orr, a forthright and courageous liberal lawyer who won in the face of skilled exploitation of the Red issue by his opposition.

There have been reports that a Senate judiciary subcommittee of the new Congress may launch an investigation of the denials of civil rights which have occurred in the course of probes into alleged subversion. The dangerous character of the Miami formula should give it a high priority in such a probe. Already it is having an effect beyond the border of Dade County. The state administration, thoroughly aware of the political benefits to be derived from a Red hunt, has entered its own St. George in the anti-subversion lists—the twenty-nine-year-old Ellis Rubin, who has complained that Brautigam has done no more than rework Crouch's territory. And Brautigam's chain letters, boasting of his successes in Miami, may yet find echoes in other communities.

So far as Miami is concerned, a responsible investigative committee could well begin its work by finding the answers to the following questions: (1) Who instigated the current Miami witch hunt? (2) Is there any relationship between the witch hunt and the growth in Florida of the Christian Anti-Jewish Party, which has as its chief slogans "Free America from the Jews" and "Defend the White Race"? (3) Is there any relationship between the drive to nullify the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and the witch hunt which intensified shortly after that decision? What is the relationship between the witch hunt and the newly formed Miami anti-desegregation groups? (4) Are Florida grand juries being manipulated by reactionary forces in the community for the purpose of attacking important federally protected rights of expression and association? Why were witnesses before the grand jury questioned so intensively about their activities in such organizations as the A. V. C., the F. D. R. Club, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the N. A. A. C. P.? (5) Who financed Crouch's trip from Hawaii to Miami to testify in the disbarment case, in which he never took the stand? Who paid for the printing and circulation by Brautigam of Judge Giblin's opinion in this case? Have private funds been used to subsidize the evident invasion of the constitutional rights of Miami citizens by the state attorney's office?

In the meantime the Miami Chamber of Commerce ought to concern itself with the possibility that with all its sunshine Miami's repressive climate may ultimately repel freedom-loving vacationers.



Courtesy Des Moines *Register*

"They called you an intellectual, Pa."

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I enclose $________ as a contribution for the defense of the Constitutional rights of the Miami victims.

Name______________________________

Address____________________________

City____________Zone____State______

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS FREEDOM NEWSPAPER 1950-54 10/22

February 22, 1952

Dear Rosa,

Here are the 4 tickets you requested. Sorry to be a little in late in getting them to you. Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Margaret McCaden
Festival Director

Encl.

Rosa Graham
1354 Washington Ave.
Bronx —

4 tickets
Please mail

February 22, 1952

Dear Miss Copperman,

Enclosed are five (5) tickets as requested by you.

Sincerely,

Margaret McCaden
Festival Director

Encl.

MARGARET 2/20/52

ANN COPPERMAN
1005 E. 4th St.
BKLYN, 30, N. Y.

PLEASE SEND FIVE TICKETS TO THE ABOVE PERSON

Gentlemen:- 7/11/52

As a subscriber to
your wonderful paper,
I would appreciate
two tickets to the
Freedom Rally or the
Golden Gate for Freedom

Hoping you will
take care of this request
& thanking you in advance

Sincerely Yours
Herman Katzen
509 W. 155th St
New York 32

February 22, 1952

Mr. Herman Katzen
509 W. 155th St.
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Katzen:

As per your request of Feb. 11th, we are enclosing two tickets to the Cultural Festival taking place on Feb. 29th. Upon paying admission of $1.20 each at the door, you may fill out two subscriptions to FREEDOM.

Sincerely,

Margaret McCaden
Festival Director

Encl.

February 22, 1952

Dear Miss Vanken:

Enclosed are the 25 tickets you requested of me some time ago. I am sorry they were not sent to you sooner, however, I hope you will be able to sell them.

Sincerely,

Margaret McCaden
Festival Director

BELLE S. VANKIN
INTERIORS
125 WEST 16th STREET
NEW YORK 11, N.Y.
OREGON 5-9549

NEW YORK, N.Y.
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630PM
1952

REVALUED
2¢
P. O. DEPT.

SAVE THE WAY
BUY U. ON
PAYRO S

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

53

Freedom
52 W 125 St
New York 27
Miss M McCaden

February 22, 1952

Dear Miss Vanken:

Enclosed are the 25 tickets you requested of me some time ago. I am sorry they were not sent to you sooner, however, I hope you will be able to sell them.

Sincerely,

Margaret McCaden
Festival Director

Also: - Sussy Gimbel
- Belle Vanken

1/19/52

My dear Miss McCaden,

Yours of the 18th to hand and feel deeply about the paper but am unable to attend any meetings. However, I shall only be too glad to act as one of the sponsors and you may send me 25 tickets which I shall be able to dispose of.

Sincerely

Belle S. Vanken

532 Hancock St
Brooklyn 33. N.Y.
Feb 26, 1952

Freedom Associates,

Thank you for the tickets which I am very sorry to return, but I now find it impossible to attend.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

B. Yavoren

~~Please withhold~~

February 22, 1952

Mrs. B. Davoren

532 Hancock St.

Brooklyn 33, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Davoren:

We are in receipt of your note of Feb. 12th and $2. covering one year's subscription to FREEDOM and a contribution of $1. Your subscription has been entered.

As you requested, I am sending you two tickets to be paid for at the door. Upon paying the price of $1.20 each two subscriptions may be entered.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret McCaden

Festival Director

Encl.

Mrs Magrnot

entered

Mrs. ~~B. Davoren~~
~~532 Hancock St~~
Brooklyn 33. N.Y.
Feb 12, 1952

Freedom Associates,

Enclosed is two dollars for a subscription to be sent to the above, and one in support of the program of Freedom Associates. May I please have Two tickets to the Golden Gate, on Feb. 29, 1952.

Thank you.

B. Davoren
532 HANCOCK ST.
BKLYN, 33, N.Y.

2/13/

52nd & B'way

February 22, 1952

Mrs. B. Davorem
532 Hancock St.
Brooklyn 33, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Davoren:

We are in receipt of your note of Feb. 12th and $2. covering one year's subscription to FREEDOM and a contribution of $1. Your subscription has been entered.

As you requested, I am sending you two tickets to be paid for at the door. Upon paying the price of $1.20 each two subscriptions may be entered.

Sincerely yours,

Margeret McCaden
Festival Director

Encl.

Margaret

Dear Edith:

Enclosed check for $38.20. This is $37.20 for tickets sold Saturday night at the vets' dance -- 31 tickets in all. Also $1 donation received since I last wrote you.

The vets kept tickets no. 3576 to 3585 both inclusive. I am holding the rest for a day until I can see George and see what he wants me to do. There may be other places I can get rid of them where he wants me to go. Otherwise I'll bring them back.

In recording these in my records, I am lumping the 31 as new subs, since I don't actually know how the holders will fill out the back. However, from conversation, I gather most of them are actually new subs. In recording the tickets for Nov. 1 festival, I kept track of which were subs, renewals, or donations -- and almost lost my mind doing it. This is simpler and comes to the same thing financially.

Elizabeth

1.20
31
120
360
37.20

85
76
9

(Receipt #3)

$... enclosed toward the $12,000 Summer Deficit Fund

Here's $1 to renew my sub for another year.

Please mail this TODAY in enclosed envelope.

115 EAST MAPLE ST.

1-52
JOHN ROGERS
~~613 W BRADDOCK RD~~
ALEXANDRIA VA

OVER

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES 53 West 125th St. New York 27, N. Y.

Note that Charles White and
I both have drawings in the
Metropolitan Museum show and
congratulate him on winning a
prize! Will he trade one of his
sketches for one of mine? please
ask him. Best wishes
JCR/.

December 13, 1950

Billy Rowe
Pittsburgh Courier
New York Office
2091 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Billy:

I picked up your column of week before last and want you to know how pleased I was to see your kind references. I hope to see you very soon and chat about a lot of things.

Will stay in there slugging and columns like yours will help a lot. Have you seen the newspaper FREEDOM? If not, I will see that you get one.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

PR:er

File

National Organizing Conference for a
LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE
799 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
ORegon 3-5509

February 9, 1951

Dear Louis:

Here are a few copies of the Robeson pamphlet which just came off the press. We are initially distributing 20,000 through our organization. Could you run some kind of a notice of its publication in FREEDOM?

Let me know how you like the pamphlet.

Fraternally,

Aaron Weissman

Aaron Weissman
Managing Editor, CHALLENGE

enc.
dpowa/65

February 15, 1951

Mr. Louis Weinstock
Painters Inter-Local Joint Defense Committee
206 West 23rd Street
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Louis:

I regret deeply my inability to join with you and the membership of Locals 848 and 905 at your Fifteenth Anniversary Dinner at the Oases Dining Room on Saturday, February 24.

I want you to say to the membership that this is by no means a rejection of their kind expression of affection for me, and that I regard this as an invitation which I intend to make good on in the near future. I am on tour at present in the interest of building FREEDOM, a people's newspaper dedicated to the full liberation of the Negro people. We cannot build it without the rank and file of labor. This means the rank and file of painters. That is why they must know that I have a commitment to sit down with them to talk about their problems, to talk about the building of the paper, to learn from them the ways and means of making FREEDOM known and loved by the membership of the union. At the end of this month I shall be resting for a few dyas and then we shall be able to get together and work out a schedule within which I can keep my promise to the membership.

With best wishes for a happy celebration. Yours for peace.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

pr:er

February 21, 1951

Mr. Louis Weinstock
Painters Inter-Local Joint Defense Committee
206 West 23rd Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Louis:

I regret deeply my inability to join with you and the membership of Locals 848 and 905 at your Fifteenth Anniversary Dinner at the Oases Dining Room on Saturday, February 24. I am in Chicago that week-end.

I want you to say to the membership that I am deeply grateful for the invitation and hope we can get together in the near future. I am on tour at present in the interest of building FREEDOM, a people's newspaper dedicated to the full liberation of the Negro people. We cannot built it without the rank and file of labor. This means the rank and file of painters. That is why they must know that I have a commitment to sit down with them to talk about their problems, to talk about the building of the paper, to learn from them the ways and means of making FREEDOM known and loved by the membership of the union. At the end of this month I shall be resting for a few days and then we shall be able to get together and work out a schedule within which I can keep my promise to the membership.

With best wishes for a happy celebration.

Yours for peace,

Paul Robeson

PR:er

Droit et Liberté
CONTRE LE RACISME ET L'ANTISÉMITISME, POUR LA PAIX

HEBDOMADAIRE DU M. R. A. P.
(Mouvement contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et pour la Paix)
Rédaction-Administration :
6, Boulevard Poissonnière - PARIS-IX•
Tél. : PRO. 15.01 et la suite
C.C.P. Paris 6070-98
R.C. Seine 318749 B

PRESIDENT D'HONNEUR :
MARC CHAGALL

COMITE D'HONNEUR :
MM.
D'ARBOUSIER, vice-président de l'Assemblée de l'Union Française
Maurice de BARRAL, Grand Officier de la Légion d'Honneur
Albert BAYET, professeur au Collège de France
Jean-Jacques BERNARD, homme de lettres
Emile BURE, journaliste
Aimé CESAIRE, député
Robert CHAMBEIRON, député
Raymond CHARPENTIER
le **Docteur Jean DALSACE**
Louis Daquin, metteur en scène
le **Professeur DESOILLE**
Mme **Marthe DUPUY**, conseiller juridique
Yves FARGE, ancien ministre
Edmond FLEG, homme de lettres
le **Professeur HADAMAR**, membre de l'Institut
Georges HUISMAN, Conseiller d'Etat
le **Grand Rabbin KAPLAN**
Joseph KESSEL, homme de lettres
Alain LE LEAP, secrétaire général de la C.G.T.
Jean de LORME, fondateur du Comité Franco-Malgache
Louis MARIN, ancien ministre, député
Jean MINJOZ, ancien ministre, député
Jean PAINLEVE, homme de sciences
Pierre PARAF, homme de lettres
le **Professeur Marcel PRENANT**
Mme **Françoise ROSAY**, artiste dramatique
Armand SALACROU, auteur dramatique
Marc SANGNIER, député, président d'honneur du M.R.P.
le **Professeur VERMEIL**

TRANSFÉRÉ:
10, Rue de Châteaudun - PARIS-9e
Tél TRUd. 00-87

Paris, le 18 Mai 1951. 19

M. Paul ROBESON
Freedom Associates
NEW-YORK
U.S.A.

Cher Ami,

Nous avons pu nous procurer, mais avec difficulté, un numéro de FREEDOM.

Votre journal est d'une grande importance pour nous, dans la lutte contre le Racisme que nous menons.

Serait-il possible d'en avoir un service régulier depuis le premier numéro ? En échange, nous vous ferions un abonnement à DROIT ET LIBERTE, qui est l'organe du Mouvement contre le Racisme, l'Antisémitisme et pour la Paix.

Nous vous adressons par le même courrier quelques uns de nos plus récents numéros.

Nous avons l'intention de publier votre article paru dans le N°4 de FREEDOM. Pourriez-vous nous faire parvenir également quelques unes des photos qui illustrent la page 5 ?

Avec nos remerciements, recevez, cher Ami, nos salutations fraternelles.

Le Rédacteur en Chef

A. Lévy

A. LEVY

NUMBER
3

SHARES
1

INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Freedom Associates, Inc.

50 SHARES - NO PAR VALUE

This Certifies that George B. Murphy Jr. is the owner of One Shares of the Capital Stock of **FREEDOM ASSOCIATES, INC.** FULL PAID AND NON-ASSESSABLE transferable only on the books of the Corporation by the holder hereof in person or by duly authorized Attorney upon surrender of this Certificate properly endorsed.

In Witness Whereof, the said Corporation has caused this Certificate to be signed by its duly authorized officers, and to be sealed with the Seal of the Corporation this 8th day of December A.D. 1952

George B Murphy Jr
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Louis S. Burnham
PRESIDENT

CERTIFICATE

ISSUED TO

George B. Murphy Jr.

FOR

One

SHARES

OF THE

CAPITAL STOCK

OF

DATED

For Value Received, ________ hereby sell, assign and transfer unto ________

Shares of the Capital Stock represented by the within Certificate, and do hereby irrevocably constitute and appoint ________ Attorney to transfer the said Stock on the books of the within named Corporation with full power of substitution in the premises.

Dated ________ 19__

In presence of

____

NOTICE. THE SIGNATURE OF THIS ASSIGNMENT MUST CORRESPOND WITH THE NAME AS WRITTEN UPON THE FACE OF THE CERTIFICATE, IN EVERY PARTICULAR WITHOUT ALTERATION OR ENLARGEMENT OR ANY CHANGE WHATEVER.

CELESTIAL BAPTIST CHURCH

1070 PROSPECT AVENUE
BRONX 58, N. Y.
REV. ROBERT L. WILSON, Pastor
EMORY OXFORD, Deacon

TRUSTEE BOARD:
Albert Johnson
Ann Wallace
Eddie Wilson
Pearl Taylor

PASTOR'S RESIDENCE
1070 STEBBINS AVENUE
BRONX 59, N. Y.
DAyton 9-3674

Febuary I2, I952

Mr. Robeson and Freedom Staff
53 W. I25th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson;

My entire family and I acknowledge with grateful appreciation, the kind expression of sympathy extended us by you and your staff of freedom in the passing of our little daughter, Patience Elizabeth Wilson.

We know that you have done many, many things for the advancement of colored children and colored people every where. We are happy to be included in your freedom family. We feel it a God send to us. We want to be workers and doers for the cause.

Thanking you and your staff of Freedom again.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. and Mrs. R. L. Wilson
and family

Freedom Associates

53 West 125th Street ● New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

I should like to talk with you about FREEDOM, a copy of which is enclosed.

Here is a paper dedicated to your needs and to the interests of American democracy and world peace. FREEDOM is the voice of the oppressed and abused, pointing the direction to full liberation now. Its chief columnist is the renowned Paul Robeson.

Please read this issue carefully. We are confident you will want to become a member of our growing family of readers. We are on our way to 50,000 subscribers which will enable us to appear twice a month.

We invite you to join our "Freedom train" by filling out the enclosed subscription blank, attaching a dollar and mailing it to our Circulation Department at the above address.

For FREEDOM'S Sake,

Louis E. Burnham

Louis E. Burnham
Editor

264

139 xxx xxxxxxxxxxxxx

Monument [illegible]6-8700

April 2,1954

Mrs.Marian Forsythe
8544 Tinicum Ave.
Philadelphia,Pa.

Dear Marian,

Just a note, in case Paul has not called you, to say that John Gray's mother is ill so he had to go to Chicago. I shall be coming down to Philadelphia with Paul and his accompanist,Allan Booth on Saturday.

We will arrive at 4:45 p.m. and go directly to Lenerte Roberts' home,1213 N.58th St.,phone- Greenwood-3-1214.

Paul is scheduled to rest until concert time. On Sunday he is to go to Wesley A.M.E.Zion Church as the guest of Mrs. Alleyne(15th and Lombard).

This is the bare outline of his schedule. Since he is scheduled to see you and spend some time with you, my suggestion is that you contact him at Lenerte's sometime before concert time, and make your plans with him.

All the best to you and the family,

Sincerely,

George B.Murphy Jr.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY - 11th A. D. CLUB
61 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

February 23, 1952

Dear Member:

I want to tell you about HARLEM'S BIG STAR NITE that's being presented by the newspaper FREEDOM in celebration of Negro History Month and starring many outstanding Negro Artists headed by Paul Robeson. This CULTURAL FESTIVAL is taking place FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 29th at the GOLDEN GATE BALLROOM at 8 O'CLOCK SHARP!

Due to the recent bombing of Harry T. Moore and his wife in Florida, of the brutal slaying of Samuel Shepard, it is important that we as Negroes unite, regardless of political and religious beliefs, and get the knowledge of these genocidal practices against our people.

We, the 11th A. D. wholeheartedly endorse your attendance at this Negro History Festival presented by Paul Robeson's newspaper, FREEDOM.

"KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL SET YOU FREE".

Fraternally yours,

Frances Smith

Frances Smith, Chairman - 11th A.D.

Encl.

BOSTON

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM Committee

Jack Lee, Chairman - 32 Crawford Street, Roxbury 21, Mass.

Erma Brown, Secretary (Youth leader - YPA - national committeewoman PP)

Roy M. Atus, Treasurer - 14 Dilworth Street, Boston (Sec'y, Local 10, Padkinghouse Workers Union, leader Boston Labor Council for Negro Rights).

Barbara Corbin, Correspondent - 11 Harold Place, Boston

MEMBERS

Laselle Watts, Club Emancipation YPA

Jack Weinman, JPFO

Bill Harrison, Boston Chronicle

Phil Koritz, CRC

Daniel Schirmer, CP

Edna Johnson, LYL

George Markham, IFLWU

Jimmy Mitchell

Reginald Tubbs

Mary Anne Johnson

Owen Brooks

Walter O'Brien

Arthur Jones

This group met with Lou Burnham and formally set up the committee. Each person pledged, individually & through organizational connections, to get subs during January & February. The total number of subs pledged was 985. They also set a goal of 2000 subs for the state of Massachussetts.

############ ######

FREEDOM

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FIRST YEAR OF PUBLICATION

Good Wishes

Presents

Paul Robeson

A Cultural Festival

In Celebration of

NEGRO HISTORY MONTH

◆

GOLDEN GATE BALLROOM, 142nd St. & Lenox Ave.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1952 — 8 P.M.

COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED SPONSORS

Mr. Ted Allen
Mr. Robert Kenneth Anderson
Mr. B. J. Bolden
Miss C. Bonnett
Mrs. Vernell Breedlove
Mr. Joseph Bullard
Miss June Bullard
Mrs. Lillie Byrd
Miss Gloria Cason
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Mrs. Odessa Dean
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Mrs. Florine Donaldson
Miss Edna Douglas
Mr. Timothy Dunn
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Mrs. Nina Evans
Mr. Jake Frances
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Mrs. Josephine Hayward
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Mrs. Barbara Lockhard
Mr. Alan Mason
Miss Mildred McAdory
Miss Vilena Miller
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Miss Victorine Mobley
Mr. Rudolph Molina
Mr. Charles Morris
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Miss Daisy Lee Nickels
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W. Patterson
Mrs. Wileatha Patterson
Miss Edith Peterson
Miss Wilhelmina Plummer
Miss Ethel Riley
Mrs. Dora Roe
Mr. Francis Rogers
Miss Nadine Ross
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Mr. Larney Rutledge
Mr. Frank S. Scott
Mr. Ralph Simmons
Mr. Horace M. Small
Mr. Charles Smith
Miss Frances Smith
Rev. Mother Lena Stokes
Miss Jean Taylor
Mr. Ozzie Urgent
Mrs. Georgia Walker
Miss Viola Walker
Mr. Thomas West
Miss Alma Williams
Mr. Haywood Williams
Miss Hazel Wilson
Mr. James Woolfalk
Mrs. Wilhelmina Yates

Sojourners for Truth and Justice

PROGRAM

Featuring: **PAUL ROBESON**

At the Piano: **LAWRENCE BROWN**

— CAST —

Actors and Actresses

ALICE CHILDRESS
DOTS JOHNSON
BILL MARSHALL
SIDNEY POITIER
BEULAH RICHARDSON
PAUL ROBESON
ELLSWORTH WRIGHT

Dancers

SHAWNEEQUA BAKER
DONALD McKAYLE
HARLEM DANCE AND THEATRE WORKSHOP

Singers

HARRY BELAFONTE
NADYNE BREWER
HOPE FOYE
MARGUERITE MAIR
MARGARET McCADEN
CHARLES RILEY
PAUL ROBESON
OSBORNE SMITH
UNITED FELLOWSHIP CHORUS

Script .... ALICE CHILDRESS

Directed by .... ELLSWORTH WRIGHT

Music Director .... EVERETT THOMAS

Reference Material and Excerpts from:

The Holy Bible
Paul Laurence Dunbar's "The Colored Soldier"
Herbert Aptheker's "Documentary History of the Negro People"
Lucy Ariel Williams' "Northboun' "
Langston Hughes' "Let America Be America Again"
Philip Foner's "The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass"
Franklin Frazier's "The Negro Family"
Elizabeth Lawson's "Thaddeus Stevens"
"A Call to Negro Women"—issued by Sojourners for Truth and Justice

A New Voice—FREEDOM

"Our People feel themselves sorely aggrieved under the existing state of things." So wrote John Russworm and Samuel Cornish, editors of "Freedom's Journal", the first Negro newspaper in the United States, published in 1827.

Believing that "the calumnies of our enemies should be refuted by forcible arguments", these pioneers set out to provide a "channel of communication between us and the public", and announced that "anything that relates to Africa shall find ready admission to our columns."

That was 125 years ago.

TODAY, the Negro people remain "sorely aggrieved." A pall of repression hangs over the country and pollutes our national life. In this atmosphere all efforts at real liberation are met with the most ruthless attacks of our enemies, and either the distortion or silence of the commercial press.

A hell worse than slavery faces us unless the present drive toward atomic war and fascist dictatorship is halted in its tracks. The need of the hour is for courageous hearts, clear heads and united action.

FREEDOM is born to help that need.

Freedom

Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!

PAUL ROBESON'S PAPER

Brings you an up-to-date, lively view and interpretation of the changing world. A regular column by Paul Robeson . . . news of Africa and the colonial world . . . major trends in Negro life . . . developments in the battle for equality and the world struggle for peace . . . "Conversations from Life" by Alice Childress . . . humor in "Sam Sage Says" . . . and vivid cartooning by Ollie Harrington.

READ IT EVERY MONTH — *Subscribe Today!*

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES
55 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y. (ENright 9-3980)

Please find enclosed one dollar ($1.00) for one annual subscription to

FREEDOM

Also enclosed find $.............. in support of the program of Freedom Associates.

NAME (print) ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY.. ZONE......... STATE.......................

Copy

Morris Bogdanow
Attorney at Law
901-2 Scanlan Building
Houston 2, Texas
Capitol 9608

May 1st 1954

Paul Robeson, Chairman,
Freedom Associates, Inc.,
139 W. 125th Street,
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Paul: -

Greetings on May Day 1954. Enclosed is my check for $5.00 as a contribution for your paper for the good work that you are doing on behalf of all the American people. The guest editorial on the St. Louis case is tremendous.

I just finiashed reading it to a friend of mine here in the office and he asked me to send him a subscription and is enclosing his check for $1 to cover same.

Hope this finds you in the best of health.
Keep up the good work.

Fraternally,

signed Morris

P.S. the sub is for Charles Ginsburg
5411 Leopold
Houston 21, Texas

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES, INC.
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

February 20, 1954

Dear FREEDOM Reader,

I am a housewife, working woman, and devoted reader of FREEDOM.

When my FREEDOM arrives I turn to Alice Childress's column, "A Conversation From Life", first.

What about you?

Maybe the hard-hitting editorial page attracts you first ... maybe you start with the militant opinions of Paul Robeson on Page one and go right through to the end of the paper.

Whatever your starting point, I know that you feel as I do, that FREEDOM is an indispensable instrument in the fight for peace and for the freedom of the Negro people.

That is why a group of us - deeply concerned about the paper's financial condition, put our heads together to find a way to help solve FREEDOM's knottiest problem ... a regular, stable monthly income that will guarantee that:

- the printing bills are paid so that the paper is published regularly,
- the second-class postage bill is met so that you get the paper on time,
- the basic office expenses are covered to reduce production and sub problems to a minimum.

We've come up with a sure-fire solution. With your help, it can't miss.

We are enrolling as Sustainers for FREEDOM and have pledged to contribute regularly each month to help our paper. In addition to this each of us is writing 100 FREEDOM READERS to become sustainers. That is why I am writing to you.

Details of the sustainer plan are enclosed. Just sign the enclosed pledge card, and put your cash or money order or check in the return address envelope, and send it off today.

Yours for Peace and Freedom,

(Mrs.) Joan Sandler
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Enclosure

Freedom Associates

53 West 125th Street ● New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

I should like to talk with you about FREEDOM, a copy of which is enclosed.

Here is a paper dedicated to your needs and to the interests of American democracy and world peace. FREEDOM is the voice of the oppressed and abused, pointing the direction to full liberation now. Its chief columnist is the renowned Paul Robeson.

Please read this issue carefully. We are confident you will want to become a member of our growing family of readers. We are on our way to 50,000 subscribers which will enable us to appear twice a month.

We invite you to join our "Freedom train" by filling out the enclosed subscription blank, attaching a dollar and mailing it to our Circulation Department at the above address.

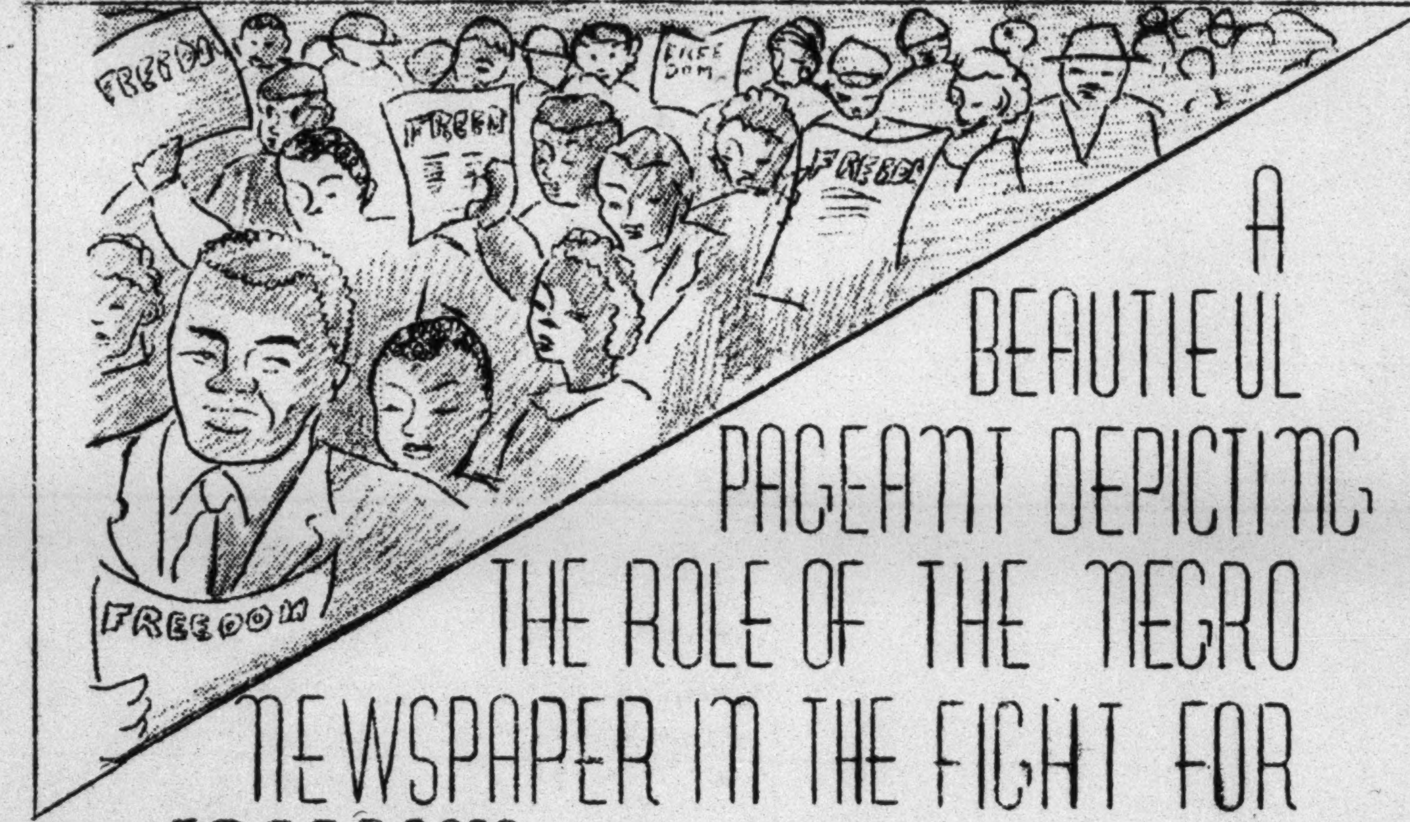
For FREEDOM'S Sake,

Louis E. Burnham

Louis E. Burnham
Editor

264

FREEDOM FESTIVAL


FREEDOM
FREE DOM
FREEDOM
FREEDOM
FREEDOM

A BEAUTIFUL PAGEANT DEPICTING THE ROLE OF THE NEGRO NEWSPAPER IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

THURS.
~~SUNDAY~~, NOV. 1 8 P.M.

ROCKLAND PALACE

155th Street & Eighth Avenue

PAUL ROBESON

AND MANY OTHER ARTISTS

Presented by FREEDOM ASSOCIATES
53 West 125th St., NYC - EN 9-3980

ADMISSION: One year subscription to FREEDOM $1.00
plus .20
$1.20 Total

tu/555

ADMIT ONE Nº 7010

In Celebration of The Historic Struggles of Negro Newspapers in America

FREEDOM presents

PAUL ROBESON

and other artists in a

Freedom Festival

at Rockland Palace, 155th Street and Eighth Ave.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 8 P.M.

ADMISSION:	One year subscription to FREEDOM	$1.00
	plus	.20
	Total	$1.20

(Fill out subscription blank on reverse side)

Please enter my subscription to FREEDOM for 1 year

New Subscription ( ) Renewal ( )

Name ....

(please print)

Address ....

(please print)

City .... Zone .... State ....

It is understood that payment of this subscription ($1.00) plus 20c entitles me to admission to the FREEDOM FESTIVAL at Rockland Palace, November 1, 1951

YES, I want to send greetings to FREEDOM on its Second Anniversary!

Enclosed is ☐ $1 for a single line listing.
☐ $5 for a box listing.
☐ $10 for a message listing (Message is on the reverse side)

☐ I am also including $1 to renew my subscription.

☐ List my name and city
☐ Please list me as a FRIEND

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES
53 West 125 St., New York

Jeanne Kilpatrick
2220 Madison

Mr. Marion Livingston
325 W 138 ST

W r L Mayor will ~~come~~ 24
2049-5 a 3/24/53

David Scott
1974 Madison Ave

Irving Leverett
2032 Madison Ave.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE 1954 10/23

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

January 11, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Associates, Inc.
53 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Paul:

Greetings for the New Year -- and, incidentally, for the start of the Jefferson School's Second Decade.

Our Tenth Annual Dinner will be held at Hotel McAlpin on Friday evening, March 5. As always, we begin our plans with an invitation to you to participate. By now, we and our guests consider your participation a "natural" and essential part of these affairs.

We hope we can count on you again this year. Please let us know promptly. Details can be worked out later.

Cordially,

Doxey

Doxey A. Wilkerson
Director of Faculty and Curriculum

DW:yw

264

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

February 2, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o FREEDOM Associates
139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Paul:

I know you will be interested in this presentation of the work of Blind Tom and Ira Aldridge. It is one of the fruits of the work of Mildred Stock, who spoke to you about the Aldridge project some months ago.

Cordially yours,

Doxey

Doxey Wilkerson

DW:MS
enc.

246

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

February 23, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Associates
139 West 125 Street
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

Somehow whenever I think of an annual dinner of the Jefferson School, I think of you. It would really be hard to imagine one without you after all these years.

This one must really be something special, both because of its being our Tenth Anniversary and because of the attacks we are undergoing.

We will talk to your secretary this week about further details but just wanted you to know we are counting for you for a talk and to sing if at all agreeable. You will follow Harry Sacher and proceed the collection speaker. Rose Russell, Frank Serri and one person yet unknown will also participate.

We are all looking forward to your being with us March 5th.

Most Cordially,

Howard Selsam

HS/de
Howard Selsam

9:15 P.M. Selsam will ck piano

Discuss with Doxey

264

January 27, 1954

Dear Paul:

We are having to suspend our classes for one week in an emergency campaign for enough students to continue functioning. See the enclosed announcement issued to the press today.

It would be helpful if we could get a brief statement from you on the crisis faced by the Jefferson School and what the labor-progressive movement should do about it. We hope you will send us such a statement by return mail, for use in our publicity around this campaign.

Sincerely yours,

Doxey

Doxey A. Wilkerson
Director of Faculty and Curriculum

DW:yw

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

Feb. 25, 1954

Dear Mr. Gray:

Enclosed is an accurate copy from the most authentic source. The word is "deprecate" and as there were several other minor differences I am enclosing the whole text of these 2 paragraphs.

We are in agreement on what you and I discussed this morning. We will pay $100 for Mr. Robeson's appearance plus $50 for the accompanyist, making a total of $150. We will also see to the quality of the piano, either through Alan Booth himself or someone else who can check the instrument.

In discussing the time we would like you and Mr. Robeson to arrive with my colleagues we thought it advisable to suggest 9:00 when we are sure the program will begin. His participation should be over by 10:00 but we would be most happy to have him and you stay on;-- and come for the dinner itself if you see fit.

It was a pleasure to meet you and I am sure there will be occasions in the future.

Cordially,

Howard Selsam

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THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL *of Social Science*
575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 9-1600

DR. HOWARD SELSAM, Director
DAVID GOLDWAY, Executive Secretary

March 9, 1954

Dear Paul:

Just a word to tell you of our appreciation of your appearance at our dinner last Friday. Both your selections and your remarks were perfectly chosen and people are still talking about them. Comments come to me from every source about your songs but especially the Beethoven. They loved it and will never forget it. And your speech-- it was not only the high spot of the evening but as one person put it, it was superb even by Robeson standards.

Our warmest thanks and heartiest good wishes!

Faithfully yours,

Howard Selsam

WHY WE ARE SUSPENDING CLASSES FOR ONE WEEK

(A Statement by Officers of the Jefferson
School of Social Science, January 27, 1954)

All classes at the Jefferson School of Social Science will be suspended next week in order to facilitate emergency measures designed to keep the institution open. As officers of this ten-year-old School for working people, we feel obligated to issue this public statement so former students and other friends may know just what the situation is — and what must be done about it NOW!

Our enrollment for the winter term now under way, following months of hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board, is 1,052. Our winter term enrollment one year ago, before Attorney General Brownell began proceedings against the Jefferson School under the McCarran Act, was 3,100.

This decline is a direct outcome of McCarthyite attacks against the School by the Eisenhower Administration. The resultant crisis is aggravated by our having to defend the School's constitutional right to exist before the S.A.C.B. in Washington.

As things now stand the Jefferson School cannot continue to operate. The one thing that will enable us to continue with our winter term courses is an additional 1,000 or more students.

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE, ALL WINTER TERM CLASSES ARE BEING SUSPENDED FOR THE WEEK OF FEBRUARY 1 THROUGH FEBRUARY 6. STUDENTS, TEACHERS AND STAFF ARE TO DEVOTE ALL THEIR TIME TO THE EMERGENCY CAMPAIGN FOR AT LEAST 1,000 MORE STUDENTS.

The School office at 575 Sixth Avenue will remain open from 10:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M. during the week, and to 2:00 P.M. on Saturday — to enroll students for winter term courses, and to supply catalogs for use in the drive for more students.

Classes will be resumed the week of February 8; and the length of the term will be extended to enable new enrollees to get the full course of study.

The labor-progressive movement needs the Jefferson School. This is the only educational institution where working people can obtain the clarity they need in their struggles for peace, democracy and economic security. We call upon our many thousands of former students and other friends to rally to assure the School's continued operation. We urge them to enroll for courses, themselves, and to bring along their fellow-workers and friends.

McCarthyism has hurt the Jefferson School badly; but we will not let it close our School down. We will get the 1,000 additional students immediately needed to continue with the winter term; and on that basis we will fight through to an even larger enrollment in the spring.

(Signed)

Howard Selsam, Director

David Goldway, Executive Secretary

Alexander Trachtenberg, Treasurer

Doxey A. Wilkerson, Director of Faculty
and Curriculum

tu/555

release . . . JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

575 AVENUE of the AMERICAS
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
WAtkins 9-1600
HOWARD SELSAM, Director

2-1-54
Copy
Thanks!
Dave

ROBESON URGES "DEFEND THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL"

"All who cherish peace and freedom in our land should rally now to build and defend the Jefferson School," declared Paul Robeson in a statement issued here yesterday.

Commenting on the Jefferson School's one-week suspension of classes in order to campaign for 1,000 additional students "necessary to keep operating", Robeson said: "This drive MUST succeed. We have learned through the years to be mighty proud of the Jefferson School. We have seen the clarity it brings to the American people translated into hard-fighting practice — in struggles for peace, for trade union unity, for Negro rights, for intellectual freedom; and never before has the work of this School been more needed than in these fateful days of 1954."

Meanwhile, officials of the Jefferson School of Social Science announced that 187 new enrollments have come in since it launched the emergency drive for more students several days ago.

"This leaves us 761 to go to reach our absolute minimum goal of 2,000," the announcement said. "We are confident that our many former students and friends will see to it that we get the added students we need by the time classes begin again next week."

The Jefferson School office at 575 Sixth Avenue is open all this week, from 10:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M., and on Saturday to 2:00 P.M., for the purpose of receiving new enrollments. The term will be extended so students entering classes next week will get the full course of study.

###

In celebration of NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

The Jefferson School Proudly Presents the Untold Story of Two Great Negro Artists

BLIND TOM

Negro Slave Composer whose magnificent music will be played by

ALAN BOOTH

Blind Tom, Thomas Wiggins Greene Bethune, extraordinary musical genius, was born a slave in Georgia, totally blind. When General Bethune purchased his mother, the infant Thomas was "thrown in."

His marked musical talent was noticeable before he was two years old. When less than five, he began composing from the sounds of nature. He gave his first concert when he was eight.

General Bethune amassed a fortune by presenting this brilliant artist in concerts thoughout Europe.

"Blind Tom's originality and marvelous musical gifts. . . . made him unique; probably the most amazing musical prodigy that has ever been known."

E.B. Abbott
"ETUDE", Aug.1940

IRA ALDRIDGE

Great Shakesperean Actor...
The Story of this great artist will be told by

ABNER BERRY

Ira Aldridge, famous Negro tragedian, was born in N.Y.C. in 1805. Very little is known about the story of this magnificant actor. Denied the American stage because he was a Negro, Aldridge became renowned throughout Europe as one of the greatest Shakesperean actors of all time.

He was famous for his Othello, Macbeth, Lear, etc. Crowded houses thoughout Europe greeted this great Negro artist.

Sunday Evening
Feb. 7 8:30pm
Jefferson School Auditorium

Fee 1.00

Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Ave. of the Americas, N.Y.C.
tu-555

A reservation has been made for

Mr. Paul Robeson

at a

DINNER

given by the

JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

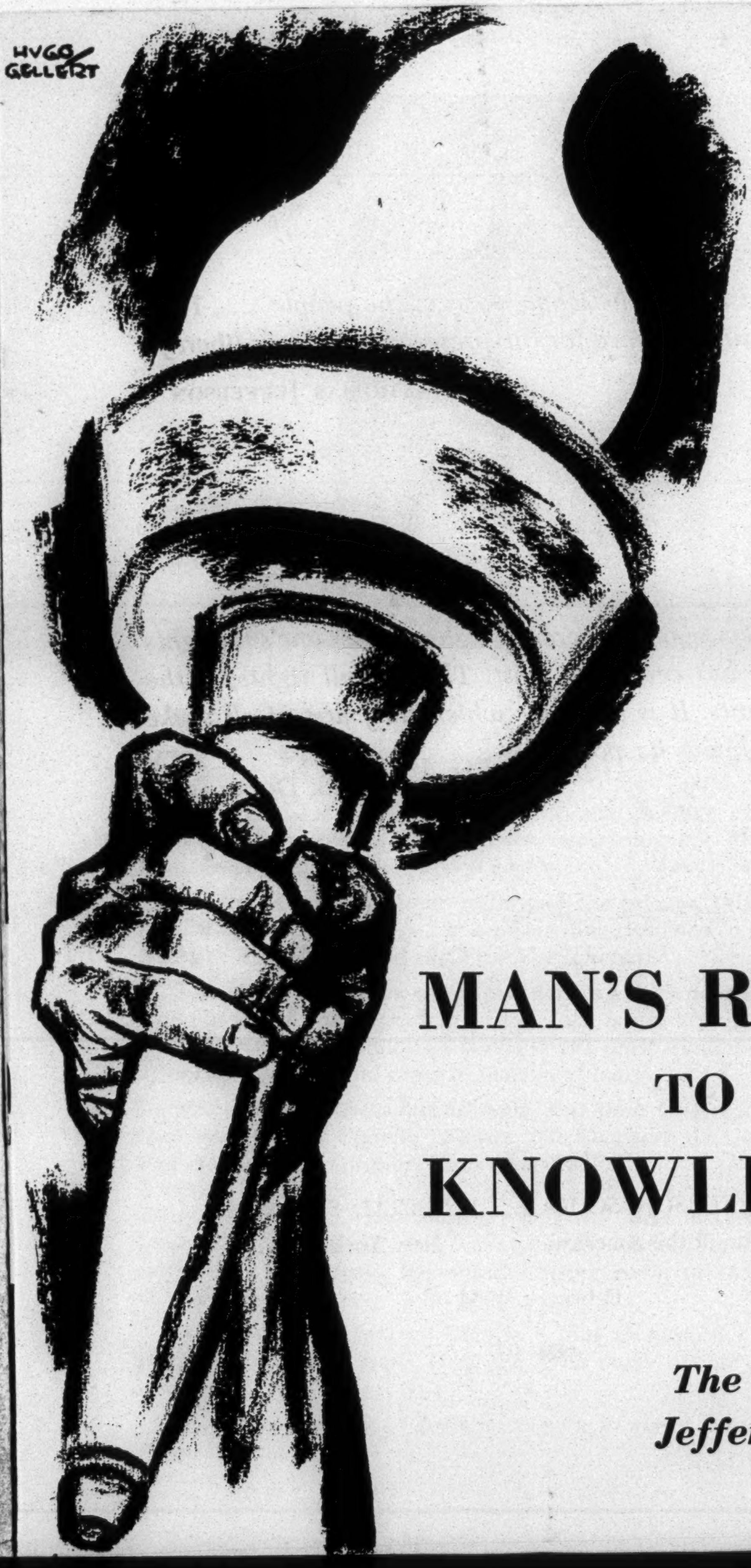
Friday, March 5, 1954, at 7:00 p.m.

at the

HOTEL McALPIN

Broadway and 34th Street

412


HUGO GELLERT

MAN'S RIGHT
TO
KNOWLEDGE

The Case of the Jefferson School

"Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. . . . They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

"Liberty is meaningless where the right to utter one's thoughts and opinions has ceased to exist. That, of all rights, is the dread of tyrants. It is the right which they first of all strike down. They know its power."

—FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Issued by

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
575 Avenue of the Americas New York 11, N. Y.

February, 1954

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At the beginning *of this year, the U.S. government issued 110 million three-cent postage stamps bearing Columbia University's 200th anniversary slogan, "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof."*

While these stamps were rolling off the presses, this same government was cynically engaged in a proceeding designed to destroy "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof."

The proceeding referred to is a trial, an extraordinarily strange trial—one in which the defendant in the dock is not a person, but a principle. The principle involved is one of the most fundamental doctrines of our democracy—the right to teach and learn.

Not much publicity has attended this trial. One reads occasionally that stool-pigeon Budenz "Names 200 Teachers As Communists," or that stool-pigeon Lautner "Tells How FDR Directed Communist Party Through Mysterious Mr. X," or that "Actor's Daughter Claims She Was Red For FBI." But these are only the lurid incidentals. The real issues being fought out have been carefully muffled by the sound-proof walls of a luxuriously appointed hearing room in the heart of our nation's capital.

What are those issues? How is it that so basic a question as the right to think *is on trial? How did it all come about? What will the result be?*

These are matters of deepest concern to every democratic-minded American.

HERBERT BROWNELL

VS.

THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL

FIRST, let us present the *dramatis personae.*

THE "DEFENDANT" is the Jefferson School of Social Science, represented by its director, Dr. Howard Selsam, and its attorney, Harry Sacher.

THE "PROSECUTOR" is the Attorney General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, Jr., represented by Assistant District Attorneys Adrian Fink, Jr. and Ralph Edsell, Jr.

THE "JUDGE" is the Subversive Activities Control Board, represented by its Chairman, Thomas J. Herbert.

These people, plus the government witnesses (all either one-time Communists turned informer or FBI spies), have for a number of weeks been enacting an intense drama fraught with deep significance for our country's Constitutional liberties.

The background of the drama is as follows:

On April 20, 1953, Attorney General Brownell petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to have the Jefferson School register as a "Communist front organization" under the provisions of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950.

The officers of the School promptly and vigorously demanded that the petition of the Attorney General be rejected by the Board.

On November 25, hearings were opened to determine whether the School should be ordered to register. When the hearings conclude, the trial examiner will submit his recommendation to the full Subversive Activities Control Board, which then may render the verdict that is "built into" the law and issue the registration order. Such an order would be challenged in the courts.

"Registration" under the infamous McCarran Law means that the victim, like the Jew of the Middle Ages or Nazi Germany, must label himself. The registering organization must affirm that it is a "front" of the Communist Party and that it is in the service of "a Communist foreign government." Every publication, every piece of mail must bear the stamp, "Communist Organization." The name of every "member," of every person responsibly associated with the organization, and of every financial contributor must likewise be "registered." These individuals will then be penalized by the loss of their right to a passport and of other civil rights.

The penalty for not registering when ordered to do so is, for responsible officers, $10,000 fine and 5 years in prison *for each day* the failure to register continues.

This is the form of the drama technically known as "Herbert Brownell *vs.* Jefferson School."

But its substance is a totally different thing.

First, the adversaries in the battle are not just Herbert Brownell and the Jefferson School. They are, on the one hand, the rising pattern of fascism in the U.S., symbolized by Joseph McCarthy and embodied in a spreading network of inquisitions, character assassinations, job dismissals, deportations, Smith Act imprisonments, perjury and contempt prosecutions—in a word, the growing reign of terror in our land.

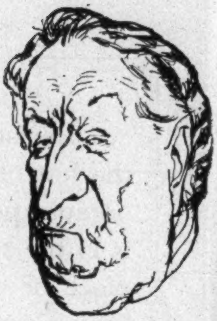
On the other hand, the defendant is not the Jefferson School alone. It is the whole fabric of our Constitutional liberties, our right of free speech, our right to learn, to teach, to think, without molestation or fear—in a word, the embattled democratic heritage we have cherished since the days of Jefferson.

Further, the issue is not "registration," it is thought-control. The question to be decided is not whether one particular school must wear a label, but whether the American people have the right to teach and learn any body of ideas that does not have the stamp of approval of McCarthy and Brownell. What is at stake is not the closing of a school but the closing of the mind of America.

Finally, *THE REAL JUDGE* in this struggle is not the SACB, creature of the monstrous McCarran Law and composed of appointees of Brownell's chief, President Eisenhower. Rather, the tribunal that will settle this case is the American people, who alone have the right to say what will or will not be thought.

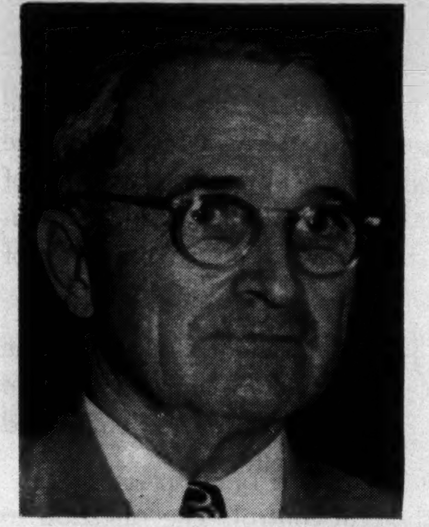
Let us examine the matter of "Herbert Brownell *vs.* Jefferson School" a little more fully.

NOT "REGISTRATION"—
BUT SUPPRESSION!



PAT McCARRAN

The instrumentality for carrying through the destruction of the Jefferson School, and incidentally of all academic freedom, is the Internal Security Act of 1950, known as the McCarran Law. Modeled on a number of statutes of Nazi Germany, this law was passed over the veto of President Truman in the heat of the Korean War hysteria. In his veto message, Truman noted that this law "would put the government of the United States in the thought-control business." He added:



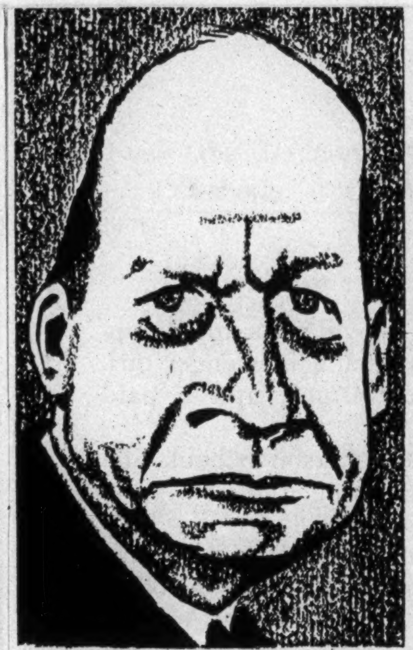
HARRY S. TRUMAN

"Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the voice of opposition, it has only one way to go, and that is down the path of increasingly repressive measures, until it becomes a source of terror to all its citizens and creates a country where everyone lives in fear."

The McCarran Act writes into the law of the land the Big Lie of an alleged "world Communist conspiracy," with its corollary lies of "foreign domination" and internal "subversion." These lies, the basic stock in trade of every fascist from the days of Mussolini to the present, interpret social revolution as the handiwork of tiny conspiratorial groups and not the result of the movement of great social forces. It does not matter that the facts about Russia in 1917, or China in 1949, or the United States in 1776 for that matter, prove the opposite. The Big Lie depends only on how loud and how often you repeat it. According to it, every program for social betterment, including the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, is transformed into "subversion" and every supporter of a progressive cause into a "foreign agent."

In this Big Lie style, the McCarran Law formulates a fascist definition of "Communist organization," and then proscribes as "Communist fronts" all groups whose aims "do not deviate from" those of the Communist organization, or which are found to be "substantially dominated" by it.

Armed with this law, the Attorney General has indeed gone "into the thought-control business." He has moved against twelve people's organizations, the first



HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.

being the Jefferson School of Social Science. If he should succeed, there is no question that we would be "far down the path of increasingly repressive measures, . . . a country where everyone lives in fear."

The McCarran Act is a perfect McCarthyite instrument. Under this law, it is not necessary to state: "I don't like what you think; therefore I will close you down." All that needs to be done is to label the offending organization as a "Communist front," and then demand that it "register." Using this law, the McCarthyites can innocently pretend that they are not attacking Constitutional liberties—they are only moving against "Communist fronts"; they are not destroying organizations—they are only making them "register."

The hollowness of this pretense, however, is easy to see. To submit to the onerous provisions of the McCarran Law means, on the one hand, to become a party to the Big Lie; and on the other, it invites prosecution under the Smith Act. Certainly no self-respecting organization would do the first, and no reasonable one would do the second. Thus the McCarran Act reveals itself to be not a "registration" act, but a *suppression* act.

Professor Zachariah Chafee, of the Harvard University Law School, put it succinctly. He said: "[The McCarran Act] proposes to twist out of all recognizable shape one of the leading traditions of American life; the possibility of freely forming associations for all sorts of purposes—religious, political, social and economic."

A Bill of Rights

As Provided in the Ten Original Amendments to

The Constitution of the United States

in force December 15, 1791

I.

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. . . .

A PEOPLE'S SCHOOL

Let's take a look at the "trial"of the Jefferson School under this law.

The witness is Marlane MacLane Kowall, daughter of movie actor tough-guy Barton MacLane. She testifies that she was a dancer, a model, a messenger girl, an "editorial assistant" for the fascist magazine *Counter-Attack*, and a paid informer for the FBI.

Under instructions from FBI agents she attended the Jefferson School. She took a number of courses over a period of two years, submitting regular reports to the FBI.

The picture of the School this FBI informer paints is one of a dark, conspiratorial institution, carrying out the dictates of the Communist Party and devoting itself to the single-minded task of training revolutionaries for that Party. According to her testimony, Marxism equals "violent revolution," and socialism is a system in which Communists "take money away from the capitalists." Political economy teaches that "if the bosses don't do what you want, punch them in the nose." Dialectical materialism is nothing more nor less than "atheism."

Reading from a test in philosophy which she herself introduced into evidence, the School's attorney asks: "What did they teach you about Epicurus?"

Answer: "It was a matter of indifference to me."

Question: "What did they teach you about Plato?"

Answer: "Also a matter of indifference."

Question: "Isn't it a fact that you didn't go there to learn anything about philosophy?"

Answer: "Yes. I went only to get what vital information I could to submit to the government."

Question: "Information as to what?"

Answer: "Who was at the School. What C.P. members were there. Any connection I could find between the Communist Party and the Jefferson School."

Question: "You weren't concerned what the teaching in the Jefferson School was?"

Answer: "Only to be able, as my notes say, to use the right language."

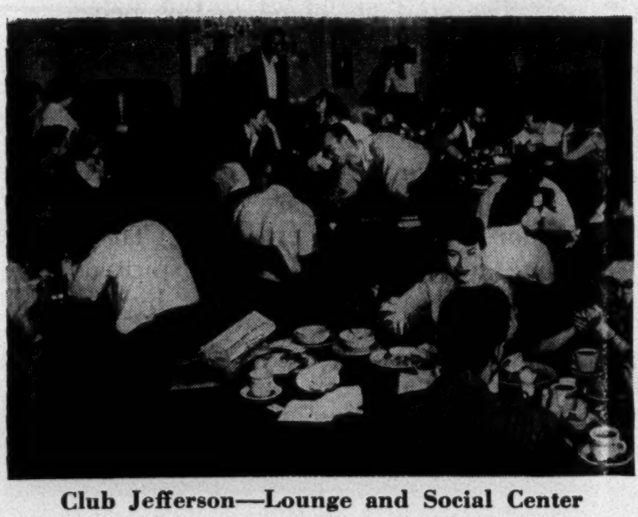
What is this school that the FBI sent its agent Kowall into? How does it really look? Who comes there? Why do they come? What does it really teach?

This "conspiratorial" Jefferson School occupies a nine-story building on the Avenue of the Americas at 16th Street in downtown Manhattan. It is an adult evening school. Its courses are short and its fees are low. Anyone who wishes can walk off the street and register for one of its more than 75 courses or attend one of its frequent forums. An average of 10,000 students enroll each year.

By 6:30 o'clock every week-day evening the lobby of the Jefferson School fills with students. The Bookshop is crowded. So also is the basement cafeteria where scores of students eat a hasty dinner in their brief interval between work

A Staff Meeting

A Typical Class



Club Jefferson—Lounge and Social Center

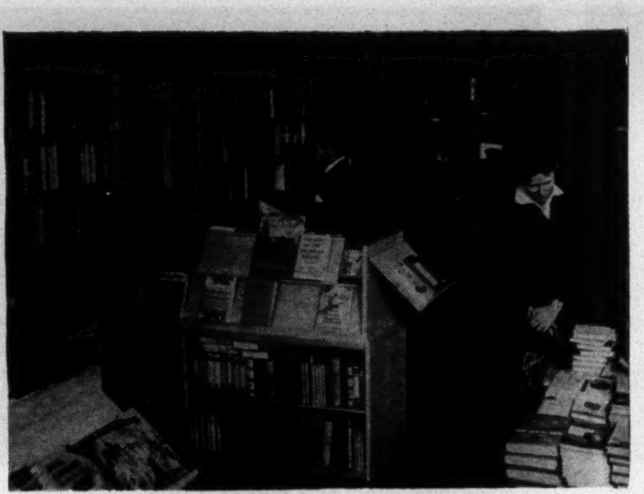
Student Council in Action

Art Student

and class. The library, occupying a full floor of the building and comprising some 40,000 books, pamphlets and periodicals, is intensely quiet as lessons are being prepared. On the top floor, painting and sculpture studios light up as a group of students, of many ages and walks of life, seek creative artistic expression. The rest of the building, containing classrooms, an auditorium and administrative offices, presents a picture no different from that of a hundred other adult evening schools and colleges in the city.

The students are, in the main, shop and office workers—warehousemen, cab-drivers, electrical workers, house painters, dress cutters, students, housewives, professionals, small business people. They are of every race and nationality. Their ages range from 16 to 60.

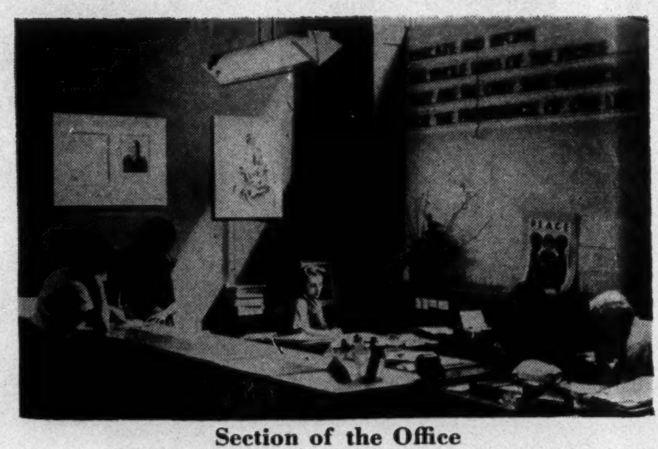
Why do people come to the Jefferson School? What do they want to learn?



Jefferson Bookshop

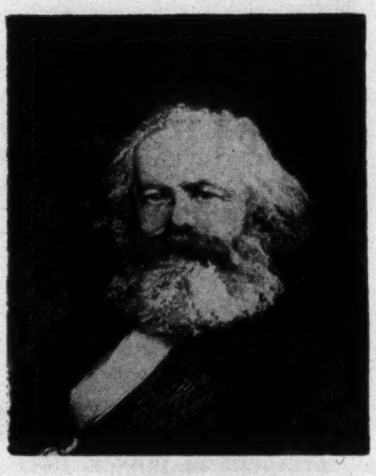
They come for a variety of reasons, but primarily they want answers to such questions as: Why are there depressions? Why wars? Why is ours a system in which "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer"? Why are Negroes segregated, discriminated against, lynched? Why is there a "double standard" for men and women? Why is the government always on the side of the employers? What is the reason for the cult of Mickey Spillane, for violence and brutality in movies, radio and television?

The students come to this people's School solely to learn. There are no degrees and no honors offered. Teachers hold their students only by their ability to make their teaching interesting and vital. As a result, the classes are considerably more lively than elsewhere. They are generally marked by spirited give-and-take discussion, by a "down-to-earth" quality, by warm, friendly relations between teacher and students.



Section of the Office

A MARXIST SCHOOL



KARL MARX

The distinctive thing about the Jefferson School, however, is what it teaches. This is what constitutes the heart of the struggle over whether the Jefferson School should be closed.

The School's catalog lists a great variety of courses covering such fields as economics, politics, history, philosophy, science, literature, music and art. The preponderance is in the social science field. Many courses deal with current questions such as *The Third Party Question, Wage Policies, Problems of Marriage and Family Life, The Crisis in U.S. Agriculture, African Liberation Struggles, The Puerto Rican National Minority, The Soviet Union: Eye-Witness Report.*

Another major group of courses deals with general theoretical questions, such as *Science of Society, Fundamentals of Trade Unionism, The Woman Question, Political Economy, Marxism vs. Keynesism, The Negro Question, The Jewish Question, Philosophy of History, Materialism and Idealism, Psychology, Painting: Realism and Formalism.*

The School's catalog and all its publicity clearly state that its teaching is presented, in the main, from the point of view of Marxism. It is this fact that gives the Jefferson School its unique quality.

It is no secret that this is why the McCarthyites want to close the School. It is because of this fact that our government proposes to destroy a Marxist school, thereby threatening the basic freedom of thought of the whole American people.

It is not relevant to argue here whether the Marxist interpretation of social phenomena is true. The validity of Marxism will be tested as all ideas are ultimately tested—by history. The question at issue is *whether Americans have the right to teach and learn Marxism if they wish to;* whether a school devoted to the presentation and interpretation of Marxist ideas is to be permitted to operate as a free, open, public institution, or whether it is to be closed down by governmental decree.

The issue is "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof." It is the issue of the freedom of the market-place of ideas. On it depends the right of the American people to think freely, to examine all ideas and come to their own conclusions. It is an absolute right. Either we are permitted to examine all ideas, or we are not intellectually free. The proscription of thought, the burning of books, the persecution of ideas—all this is nothing more nor less than fascism. And yet that is precisely what is involved in the government's attempt to close the Jefferson School.

THE REAL TEST OF INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

The fact that the School teaches Marxism, a doctrine repugnant to the government in power, does not lessen the enormity of the threat to Constitutional liberty. On the contrary. The right to propagate unpopular views is the only real test of intellectual freedom.

To close the Jefferson School is to deny the right of the American people to study Marxism. For the Jefferson School is the only public educational institution where Marxism is taught by teachers who know this vast and complex body of thought, and who believe in it.

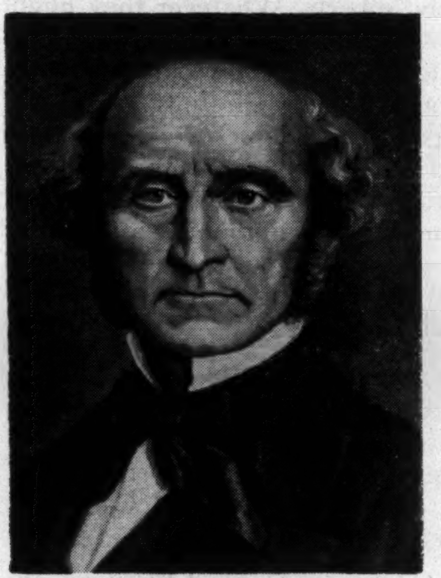
But, some might argue, Marxism can be taught elsewhere than in the Jefferson School. Closing the School as a "Communist front," they say, does not abridge the American people's right to study Marxism. There are plenty of anti-Marxist "experts" who will teach us all about Marxism.

This specious argument is pure surrender to thought-control. It tells people, "You may study anything you wish, even Marxism. But you must learn it only from those who oppose it. You are permitted to approach this body of ideas, but you must not do so objectively, with a view to making up your own mind. Rather you must close your mind first, and then you may examine Marxism. To guarantee that you will always wear this intellectual strait-jacket, we will permit you to get your Marxism only from those who abhor it."

This is the classical argument of all book-burners, from the medieval Inquisition to Hitler to McCarthy. In effect, it says you may study Communism, but you must not read the *Communist Manifesto,* or listen to anyone who will interpret it sympathetically. You may study biological evolution, but you must not read *The Origin of Species* or study under a Darwinian. You may study the theory of relativity, but you must not learn it from Einstein or from a follower of Einstein. Such is the logic implicit in the thesis that the American people should be denied the right to study Marxism from Marxists.

John Stuart Mill, in his famous essay *On Liberty,* gave the definitive answer to this argument. Speaking of anyone who wishes to "study any subject in order to arrive at the truth," he said:

"Nor is it enough that he should hear the arguments of adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them, and accompanied by what they offer as refutations. . . . He must be able to hear them from persons who actually believe them; who defend them in earnest, and do their very utmost for them. He must know them in their most plausible and persuasive form."



JOHN STUART MILL

Rejecting the doctrine of Mill is a rejection of our own Constitution. Banning the right of the Jefferson School to teach Marxism means that no dissenting view is safe; no school teaching a partisan doctrine, whether political, social or religious, is immune from our latter-day witch-hunting conformists. Today it is the Jefferson School. Tomorrow, who knows? After all, A. F. of L. schools teach opposition to the Taft-Hartley Law; CIO schools teach policies directed against Charles E. Wilson's General Motors; Quaker schools teach peace and friendship. Aren't these subversive doctrines that "do not deviate from" the line of the Communist Party?

FASCIST OBSCURANTISM

How does Mr. Brownell answer the charge that by attacking the Jefferson School he is violating the fundamental liberties of our land?

One line of argument is seen in the testimony of stool-pigeon Kowall, quoted above. She, like the fascist illiterates for whom she speaks, simply denies that Marxism exists as a body of ideas. It is "a matter of indifference" to her. The conclusion implicit here is that you can disregard, trample on, outlaw Marxist ideas, and our intellectual freedom will remain intact. Consider this—the whole philosophy and social science of Marxism, comprising a world outlook and a theory of history, a massive critique of the capitalist system, an analysis of classes and class relations, a theory of the state and the national question, an elaboration of the principles of the socialist reorganization of society—all this can be shrugged off as "a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence," a scheme to "take money away from the capitalists," a set of directives to "punch the bosses in the nose."

Let it be clear that we are not here arguing the validity of Marxist ideas. But to deny that they exist, to reduce them to a vulgar Hitlerian caricature, is not only a monstrous lie; it is a malicious and dangerous assault on intellectual freedom. This lie is the instrumentality for the subversion of our Constitution.

Nowhere in the world, except perhaps in such intellectually barren deserts as Franco Spain or Chiang Kai-shek Formosa, could such idiocy be put forward. Go to any university in Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, India, and you will hear Marxism discussed fully, freely, soberly. Whatever they might think of it and however they might oppose it, intellectuals everywhere must deal with it in serious terms. For it is a major ideological current of our time, with profound and carefully reasoned things to say about every aspect of social life. As a body of thought and a political doctrine it has won the allegiance of 800 million people in our modern world, and has deeply influenced the thinking of many hundreds of millions more.

McCARTHYISM

"The name which has been given to this present danger is McCarthyism. But I wish to make it clear that I do not consider any one man to be the sole source of the danger. It is far deeper than that. The danger is a broad stream, fed by many groups, some open and some underground. It spreads and gathers power as it flows. Unless we understand the breadth and extent of this tide, and move to control it along all of its length, it will inundate us."

—Sen. Herbert Lehman

Thus it becomes clear that to deny the existence of the *ideas* of Marxism and to move to close a school that teaches them, is fascist obscurantism, pure and simple. It is McCarthyism in "legal" dress.

The Attorney General has no doubt been conscious that to deal with the real issues in the Jefferson School case would be very hazardous for him. He knows that he dare not try to make out a logical case against the right to teach Marxism, for that opens up the question of the right to think—the Constitutional question which is the real issue. Even the Attorney General dares not *openly* flout the Bill of Rights!

How then destroy the right to teach Marxism without coming to grips with this question?

The answer is provided by the McCarran Law. Just show that the Jefferson School is a "Communist front."

And how is this done? Simple, my dear Mr. Attorney General, simple. Just borrow from the arsenal of McCarthy two time-worn devices and your case is won.

These two devices are *guilt by association* and *guilt by parallelism.*

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

Let us see how all this works. The record of the Jefferson School trial shows that all the government witnesses were either renegade Communist informers or bought-and-paid-for stool pigeons (for one of them, $450 per month, plus tuition, books, contributions, etc.). It takes no very great acumen to recognize that the testimony of such witnesses can readily be tailored to fit the needs of an Attorney General who has already shown his ability to cast the red herring as far as ex-President Truman.

Now what does this motley group of witnesses disclose about the Jefferson School? That among its teachers of Marxism, there are a number—even a large number—of Communists! How surprising! A Marxist school invites Communists to teach some of its classes. On cross-examination the witnesses have to admit that the Jefferson School never hid the fact that along with many other qualified instructors, it invited Communists to teach. The names and affiliations of its teachers have for years been prominently printed in its catalogs, issued in the hundreds of thousands.

These same witnesses also testify that the Communist Party urged its members to study at the Jefferson School. Isn't that amazing? A political party based on the principles of Marxism wants its members to study Marxism! And therefore, along with many other people interested in Marxism, Communists have studied at the Jefferson School.

All this, however, when presented through the twisted McCarthyite prism of "guilt by association," becomes somehow "sinister." In this land of the free, we are told, it is criminal to have relations with Communists, to permit them to teach at your school, to allow them to send members to your classes. To do this opens you up to stigmatization, to prosecution under the McCarran Law.

And while the argument rages over this "guilt by association" question, the right of the whole American people to think, their right to teach and learn, to study any body of thought they wish to, is quietly stabbed in the back!

GUILT BY PARALLELISM

A similar, and even more appalling, technique is the "guilt by parallelism" line. This involves simply the demonstration that the views and aims of an organization "do not deviate from" those of the Communist Party. In the case of the Jefferson School, a number of witnesses obligingly testified that the attitude of the School on the Taft-Hartley Law, on the Mundt-Nixon Bill (ancestor of the McCarran Law), on the Marshall Plan, on the Korean War, and on a host of other issues, "paralleled" that of the Communists. No matter that lots of other people also opposed the Taft-Hartley Law. No matter that on some issues the Jefferson School's statement preceded the *Daily Worker* editorial it was supposed to "parallel." It only matters that there was a parallel—a deadly parallel, sufficient to warrant prosecution under the McCarran Law.

THE PROBLEM OF INTELLECTUALS

"The problem with which the intellectuals of this country are faced is very serious. The reactionary politicians have managed to instill suspicion of all intellectual efforts into the public by dangling before their eyes a danger from without. Having succeeded so far they are now proceeding to suppress the freedom of teaching and to deprive of their positions those who do not prove submissive, i.e. to starve them."

—Albert Einstein

The Department of Justice has on a number of occasions, including the trial of the Jefferson School, stated its position on this question with barbaric frankness. Here is how Assistant District Attorney William A. Paisley put it during the SACB hearing of the Communist Party:

> *"It doesn't matter whether the particular view or policy is held by many people, by some people, or by all the people of the world. The issue is whether the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the U.S. hold similar views."*

The implications of this "guilt by parallelism" thesis are almost too awful to contemplate. Carried to its logical conclusion, this proposition states that no one with a decent act to his credit or an enlightened thought in his head is immune. For a little research would easily reveal that such a view was similarly held by the Communist Party or the Soviet Union. The dragnet laid by the "guilt by parallelism" doctrine is admittedly one that can include "many people, . . . or . . . all the people of the world." Thus we see how far down the road to fascism the "built-in" theories of the McCarran Act take us.

REVULSION AND PROTEST AGAINST McCARTHYISM

The story of the Attorney General's attack on the Jefferson School is a grim and serious matter. Its special significance is its importance for intellectual freedom in our country. Its broader and more general significance is its relationship to the national phenomenon of McCarthyism that threatens to engulf all our democratic liberties and turn our nation over to the men of Wall Street, to the wielders of the atom bomb, to the architects of war, economic crisis and fascism.

In opposition to the McCarthyite menace, a wave of revulsion and protest is rapidly rising. From shop and farm, from barber shop and college campus, voices are being raised against the danger to freedom that McCarthyism represents. Even ex-President Truman, whose own record on the question of Constitutional liberty can hardly be called unblemished, has been stung into sharp and violent opposition to McCarthyism in general and to Attorney General Brownell in particular.

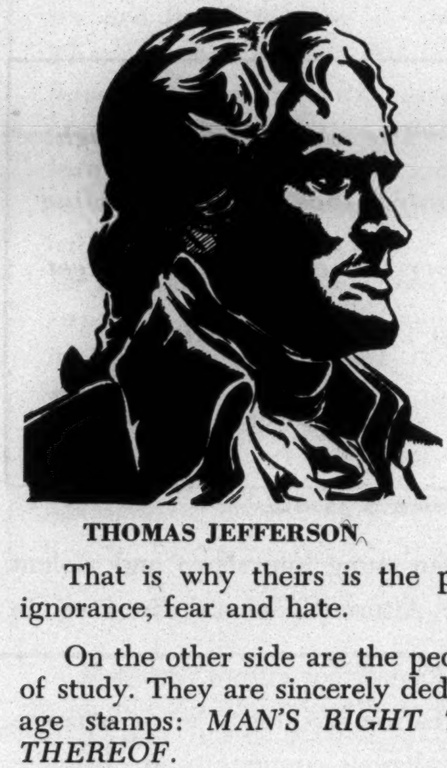
> ***"The miasma of thought control that is now spreading over this country is the greatest menace since Hitler."***
>
> **—Robert M. Hutchins**

Anti-McCarthy editorials crop up with increasing frequency in newspapers throughout the country. Major sections of the religious community are likewise speaking out. Recently a group of highly conservative U.S. diplomats, headed by former Ambassador Joseph C. Grew, Norman Armour and William Phillips, expressed their profound concern over the danger of "a totalitarian government rather than the government of the United States as we have heretofore known it." In this anti-McCarthy movement organized labor and the Negro people's organizations occupy a place in the front rank, and more and more they are moving into leadership of the whole broad struggle.

TWO EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES

The case of the Jefferson School involves a choice between two philosophies of education:

That expressed by Congressman Harold Velde: "The basis of all Communism and socialistic influence is education of the people," *or*



THOMAS JEFFERSON

That expressed by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by the Jefferson School as its motto: "Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."

From the days of Alexander Hamilton on, there have always been those in our country who distrust the people, who fear an enlightened, thinking populace. Never before has this been so true as it is today. In the most immediate sense, what they dread is not so much "socialism" or "communism," but a powerful democratic people that is "educated and informed." They fear a strong labor movement, a united labor-farmer-Negro people's movement. Above all, they fear and dread the return of another "New Deal."

That is why theirs is the philosophy of book-burning, the philosophy of ignorance, fear and hate.

On the other side are the people. They have no fear of books, of knowledge, of study. They are sincerely dedicated to the principle emblazoned on our postage stamps: *MAN'S RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE AND THE FREE USE THEREOF.*

When they come to know the facts, the people will come to the defense of the Jefferson School. They will recognize that if such a school can be closed for what it teaches, then no school, no union, no church is safe. The defense of the Jefferson School is the defense of the working class and the nation, of peace and democracy.

Confronted by the choice between two philosophies—that of McCarthy and that of Jefferson—there is no question which the American people will choose. *That is why the Jefferson School never will be closed! "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof" will yet prevail in our country!*

THE RIGHT TO TEACH AND LEARN

Our constitutional right of free speech necessarily includes the right of Americans to conduct schools in which to teach and learn the truth as they see it. I believe, therefore, that any attempt to suppress the teaching of Marxism in such an institution as the Jefferson School of Social Science represents a serious threat to all free inquiry.

Endorsed by:

Prof. Paul A. Baran, Stanford University
Prof. Nelson L. Bossing, University of Minnesota
Prof. G. Murray Branch, Morehouse College
Atty. James L. Brewer, Rochester, N. Y.
Prof. Lindley J. Burton, Lake Forest College
Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Wesleyan University
Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Yale University
Prof. Joseph Fletcher, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. Fowler V. Harper, Yale University
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago
Rev. Dr. John Paul Jones, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. Corliss Lamont, Columbia University
Emeritus Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago University
Albert Maltz, San Angel, Mexico
Prof. Kenneth O. May, Northfield, Minn.
Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.
Dr. Philip Morrison, Ithaca, N. Y.
Dr. Scott Nearing, Cape Rosier, Me.
Dr. Linus Pauling, Pasadena, Calif.
Prof. George Sarton, Harvard University
Atty. Frank Serri, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Emeritus Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Wellesley College
I. F. Stone, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, New York, N. Y.
Prof. H. H. Wilson, Princeton, N. J.

. . . and more than 100 other intellectual leaders

WHAT TO DO

1. Write Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., Washington, D. C. Tell him to stop persecuting the Jefferson School. (Mail copy of letter to 575 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C.)
2. Send a contribution to the Jefferson School Defense Fund (Dr. Joseph B. Furst, Treasurer, 575 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.).

Don't Let McCarthyism Darken The Halls Of Learning

A STATEMENT ON THE RIGHT TO TEACH AND LEARN MARXISM IN INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH NECESSARILY INCLUDES THE RIGHT OF AMERICANS TO CONDUCT SCHOOLS IN WHICH TO TEACH AND LEARN THE TRUTH AS THEY SEE IT. I BELIEVE, THEREFORE, THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS THE TEACHING OF MARXISM IN SUCH AN INSTITUTION AS THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE REPRESENTS A SERIOUS THREAT TO ALL FREE INQUIRY.

Signed by the following (institutions, etc., where given, are here listed for purposes of identification only):

Allured, Rev. Paul J.	Lansing, Mich.	(Presbyterian)
Altman, George T.	Beverley Hills, Calif.	
Ames, William	New York, N.Y.	
Aptheker, Dr. Herbert	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Historian)
Auslander, Dr. Jacob	New York, N.Y.	(Physician)
Baird, Rev. William T.	Chicago, Ill.	(Essex Community Church)
Ball, Frederick E.	Ottawa, Ill.	
Baran, Prof. Paul A.	Stanford Un., Calif.	(Dept. of Economics)
Barko, Naomi	New York, N.Y.	(Writer)
~~Barrows, Alice~~	~~East Blue Hill, Me.~~	~~(Educator)~~
Beardsley, Monroe C.	Swarthmore, Pa.	
Becker, Maurice	New York, N.Y.	(Artist)
Berger, Joseph	New York, N.Y.	
Bernays, Hella	New York, N.Y.	(Editor & Research Worker)
Block, Anita	New York, N.Y.	(Writer & Lecturer)
Blumenfeld, Hans	Philadelphia, Pa.	(City Planning Consultant)
Bick, Rabbi Abraham J.	New York, N.Y.	
Blecher, Sarah	New York, N.Y.	
Bossing, Prof. Nelson L.	Un. of Minn.	(Dept. of Education)
Bouchier, Muriel	Chicago, Ill.	(Librarian)
Bradley, Dr. Francine	New York, N.Y.	(Teacher & Writer)
Branch, Prof. G. Murray	Atlanta, Ga.	(Morehouse College)
Brewer, James L.	Rochester, N.Y.	(Lawyer)
Brewster, Dr. Dorothy	New York, N.Y.	(Columbia U., retired)
Browne, Prof. Joseph	Princeton, N.J.	
Budin, Dr. Earl	Philadelphia, Pa.	(Physician)
Burgum, Dr. Edwin Berry	New York, N.Y.	(Educator)
Burton, Prof. Lindley J.	Lake Forest College, Ill.	(Dept. of Mathematics)
Buxenbaum, Una	New York, N.Y.	
Cairns, Rev. Fred I.	Hamilton, Ontario, Can.	(First Unitarian Church)
Cameron, Angus	Upper Jay, N.Y.	(Editor & Publisher)
Chamberlin, Mark A.	Gresham, Oregon	
Christensen, Oscar	St. Paul, Minn.	
Codman, John S.	Boston, Mass.	
Cohen, Ida H.	New York, N.Y.	

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Cohen, Prof. Robert S.	Wesleyan Un., Conn.	(Dept. of Physics & Phil.)
Cook, Rev. Dr. Clair M.	Watertown, Mass.	
Cooper, Peter H.	New York, N.Y.	
Cronbach, Rabbi Abraham	Cincinnati, Ohio	(Hebrew Union College)
Cross, Prof. Ephraim	New York, N.Y.	(Educator)
Davis, Horace B.	Kansas City, Mo.	(Educator, Economist)
Deak, Z.	New York, N.Y.	
Deconinck, Jack	New York, N.Y.	
Denton, Dr. Wm. Wells	Tucson, Ariz.	
Dieffenbach, Rev. Albert C.	Cambridge, Mass.	(Unitarian Church)
Dinnerstein, Louis	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Dixon, Leroy	New York, N.Y.	
Drake, Freeman, Sr.	Roanoke, Ala.	
Drucker, I.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Du Bois, Dr. W. E. B.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Historian, Writer)
Duff, Dorothy	New York, N.Y.	
Eldridge, Dr. Lewis A.	Rensselaerville, N.Y.	(Physician)
Edwards, Jacqueline	New York, N.Y.	
Emerson, Prof. Thomas I.	New Haven, Conn.	(Yale U. Law School)
Fairchild, Prof. Henry Pratt	New York, N.Y.	(Educator, Sociologist)
Faus, Rev. Dr. W. Arthur	Lycoming College, Pa.	
Feingold, Abraham	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Teacher)
Field, Ben	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Novelist)
Fields, Joseph	New York, N.Y.	(Publisher)
Fletcher, Prof. Joseph	Cambridge, Mass.	(Educator, Clergyman)
Foner, Dr. Philip S.	Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.	(Historian)
Forbes, Rev. Kenneth R.	Philadelphia, Pa.	(Exec. Chr., Episcopal League for Social Action)
France, Clemens J.	Providence, R. I.	(Attorney)
Friedman, Dr. Henrietta	New York, N.Y.	(Educator)
Frazier, Elizabeth P.	Philadelphia, Pa.	(Sec., Episcopal League for Social Action)
Galli, John	Pittsburg, Calif.	
Ginsburg, Bernhard M.	New York, N.Y.	
Green, Abner	New York, N.Y.	
Greenberg, Arline	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Greenberg, Samuel P.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Griest, Ellwood	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Editor)
Grunes, David J.	New York, N.Y.	
Guerard, Prof. Albert Leon	Stanford, Calif.	(General Lit., Emeritus)
Gundlach, Dr. Ralph H.	New York, N.Y.	(Psychologist)
Gwathmey, Robert	New York, N.Y.	(Artist)
Hamill, Rev. Robert H.	Joliet, Ill.	(Ottawa St. Meth. Church)
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Harap, Louis	New York, N.Y.	(Editor)
Harper, Prof. Fowler V.	New Haven, Conn.	(Yale U. Law School)
Hardyman, Hugh	Topango, Calif.	
Havighurst, Prof. Robert J.	Un. of Chicago, Ill.	(Educator)
Hedger, Prof. G. A.	Anaheim, Calif.	(Un. of Cincinnati, retired)
Heller, Abraham	New York, N.Y.	
Heller, Regina	New York, N.Y.	
Hirsch, Sarah	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Holton, John L.	Philadelphia, Pa.	
Howard, Dr. Daniel	Windsor, Conn.	(Supt. of Schools, Emeritus)
Howell, Rev. Clarence V.	New York, N.Y.	
Hoxsey, Lowell	Pico, Calif.	
Hunt, M. Louise	Portland, Me.	(Librarian)

Hunton, Dr. W. A.	New York, N.Y.	(Educator)
Hurlburt, Rev. Donald P.	Bangor, Me.	(Emeritus, 1st Christian Church)
Hurwitz, Leo	New York, N.Y.	(Film Director)
Hutchins, Grace	New York, N.Y.	(Editor)
Ianelli, Dr. Alfonso	Park Ridge, Ill.	
Jones, Rev. Dr. John Paul	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Union Church of Bay Ridge)
Keen, Prof. Forrest M.	Heidelberg College, Ohio	(Dept. of Sociology)
Kennard, Rev. J. Spencer	Benedict College, S.C.	(Dept. of Social Science)
Kramer, Aaron	Astoria, L.I., N.Y.	(Poet)
Krieg, Bernhard	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Krieger, Ann	New York, N.Y.	
Kruckman, Herbert	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Artist)
[illegible], Edith	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
[illegible], Robert	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Lamont, Dr. Corliss	Columbia Un., N.Y.	(Author & Teacher)
Lange, Julius	Owen, Wisconsin	
[illegible], Elias	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Lasker, Bruno	Yonkers, N.Y.	
Lawrence, Mrs. Edith C.	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	
[illegible], Esther	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
[illegible], Dr. Jerome Z.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Physician)
Loud, Prof. Oliver S.	Antioch College, Ohio	(Dept. of Physical Science)
Lovett, Prof. Robert Morss	Chicago, Ill.	(Un. of Chicago, Emeritus)
Luscomb, Florence H.	Cambridge, Mass.	(State Chr., Progressive Party)
McCabe, Louis F.	Philadelphia, Pa.	(Attorney)
McConnell, Rev. F. W.	Allentown, Pa.	(Methodist)
McDowell, Mrs. Mary S.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
McKenna, Rev. Warren H.	Epping, N.H.	
McMichael, Rev. Jack R.	Upper Lake, Calif.	
Macy, Mrs. Mary Minot	New York, N.Y.	
Maltz, Albert	San Angel, Mexico	(Novelist)
May, Dr. Kenneth O.	Northfield, Minn.	(Mathematician)
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Melnick, Dr. Jacob	Portland, Me.	
Middelman, Mrs. Roslyn	New York, N.Y.	
Millard, Betty	New York, N.Y.	(Editor)
Mitchell, Rt. Rev. Walter	Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.	(Retired Bishop, Episcopal, Ariz.)
Moos, Mrs. Elizabeth	Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.	(Educator, Lecturer)
Morrison, Dr. Philip	Ithaca, N.Y.	(Physicist)
Nearing, Scott	Cape Rosier, Me.	(Economist, Lecturer, Writer)
Oliver, Dr. Phillip Bernard	Providence, R.I.	(The Peoples Humanist & Ethical Society)
Olson, Harry A.	Minneapolis, Minn.	
Osman, Ben	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Packard, Emmy Lou	San Francisco, Calif.	(Artist)
Parshall, G. Burton	Primos, Pa.	(Society of Friends)
Pauling, Dr. Linus	Pasadena, Calif.	(Scientist, Educator)
Pe[illegible]cchio, Jairo	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Peterson, Ralph	Middleton, Wis.	(Writer, Radio Commentator)
Pitts, John S.	Philadelphia, Pa.	

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Podsen, Chas.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Pollock, Arthur	New York, N.Y.	(Writer)
Pontius, Dale	Chicago, Ill.	(Roosevelt College)
Quasthoff, Donna	New York, N.Y.	
Quimby, Ernest S.	New York, N.Y.	
Rasball, Nettie	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Resnikoff, Diane	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Reynolds, Bertha C.	Stoughton, Mass.	(Social Worker, Author)
Rideout, John Granville	Pocatello, Idaho	(Educator, Un. of Idaho)
Rieber, Clara	New York, N.Y.	(Teacher)
Robbins, Dr. Rossell Hope	New York, N.Y.	(Polytechnic Inst. of Brooklyn)
Roberts, Dr. Holland	San Francisco, Calif.	(California Labor School)
Roberts, Janice M.	New York, N.Y.	(Meth. Fed. for Social Action)
Robinson, Mr. Earl	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Musician)
Rochester, Anna	New York, N.Y.	(Economist)
Rosenbaum, Prof. Robt. A.	Middletown, Conn.	(Wesleyan Un.)
Rosenblatt, Sidney	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Rosenwald, Mrs. Ruth	New York, N.Y.	
Rothenberg, Chas.	New York, N.Y.	(Attorney)
Rubinstein, Dr. Annette T.	New York, N.Y.	(Lecturer & Writer)
Sarton, Prof. George	Cambridge, Madd.	(Harvard Un., Science Historian)
Schatz, Joseph L.	Philadelphia, Pa.	(Vocational Counselor)
Schenck, Abraham	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Schmerler, Ben	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Schneiweiss, Rose	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Schuyler, Montgomery	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Civil Engineer, retired)
Scotford, Rev. Dr. John R.	Mt. Vernon, N.Y.	
Seeger, Peter	New York, N.Y.	(Musician)
Serri, Frank	Brooklyn, N.Y.	(Attorney)
Shapiro, Dr. I.	Chicago, Ill.	
Sillen, Dr. Samuel	New York, N.Y.	(Editor)
Silverman, Gloria	New York, N.Y.	
Smith, James Iden	New Hope, Pa.	
Smith, Prof. Louise Pettibone	Winchester Center, Conn.	(Emeritus, Wellesley College)
Smith, Norman L.	Boston, Mass.	(Mining Geologist)
Starbuck, Eric A.	Cambridge, Mass.	
Starbuck, Isabel F.	Boston, Mass.	
Steinmetz, Dr. Harry C.	San Diego, Calif.	(Psychologist)
Stone, I. F.	Washington, D.C.	(Journalist)
Stukey, Mrs. Clara B.	Paradise, Calif.	
Sutton, Rev. T. W.	New York, N.Y.	
Swadesh, Dr. Morris	Denver, Colo.	(Anthropologist)
Sweezy, Paul M.	New York, N.Y.	(Economist, Editor)
Symington, Muriel I.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Taibi, Rose	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Talbert, Prof. Ernest L.	Cincinnati, Ohio	(Un. of Cincinnati, Emeritus)
Taylor, Mrs. Valerie Lee	North Bend, Oregon	(Pres. International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union Fed. Auxiliaries)
Teague, Rev. George	New Haven, Conn.	(First Methodist Church)
Uphaus, Rev. Dr. Willard	New Haven, Conn.	
Van Swearengen, F.	New York, N.Y.	(Editor)
Wallace, M.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	
Ward, Rev. Harry F.	Palisades, N.J.	
Weston, Rev. Hugh	Los Angeles, Calif.	(Unitarian)
Willcox, Henry	South Norwalk, Conn.	
Wilson, Dr. H. H.	Princeton, N.J.	(Educator, Political Science)
Wolfard, Prof. John	Vienna 11, Austria	(Educator, Economist)
Zuckerman, A.	Brooklyn, N.Y.	

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS LABOR UNIONS 1954 10/24

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America
ELEVEN EAST FIFTY-FIRST STREET UE NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLAZA 3-1960

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
General President

JULIUS EMSPAK
General Secretary-Treasurer

JAMES J. MATLES
Director of Organization

June 25, 1954

Dear Friend:

Bills have been introduced in the Congress by Rep. Reed (R.,Ill.) and Sen. Ferguson (R.,Mich.) to give the administration the power to "dissolve and liquidate" any organization, newspaper, radio and TV station, church or trade union. These bills also set up screening and "blacklist" apparatus to be applied against industrial workers on behalf of employer interests.

These are the most far reaching, anti-democratic proposals ever seriously advanced in the United States Congress and can only be correctly described as the enabling legislation for an American-type fascism.

The bills have been actively sponsored by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who is working for their immediate passage.

Should the Brownell bills be enacted, it would be child's play for the administration to force the dissolution of almost any labor organization in the country, not to mention any number of business organizations including newspapers which might take issue with the administration in the 1954 election year.

The vague and general wording of the bills...the administration's control of appointments to the reviewing board...the well-known availability of perjured testimony from professional witnesses, all combine to give the administration free reign. Under these bills, "loyalty" becomes synonymous with agreement with politicians now in office.

We are taking the liberty of addressing this communication to you because we believe you - like many other Americans - may have been prevented from knowing the facts about these bills because of the deliberate secrecy and unwarranted rush that has accompanied their introduction. Hearings have been sidetracked. A "sneak-blitz" has been adopted to have these bills passed into law before the American people can realize their true meanings. The administration is all the more desperate for these measures to be used against the opposition in the 1954 elections, in view of recent anti-McCarthy trends shown in California, Maine and elsewhere.

Issues involved in the proposed legislation* - regardless of how people may differ regarding them - are certainly so profound that we dare not let them be hurriedly rushed into law without careful deliberation.

We urge you to write or wire your Congressmen and Senators, demanding the defeat of this legislation or, at the very least, that full and adequate hearings be held.

Very sincerely yours,

Albert J. Fitzgerald

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
UE General President

AJF:ftul
Encs.
*Ferguson Bill (3428 and 3427),
Reed Bill (HJR 527 and 528)

Risk in Brownell's Labor Plan

The Mirror of Public Opinion

Attorney General's proposal to let Government dissolve labor unions or businesses judged 'Communist-infiltrated' carries grave dangers of oppression, editorial says; sees it as part of the fearful trend of the times against due process and old liberties.

From The Louisville Courier-Journa

Attorney General Brownell blueprints a new weapon which in its way is as startling as any bomb. Mr. Brownell proposes to give the Government power to dissolve a labor union or a private enterprise or association if it is found to be infiltrated by Communists. Judgment in the case would be that of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Ordinarily, such
for itself. Its da
and destruction,
both actual and
moral, ought to be
as plain as the nose
on a face. However,
the country has
had too many
warnings in recent
years — indeed, in
the day at hand—
of fear and hysteria inflamed out of
reason, beyond
truth, beyond the
seeking of truth.

Mr. Brownel
gives a nod toward
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Senate committee h
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persons whose lives
tified to their loyalty.
diate hour, there is the show of condemnation out of hand, the thing which has come to be known as McCarthyism.

Frencl

On May 20 the ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH reprinted the editorial below.

Dangers Lie In Mr. Brownell's Plan

ATTORNEY GENERAL BROWNELL blueprints a new weapon which in its way is as startling as any bomb. Mr. BROWNELL proposes to give the government power to dissolve a labor union or a private enterprise or association if it is found to be infiltrated by Communists. Judgment in the case would be that of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Ordinarily, such an idea would speak for itself. Its danger for oppression and destruction, both actual and moral, ought to be as plain as the nose on a face. However, the country has had too many warnings in recent years—indeed, in the day at hand—of fear and hysteria inflamed out of reason, beyond truth, beyond the seeking of truth.

Mr. BROWNELL gives a nod toward the principle of due process of law. A troubled and fearful mood has blunted that principle. If the government goes itself into pandering to this mood, who may feel himself safe in conceivable circumstances of power in hands of the unscrupulous?

We have in mind warnings like that of Justice HUGO BLACK in his dissent from a Supreme Court ruling that aliens may be deported for past membership in the Communist party. "I suppose as long as you can throw that one word (Communism) in," he said, "everything may be all right. But I have an idea that the liberty of every American is at stake."

We have in mind the activity of veterans in Norwalk, Connecticut, a few months ago. They would have turned the people of their community into a mass of informers upon one another. There is the travesty and injustice of a recent Senate committee hearing in New Orleans, when a professional ex-Communist, PAUL CROUCH, was permitted to smear with insinuation the names of persons whose lives and traditions testified to their loyalty. For the immediate hour, there is the show of condemnation out of hand, the thing which has come to be known as McCarthyism.

Mr. BROWNELL makes his proposition to take the place of the non-Communist oath required of labor union officers by the Taft-Hartley Act. But this part of the labor-management law is long ago discredited. The Attorney General talks of difficulty in enforcing it, pointing to only one conviction in seven years. We daresay that the difficulty is not one of legal process, but rather of overcoming deep and natural American qualms.

There is also the knowledge that organized labor itself has done a good job getting rid of groups of questionable leadership. Either by expulsion or competition the process of weeding out has succeeded. Few hardcore radicals like BEN GOLD of the Fur and Leather Workers remain, and these are on the outside.

Nor have Americans generally failed to feel the argument which appeared in the President's own approach to the non-Communist oath. Administration proposals for amending the Taft-Hartley Act pointed out unfairness in applying the rule to a single group, the unions. The solution proposed was (1) to apply it to employers as well as workers, (2) to cut out the requirement altogether, and look to "broad general legislation" to control Communism.

It is to be hoped, however, that the Attorney General's idea is not the Administration's "broad general" plan. If it is, we might have a remedy potentially worse even than the disease. The fact that two bills already have been introduced in the Senate at Mr. BROWNELL's request gives an urgency to our misgivings.

THE COURIER-JOURNAL, LOUISVILLE, KY.

MAY 12, 1954.

Ever Generous

By Eleanor Roosevelt

I was glad to see in the paper that the funds contributed by people throughout the world which will help restore Westminster Abbey has reached proportions which will allow these restorations to be started. The overhauling will take 10 years, but certainly none of us could bear to think of Westminster Abbey not being a permanent monument, and all old buildings need repairs.

Eleanor Roosevelt

I am sure the United States has done more than its share in contributing to this fund. But then we will also get greater satisfaction probably than any other people for I think we visit Great Britain in greater numbers than any other nationality.

* * *

I was glad also to read about the proposed "Help Korea Train." President Eisenhower gave his approval to this plan which it is hoped will raise $10,000,000 in cash contributions and 600 freight carloads of materials and equipment to rebuild Korean homes, schools, farm and industry.

Many of us are not fully aware that our troops in Korea have already contributed more than $25,000,000 to that country's relief.

And they have put in endless hours of work in construction work.

* * *

I was a little troubled in reading of Mr. Brownell's recommendations for new laws in "the fight against communism." Mr. Brownell told of steps planned to intensify the anti-Communist drive.

It is these steps that worry me. For instance, a bill would allow a defense plant to dismiss during a national emergency "any person whose record shows he is likely to engage in sabotage or espionage." Is not this a great departure from our oldtime practices?

There also is a proposal that the "subversive activities control board will conduct hearings to determine if a union is dominated by the Communist party." If it is found so, members would be barred from defense plants.

I wonder if these bills are not aimed more at weakening labor unions than actually at protecting us from communism.

"The proposed bills . . . are unwarranted and unnecessary and may result in persecution and undue interference with the efforts of labor organizations to adequately represent employees through collective bargaining procedures . . . readily lends itself to abuse and endangers the interests of workers who may be engaged in collective bargaining or involved in a dispute with employers . . . We therefore respectfully urge the defeat of these measures . . ."

AMERICAN FED. OF LABOR
March 11, 1954

(from testimony of George Meany, AFL Pres., submitted to Sen. Judiciary Committee, referring to Butler, Goldwater and McCarran Bills)

"Trade unionism in the United States is seriously imperiled by the recent maneuvers in Washington under Attorney General Brownell. The Attorney General is sponsoring several bills now before Congress which would completely destroy the functioning of unions."

THE BULLETIN
Women's Trade Union League

"Dangers lie in Mr. Brownell's plan . . . Mr. Brownell proposes to give the government power to dissolve a labor union or a private enterprise or association if it is found to be infiltrated by Communists. Judgment in the case would be that of the Subversive Activities Control Board . . . Its danger for oppression and destruction . . . ought to speak for itself . . . Who may feel himself safe in conceivable circumstances of power in hands of the unscrupulous?..." (from editorial reprinted by St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

THE COURIER-JOURNAL
Louisville, Ky., May 12, 1954

"Mr. Brownell's bill contains no safeguards. Indeed, it would have been most difficult to make reference to the Bill of Rights and then attempt to do what this measure suggests . . . It is not the part of wisdom ourselves to chip away at the very rights we seek to save . . ."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
June 1, 1954

WHAT OTHERS SAY . . .

All sections of American labor have condemned the attempt to destroy unions through the Butler-Goldwater type of legislation which is now being pushed in the Brownell proposals. Here are some typical expressions:

"The Goldwater-Rhodes bill adds up to licensing of unions. It eliminates and destroys unions."

GEORGE MEANY, President,
American Federation of Labor,
April 27, 1953.

The Brownell proposals would "open the door to abuse by employers."

AFL NEWS REPORTER,
May 14, 1954.

If the Butler bill passes, "no union could survive unless approved by the political party in power. . . ."

OIL WORKER,
International Oil Workers, CIO,
December 7, 1953.

"An H-Bomb for American Labor."

THE NATION MAGAZINE,
November 28, 1953.

"(The bills) are a clever ruse by which a man can be accused of 'guilt by association' in one particular city and the whole wage structure and working conditions in a particular industry outlawed nationwide."

UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL,
United Mine Workers of America,
April 1, 1953.

"Both the McCarran and Goldwater bills are just additional unscrupulous legislative proposals aimed only at organized labor, which we shall always oppose."

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS &
BUTCHERS UNION, AFL,
March, 1954.

"Brownell Target: UNIONS !"

LABOR'S DAILY,
May 12, 1954.

"Government regulations of trade unions as proposed in the Butler, Goldwater and Velde bills . . . would not merely encroach upon the rights of workers to choose their own unions, they would give the government the power of life and death over all unions."

CIO EXECUTIVE BOARD,
March 23, 1954.

The smokescreen of fighting "communism" which Brownell takes over from McCarthy and from Hitler, has been exposed by a conservative trade unionist, President Joseph A. Beirne of the CIO Communications Workers, who showed the case of frame-ups under the Butler (and Brownell) type of legislation. Said Beirne:

"An anti-labor employer could infiltrate the union with labor spies. They could report chance statements, casual remarks, statements made in jest or anger . . . to make a plausible charge against the union. The board (Subversive Activities Control Board—SCAB) would issue its complaint. . . . The labor spy would only have to say that a non-officer dominated the union and that he had made a subversive remark."

Labor's League for Political Education

of the American Federation of Labor

1625 EYE STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
Tel. EXecutive 3-0220

Political Memo

No. 3-54 June 11, 1954

WHAT HAPPENED TO EISENHOWER'S PROMISE TO LABOR?

Taft-Hartley is dead for this session of Congress. On May 7 the Senate voted to send back to the Senate Labor Committee all of the Administration-sponsored Taft-Hartley Amendments.

Since this Eisenhower-sponsored bill contained more bad than good amendments, defeating the bill was a victory for Labor. If the Senate, with its present make-up, had thrashed out each amendment one at a time, the good ones would have been dropped and the bad ones left in the final bill.

HOW THE BILL WAS DEFEATED

Unfortunately, the vote to defeat the Administration bill did not actually reveal which Senators were friendly or unfriendly toward labor. Every Democrat in the Senate voted to defeat the bill as the AFL had asked. This unheard-of Democratic unity, plus the votes of three Republicans and Independent Wayne Morse, saved us from further restrictions.

Getting every Southern Democrat to vote solidly with every pro-labor Northern Democrat represented a masterpiece of Democratic leadership. It was the worst fumble of the year for Senator William Knowland, the Republican Majority Leader.

How did it happen? First of all, both good and bad amendments were lumped in one bill. Thus pro-labor Democrats opposed it because it was too tough, and those Southern Democrats who traditionally oppose unions voted against the bill because it was not tough enough.

Secondly, Knowland fell into a trap of his own making when the Senate voted to limit debate on any amendments to the bill. This guaranteed that the Southerners would vote to send the whole bill back to Committee since they feared passage of a civil rights amendment already introduced on the floor. With debate limited, a filibuster would have been impossible.

GEORGE MEANY, Chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secty-Treas. JAMES L. McDEVITT, Director

Thirdly, Knowland was a victim of his own self-confidence right up to his hour of defeat and cracked the whip unmercifully to keep pro-labor Republicans in line.

We were saved by good fortune this time—not because we have more friends than enemies in Congress.

WHAT WAS IN EISENHOWER'S LABOR PROGRAM

Eisenhower's program has changed since 1952—for the worse. In 1952 at the AFL Convention Eisenhower stated:

> "I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. And neither do I...It will not be one of those empty theatrical gestures so often made in recent years."

After he was elected, Eisenhower appointed AFL leader Martin Durkin as his Secretary of Labor. By the end of July the White House staff had worked up 19 amendments, many of which represented moderate reforms. The President repeatedly told Secretary Durkin he would support the 19 amendments, but in September he withdrew his support after heavy pressure from reactionary forces. Durkin resigned, and the President's labor policy rapidly began to shift.

What is Eisenhower's position today? Unfortunately, Arizona's new Senator, Barry Goldwater, who is rapidly replacing Taft as Labor's most outspoken foe, has managed to focus the spotlight on himself and divert attention from the Administration's labor program.

The truth is that the White House has officially adopted Senator Goldwater's two most serious proposals.

STATES' RIGHTS

The first amendment which Eisenhower has taken over from Senator Goldwater is one which would allow the separate states to outlaw the right to strike and to picket. The National Association of Manufacturers had concentrated its lobbying on this amendment. Senator Goldwater obliged last year by introducing the exact wording of the NAM proposal in an amendment saying: "...that nothing in the Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley) shall be construed to nullify the power of any State to regulate strikes and picketing within its borders."

Senator Goldwater sweetened this same amendment this year by tying it in with health and safety to make it sound reasonable. Actually, nothing in the Taft-Hartley Act interferes with the right of the states to stop riots and violence during a strike. As bad as the Taft-Hartley Act is, at least it uniformly covers labor relations all over the country. However, Goldwater would splinter labor policy into 48 conflicting pieces by allowing each state and territory to:

> "...exercise its police powers, and to deal with labor disputes causing, or likely to cause, emergencies affecting the health or safety of citizens of such State or territory."

This may sound very reasonable, but when his fellow Senators got through interrogating him, Goldwater admitted that his amendment would permit any state to do the following:

> (1) "...pass a law forbidding collective bargaining in manufacturing, and the Federal Government could not interfere in the slightest."
>
> (2) require "compulsory arbitration of all disputes as a substitute for collective bargaining."
>
> (3) "...require union membership by 95 per cent of the employees eligible for membership in the union, before it would be recognized."

All this in the name of local police power to protect health and safety!

But how does the President feel about Mr. Goldwater's proposal? The Administration not only approved Goldwater's amendment, but included it almost word for word in the amendments voted out of committee. The exact words in the Administration amendment were:

> "...Nothing in this act shall be construed to interfere with the enactment and enforcement by the States of laws to deal in emergencies with labor disputes which, if permitted to occur or continue, will constitute a clear and present danger to the health and safety of the people of the State."

The same innocent sound—and exactly the same sinister effect as Senator Goldwater's bill.

LICENSING BUSINESSES AND UNIONS

The second proposal taken over by the White House from Barry Goldwater was a bill he introduced last year to permit the politically-appointed Subversive Activities Control Board to decide which unions or union officers should be put out of business as "security risks." Now, no organization has more consistently and successfully kept Communists out of its ranks than has the AFL over the seven decades of its existence. But, from bitter experience the AFL has good reason to doubt the effectiveness or fairness of a stamp of approval or disapproval by a government board.

AFL President George Meany appeared before the Senate Labor Committee last year and stated:

> "Yes, I have studied Senator Goldwater's amendment very carefully....The Attorney General cites a member, an employee of a union, to the Subversive Activities Board. If that employee is found guilty of knowingly participating in an organization known as a communist-front organization, the entire union is penalized. What it adds up to is a Government board licensing unions. We would be at the mercy of individuals that might have some bias in the matter."

There is plenty of reason to worry about bias on the part of Board members. At the time President Meany testified, the notorious former Senator from Washington, Harry Cain, had just been appointed as a member of the Board. Harry Cain was viciously anti-labor and also one of the Senate's loudest apologists for Joe McCarthy. "Time," the Republican national news magazine, thought so little of Harry Cain's judgment that they listed him in their March 20, 1950, issue as "the Senate's most expendable."

In addition, the government has recently developed some weird standards for branding people as poor security risks. For example, an American Legion officer and his wife were fired as "security risks" by the Government Printing Office because the Legion officer had been divorced by his first wife who charged alienation of affections. Government Boards are no more objective than the human beings appointed to them.

But apparently the Administration thinks the same treatment would be good for union members. In fact Eisenhower has gone beyond Goldwater's proposal and has included the employers as well as the unions.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell officially prepared a bill which was introduced in the Senate on May 10, 1954, by Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan. This bill would permit the Attorney General to turn over to the Subversive Activities Board any organization, business or union which he has "reason to believe...is a Communist-infiltrated organization." The Board could subpoena all the records and correspondence of the business or union under investigation and drag up any officer or member for questioning.

"Communist-infiltrated" is a new concept. It does not mean Communist-front or Communist-dominated. It just means having one or more employees on the payroll who might be adjudged by very loose standards to be security risks. If the Board decided the business or union is "infiltrated," then it would order the complete liquidation of that business or union.

Is this the reward which American business and American labor get for doing the best job in the world in upholding the private enterprise system and keeping the Communists weak in numbers and influence? We have done this as free men—not as citizens of a police-state.

Fortunately far-sighted businessmen are concerned also. The conservative Wall Street Journal denounced the bill in a two-column editorial on June 1, 1954, in these words: "Indeed, it would have been most difficult to make reference to the Bill of Rights and then attempt to do what this measure suggests...it is not the part of wisdom ourselves to chip away at the very rights we seek to save from that menace."

RESPONSIBILITY LIES WITH ADMINISTRATION

It is important to remember that these two vicious proposals are not just the suggestions of one lobby or one obscure Senator. Both are the official policy being actively pushed by this Administration. What happened to the campaign promise of more individual freedom and less interference by the long arm of the Federal Government?

The lesson for the ordinary citizen [illegible]ess won't pass either of these [illegible]. And they w[illegible]e polls this ye[illegible]

SINCE THIS WAS WRITTEN THE ADMINISTRATION HAS TURNED ON THE HEAT FOR IMMEDIATE PASSAGE OF BROWNELL'S BILLS. WRITE OR WIRE YOUR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS AT ONCE!

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX 1201

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Mr. Paul Robeson,
Council on African Affairs,
139 West 125th St.,
New York 27,
New York, U.S.A.

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TFMcW/PMG/A. 3rd March, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
Council on African Affairs,
139 West 125th St.,
New York 27,
New York,
U.S.A.

Dear Brother Robeson,

In connection with the special May Day issue of our fortnightly Review, "World Trade Union Movement", we are this year using the theme of the fight for trade union and democratic rights. As you know, this is a vital issue in the States, and in particular both inside the trade union movement and outside, for the Negro people.

I have written to Howard Fast, asking him for a general statement on the issues facing the American workers and people, but felt that we ought to have something dealing particularly with the question as it effects Negroes in the States. Do you think you could let me have about 1,000 to 1500 words for publication, to arrive in London at the latest on March 15th.

I realise that this is asking a good deal of you, but, since our magazine is printed in 11 languages, and circulates in every corner of the world, I feel sure you will appreciate the importance of it as a means of publicising the problems of the Negro people in the United States, particularly with regard to trade union and democratic rights.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

J Woddis

For W.F.T.U. PUBLICATIONS LTD.
pp T.F. McWhinnie, Editor.

Syndipress 3/14/54
London

Article sent air mail today.

Gray

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
March 17, 1954

Mrs. Ida Lanning
124 21st Avenue North
Seattle 2, Washington

Dear Mrs. Lanning:

It is always good to hear from people like yourself who are so sincere in their efforts to bring about the kind of life we all want.

Thanks for keeping us posted on your activities in Seattle. I hope your Union's campaign will be a successful one.

Your kindness and fine hospitality was deeply appreciated last year, and as our plans stand now we'll be coming out your way again this year. We'll see you then.

Mr. and Mrs. Robeson were glad that you liked the card, and join in wishing you the best in your work. With my warmest regards to you and all our friends fighting for peace, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Grey
Secretary to Paul Robeson

JG:cb

Seattle Wn
1—54

Dear Friends,

Your beautiful and instructive folder was rec'd, and I thank you very much for your kind remembrance of me, we are still fighting here for peace, for better conditions, and the right to live. our Washington Pension Union has been placed on the list of subversives, but we know we are not in that catagorie, so have ignored, and considered the source from whence it came. our president received 51 questions to answer but refused to do so as he said, we would be condemned if we answered, and the same if we did not as the attorney general takes unto himself the right to act a prosecutor, judge and jury. we are fighting for the release of the food that is stored in the warehouses of the nation that the needy may be fed. I am sending you a copy of our plan to show you what we are doing. we have also begun the fight for the federal old age pension of $100.00 for those 60 yrs of age and over, & feel very much encouraged at the success we have achieved. I trust that yourself and companion are in the best of health, and hope to see you out this way again within the year.

Sincerely
Ida Lanning
124 - 21 Ave North
Seattle 2
Wn

LOCAL "471"

◆

The Union Of the Workers

By the Workers

For the Workers

In 1935, during the administration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Congress passed a most important piece of labor legislation known as the Wagner Act. This law was written by Senator Robert L. Wagner of New York and it provided as follows: that at any time the majority of workers in any given industry should form a union of their own choosing, their employer would be compelled to sit down and bargain with them concerning their wages, hours, and working conditions. In other words, instead of the employer having the supreme right to determine these things, under this law, workers, if they organized, had the right to demand that they have something to say about them.

When this act was signed by the President and became law, many employers throughout the country insisted it was invalid and unconstitutional. As a result, this Act was tested in the lower courts, appealed to the higher courts and finally appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. In April 1937 the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a 5-to-4 decision determining that the Wagner Act was constitutional and workers had the right to organize into unions of their own choosing. So this law became the Supreme Labor Law of the land.

It was shortly after this famous decision was handed down that we, who worked in cafeterias in government buildings, decided to form a Union and take advantage of our constitutional rights as upheld by the Supreme Court. We welcomed this decision because we had many grievances. We were sorely exploited.

1. Average Wage for all employees—General Helpers and Bus Boys to Head Cooks and Head Bakers—25 cents per hour.
2. Unlimited Hours.
3. No such thing as Overtime Pay.
4. No Vacation With Pay—Supervisors, cashiers and checkers received vacations with pay.
5. Holiday Pay only if the bosses decided to give it to us.
6. Sick Leave with Pay was unheard of, although supervisors, cashiers and checkers received Sick Leave with Pay.
7. Hospitalization—out of the question.
8. No Promotions on the Basis of Seniority.
9. No Lay-Offs on the Basis of Seniority.
10. No Job Security—bosses discharged us at will.

11. No Grievance Procedure—managers' and supervisors' word was supreme.
12. No Job Classifications.
13. No such thing as Equal Pay for Equal Work.
14. For cafeterias outside of government the average wage was $7.00 to $11.000 per week.

Such were the conditions that existed, not only in cafeterias in government buildings, but, also, throughout the food industry in general in the District of Columbia.

From the outset we were determined to build a better life for ourselves and all other food workers. We firmly believed that all men were created equal and they were endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these were *Life, Liberty* and *the Pursuit of Happiness.* We were convinced, beyond any doubt, that *Life, Liberty,* and the *Pursuit of Happiness* meant Living Wages and Decent Working Conditions. So we set out to do the job. After 14 long months of hard work we were finally successful in organizing into a Union of our own choosing the majority of the workers who then worked for Government Services, Inc.

On May 25th and 26th, 1938, an election was conducted by the National Labor Relations Board to determine by secret ballot whether the workers of Government Services, Inc., then known as Welfare Recreation Association of Public Buildings and Grounds, wanted a Union of their own choosing to represent them in collective bargaining concerning their wages, hours, and working conditions. In that election 542 workers voted Yes and 119 voted No. As a result, Local 471 was officially chosen as the sole collective bargaining agent of cafeteria workers in government buildings.

Local 471 then entered into collective bargaining and after weeks of negotiations we reached an agreement with Trustees of the Company and our first contract was signed covering all the workers of the government cafeterias. This contract went into effect August 1st, 1938. It provided that all jobs be classified, wages to range from 42½ cents to 55 cents per hour. It further provided 8 holidays with pay; 2 weeks vacation with pay; time and one-half for all hours worked over 8 hours in any one day and 48 hours in any one week; differential for part-time employment; the establishment of grievance committees in each cafeteria for the purpose of solving the problems of workers in units where they may arise; and job security—in other words—we had a contract which guaranteed us 20 rights which we had never had before.

Each year since we have organized other workers, renewed our contract with G.S.I. and added to our initial gains. Today, Local 471 has contracts with many employers covering approximately 3,000 food workers in the District of Columbia. Our contracts covering workers in government buildings now provide the following:

1. Eleven different categories of Job Classifications, with rates of pay ranging from 87½¢ per hour to $1.34½ per hour.

2. 10 cents Differential for Part-Time employment, Night Work and Sunday Work.
3. Overtime Pay at time and one-half for all hours worked over 8 hours in any one day and 48 hours in any one week.
4. 8 Holidays with Pay.
5. 12 days Vacation with Pay for workers of one year's service and 15 days Vacation with Pay for workers of 18 or more months of service.
6. 12 days Sick Leave with Pay.
7. Maternity Leave for all female employees.
8. Lay-Offs on the basis of Company-Wide Seniority.
9. Arbitration in cases of Unfair Suspensions or Discharges.
10. Grievance Procedure by which all workers are afforded a Fair Hearing.
11. Equal Pay for Equal Work.
12. Hospitalization—paid for by the Employer.
13. Promotions on Basis of Seniority.

Our contracts with other commercial employers are almost similar.

Our many gains have been won only through great sacrifices and struggle. Historically, Local 471 has stood and fought unequivocally for the rights and welfare of all workers regardless of race, creed, or color. However, during the years there have been employers who have sought to deny these rightful benefits to their workers and who have adamantly taken the position that workers have no right to have unions of their own choosing. In such cases Local 471 has stood firm and it has never failed to do battle with any employer who has sought to deny workers those guarantees which are provided in the labor laws of the land.

We have been engaged in many strikes against employers: the Press Cafeteria—9 weeks; S. & W. Cafeteria—4 weeks; O'Donnells Sea Food Grill—10 weeks; Government Services, Inc. in 1948—79 days. In these strikes our members walked the picket lines in all kinds of weather. Many of them were arrested and 5 of them spent 5 months in jail. All of this to build a better life for you and themselves. Our record will show that in every instance, because we were right and because we were determined, our union came out victorious.

In addition to the magnificent job it has done in raising the economic living standards of food workers in the District of Columbia and bettering the working conditions, the union has also been active on other fronts. We participated in and supported the successful campaign for jobs for Negroes in the Glenn Martin Airplane factory in Baltimore, Md., during World War II. The Union gave its whole-hearted support to the fight against Police Brutality directed at Negroes in the District of Columbia a few years ago. It has participated in campaigns for jobs for Negroes in Public Utilities. It has whole-heartedly supported and fought for such legislation as the FEPC law, an anti-lynch law, the repeal of the poll tax, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, etc. It is now fighting for the revival of the 1872 and 1873 Civil Rights Laws of the District of Columbia which make it a violation of the law to deny *any* well behaved citizen service in any food establishment or admission to any public theatre or accommodation in any hotel in the District of Columbia.

The Union has been in the forefront from its very inception in all fights against Segregation and Discrimination. It contends that this cancer which slowly eats away at the very roots of democracy must be eliminated and all citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color must be afforded first-class citizenship if there is to be permanent Freedom and Peace in the world.

Local 471 stands as a bulwark against any and all employers who would exploit workers and against any and all enemies of Freedom and Peace. It is proud of its record and its whole history is an open book. It is a democratic organization which is run wholly and solely by the workers. The officers of the Union are those who have come up from the ranks, who have labored in the food industry and who are well acquainted with the workers' problems. They are chosen once a year through democratic elections conducted by secret ballot.

On Sunday October 8th, 1950, the Union celebrates its 12th anniversary and it can look back and say without reservation so far the job has been well done.

OUR APPEAL TO YOU

"Yes, we are proud of our record." There is no question we have made great progress. Yet, we must realize that it is imperative to work forward to our big objective. Our goal has been, is, and must be, a full life for all food workers regardless of race, creed or color and social, economic and political equality for all mankind.

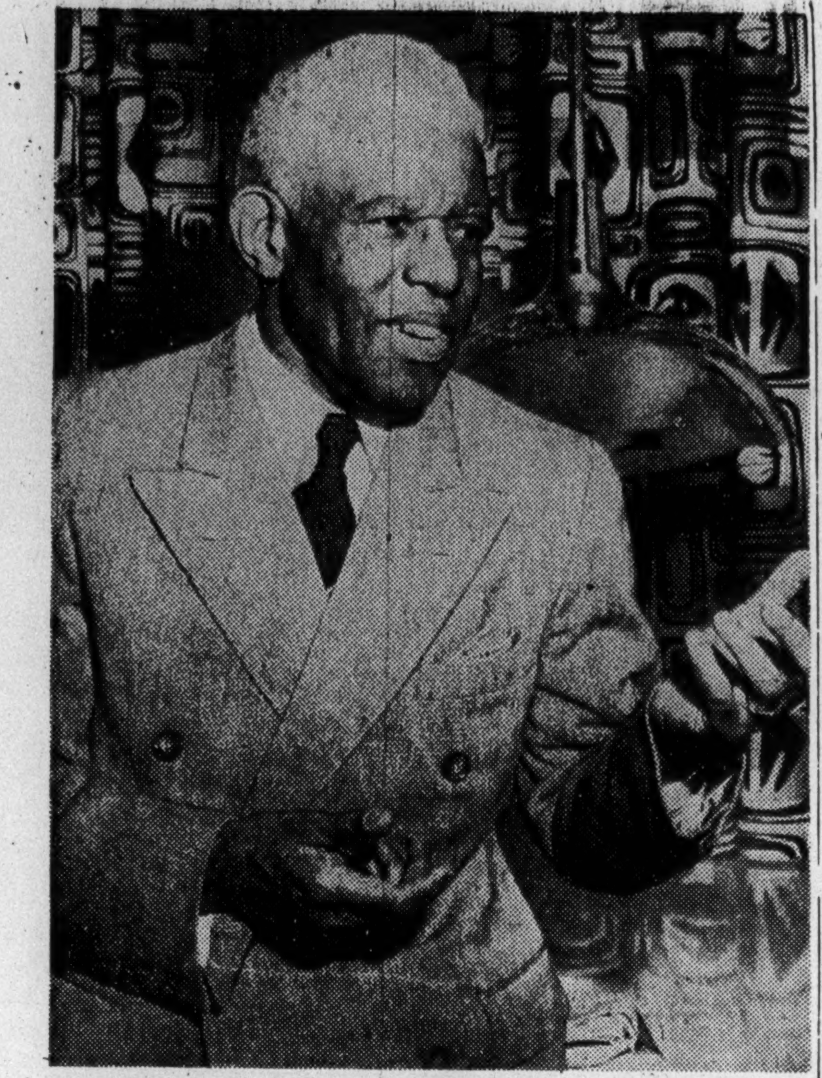
To accomplish this we need the support of all. Each and everyone must play his part morally and financially.

So, on this, our 12th anniversary, we dedicate ourselves to the unfinished task remaining before us.

We appeal to every worker to JOIN OUR RANKS. *Sign an Authorization Card.* Become a Member of a Great Organization which has sacrificed and fought unceasingly for your welfare, the future welfare of your children and those who may labor in the food industry in years to come.

You are welcome into our fold because in the unity of all there is Great Strength and Unity is the only GUARANTEE that Local 471, the Union of the Workers, by the Workers, and for the Workers shall never perish from the earth.

JOIN THE UNION NOW



IT'S LIKE THIS: Roland Hayes was in animated person in Seattle this forenoon as he awaited his curtain time, 8:30 o'clock tonight in the University of Washington's Meany Hall. His gestures were full of vigor.—Times staff photo by Harold Smith.

Roland Hayes at 66 Is Young, Vibrant Man

Music lovers listening in Meany Hall tonight to Roland Hayes singing his big heart out will hear the voice of a young, vibrant, active man.

Oh, sure—the records show that Hayes is 66.

Hayes says so himself, as a matter of fact, without any hesitation. This in itself proves that Roland Hayes is a young man.

So did his motions and his words this forenoon as he bounced around his room in the Olympic Hotel—far from sparing himself undue energy just because he'll be lifting his great tenor voice tonight in the hall on the University of Washington campus.

Concert at 8:30

Promptly at 8:30 o'clock Hayes will begin his program—and for all anyone knows, he could be 66——46——or 26.

There are 26-year-olds who'd have trouble bouncing across a hotel room on the balls of his feet as springly as does Hayes, answering the door, the telephone, lowering a window, raising it again, hanging up the coats and hats of visitors, smiling and talking.

Even the words he chose were young words, and his delivery was as forceful as the singing style which has captivated millions for so long.

"I've just about made up my mind to begin work," said Hayes with bubbling good humor. "I've wasted a good many years."

Cheerfully noting that he has a lot of hair, Hayes pointed out that much of it is gray, and gurgled on:

"I don't feel any differently now than I did when I started out 40 years ago. I've been just preparing for 40 years. Now I'm just starting out—yes, now I'm only 21, so I'm having a great time."

Career Strenuous

Hayes is a slightly built man. He's moved too fast for too many years to accumulate any fat. He did no less than 40 concerts a year for he doesn't know how long.

Come May, he'll start out for Holland and later sing in Germany, England and perhaps Paris. Last November Hayes sang his 30th-anniversary concert in Carnegie Hall.

"This will be my first European tour in 16 years," said Hayes with animation. "There hasn't been much to go over there FOR, really."

Hayes noted that there are good times for concert tours and times which are not so good because of keen competition, flat pocketbooks or many combinations of circumstances.

"But now," said the tenor, "the running's good."

There was yet another knock on the door. The singer arose to answer it.

And he didn't walk. He ran.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS LINCOLN BRIGADE 1952-54 10/25

MESSAGE FROM PAUL ROBESON

Dear Friends:

I deeply regret that I cannot attend this important rally, but I send my heartfelt greetings to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on this 20th anniversary of the battle against fascism in Spain!

The heroic anti-fascist struggle of the Spanish people, assisted so nobly by the volunteers from America and other lands, lives on in our hearts and in the hearts of humankind throughout the world. Ever present with me is the memory of Loyalist Spain -- the profound effect that it had in deepening my understanding of the great issues of our time, the inspiration and strength that I drew from my association with that struggle.

With you I share the feeling of anger and outrage as we witness today the shameful partnership of Secretary Dulles with the butcher Franco; and with you I cry out in protest against this betrayal of our democratic tradition, against this sinister threat to peace and democracy everywhere. But as we see, the people of the world are not going to go to the "brink" with Mr. Dulles; and, indeed, the struggle for freedom is more widespread and vigorous than ever before.

Today the Spanish people's struggle to throw off the yoke of fasdist tyranny is reinforced by the freedom struggles in Spanish North Africa -- part of the great colonial liberation movement which all the Dulleses and Francos of the world cannot hold back. Yes, Madrid shall rise again in freedom, and all of Spain, for this is an era of liberation and the rightful claims of the Spanish people must finally be fulfilled. The cause for which our finest sons gave their lives shall triumph, and Franco shall follow his earlier partners -- Hitler and Mussolini -- to doom and oblivion.

Dear members of the Brigade, you know that there is in my heart a special feeling for you, the deepest and warmest affection. Thanks again for the inspiring example -- an example which you continue to give to all of us -- of heroic and determined struggle against fascism, undying loyality to the peoples' struggle for peace and democracy here and throughout the world!

Your devoted friend,

Paul Robeson

VOLUNTEER FOR LIBERTY

Issued by
Veterans of
The Abraham
Lincoln Brigade

23 West 26 St.
New York 10, N.Y.

VOLUME XVII NUMBER 5 JUNE - JULY 1956

JULY 18, 1936 SPAIN JULY 18, 1956

Twenty years have passed but the issue is still the same.

On the one side Franco - on the other the Spanish people.

In this one country in the whole wide world, open admitted fascism rules. And democracy, slowly recovering from defeat on the field of battle, tests its new strength in workers strikes and students demonstrations.

Shamefully American might replaces the broken power of Hitler and Mussolini as the essential underpinning Franco needs.

Twenty years have passed but this too is still the same -- the victory of fascism in Spain preluded World War II.

Today, nourished on American tax dollars, Franco boasts he is the only sure ally in the World War III he longs for.

In the surge and toss of twenty year s much has changed and men and women of good will, fighters against fascism, have strongly supported varying views. But on opposition to Franco - on support to the Spanish people in their resurgent movement for freedom there is only agreement. But today verbal agreement is not enough. The Spanish people are in motion. They need unified and active support, a unified American demand, a unified world demand, that the American government cease propping the weakening fascist regime with military and monetary aid.

On this 20th Anniversary of the war against fascism in Spain, we urge that remembering the past and anxious for the future, the great organizations of the American people, especially the labor unions, the student movement, the churches, the political associations, the fraternal societies - all unitedly impress the earnestness of their opposition to Franco upon the makers of government policy.

Withdraw American support from Franco and the Spanish people will find their own way to rid themselves of fascism and establish a government dedicated to peace and eager for public betterment. Of this we are confident. We fought by their side twenty years ago - we know the mettle of the Spanish people.

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

(Statement we plan to circularize as widely as possible)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-5057

May 20, 1954

Dear Mr. Gray:

Please forgive our not having answered your note on participation in the "Salute to Paul Robeson". We are up to our ears in the hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board - and the mail has just piled up.

But that hasn't prevented us from doing things to get out our guys to the affair next Wed. We've notified the N.Y. Vets and friends at a meeting held last week and pushed it with our various committees. Have been in touch with Louise Patterson and some of the people in the building who are working on the affair.

Regret not having been able to secure a pepresentative in time to participate in the overall committee - but circumstances just prevented our doing it.

We are taking up the question of taking a box for the affair in the name of the organization tomorrow nite. The big problme, as always, will be finances, and will let Louise know what is decided.

Enclosed are two pamphlets we have just published. We would appreciate it if you could get one to Paul and we do hope you will find the time to read one yourself.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Moe Fishman

Moe Fishman
Exec. Sec'y.

P.S. If I may be so bold as to make a suggestion - I think it is important to give people something specific to do on the campaign to get the passport for Paul - postcard such as the enclosed, petition, copy of resolution, etc. or combination of them.

". . . and that Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

April 23, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom
53 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Paul:

It has been quite some time since we, the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade of Chicago have addressed ourselves to you. The reasons are many ... the most important being that as a functioning Post we have been almost non-existent for the past mumber of years. Those of us who have maintained our faith in the cause for which we were ready to give our lives -- namely, the right for all people to live as free men -- to enjoy the fruits of their labor, have contimued to struggle through various unions and other peoples organizations -- but had drifted apart as an organization since our numbers were few and responsibilities to those organizations were many.

You, of course, know of the attempts of Attorney General Brownell, through the infamous McCarran Act, to brand us as subversives, to hound and intimidate us, to offer us the alternative of betraying all that is decent, becoming informers, stool pigeons, perjurors or face jail and concentration camps.

These circumstances have compelled us to unite once more and as an organized group meet the onslaughts of our home-bred fascists.

We would like to arrange a concert and rally in defense of the Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade on June 12, 1954, to spark an intensive campaign for the repeal of the McCarran Act. We would like to have you as the guest artist for this occasion.

Mass meetings in Chicago have been much too poorly attended in the past mumber of years. Our objective is to break this paralysis, to rally approximately 1,000 people for this affair.

We believe this can be done with your participation as the central figure, as an honorary member of the Lincoln Brigade in defense of the Vets of the Lincoln Brigade.

We of course will meet your expenses and fee.

With all good wishes for your health, deep admiration for your devotion to the cause of liberty and justice for all mankind, we are

Fraternally yours,

Morris Granat & Ted Gibbs

Morris Granat and Ted Gibbs, in behalf
of Chicago Post of the VALB

P. S. An early reply would be deeply appreciated as we would like to get to work on this project at once.

VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE
23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-5057

March 16, 1954

Mr. John Gray
FREEDOM
139 West 125 St.
New York City

Dear Mr. Gray:

Am writing at your suggestion concerning our request to Paul Robeson to appear at the Anniversary celebration of the founding of the Spanish Republic.

The date is Arpil 14th, but the rally can be held on any of the dates from April 12 to 15th. We have not rented the hall purposely to make it most convenient for Mr. Robeson to appear.

Would you be kind enough to have Mr. Robeson refer to the note he took from me last Friday nite at the rally to "Keep Hands Off Guatemala" and let me know as quickly as possible if he will be able to participate with us?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Moe Fishman
Moe Fishman
Exec. Sec'y.

"... and that Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE
23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 3-5057

March 12, 1954

Dear Comrade Paul Robeson:

April 14th marks the 23rd Anniversary of the establishment of the Spanish Republic. We are planning a rally to commemorate the date.

It has been a long time since you have spoken to the anti-Franco forces in America, and, as honorary member of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, we appeal to you to help make the rally a success. The many people we still reach on the anti-Franco issue have not heard you for some time now and your participation will greatly influence the success of the meeting.

While April 14th comes out on a Wednesday - any evening before or after will be equally effective. We do hope you will agree to participate and find it possible to fit it into your schedule. May we hear from you soon on this?

And from all your comrades in the International Brigades - SALUD!

Most sincerely,
Moe Fishman
Moe Fishman
Executive Secretary

"... and that Government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

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COMMITTEE TO DEFEND LINCOLN VETERANS

Organized to aid victims of the Smith Act and other political persecution

23 WEST 26 STREET · NEW YORK 10, N. Y. · MURRAY HILL 3-5057

JOHN L. SIMON, M. D.
Chairman

DAN GRODEN
Secretary-Treasurer

January 18, 1952

Dear Mr. Burnham:

I am in receipt of your kind letter of January 14, and while we very much regret the inability of Paul Robeson to participate in our celebration, we understand the reasons that make it impossible for him to be with us on that date.

In connection with our celebration, we are endeavoring through our program to show the integral link between the fight for Negro rights and the fight against the Smith Act. One way in which we feel we can make a small contribution to our common efforts is to obtain a large number of subscriptions to FREEDOM. We still have in our possession a number of subscription blanks from our affair last February. The price reads $1 for a subscription. Would you be kind enough to let us know if this price still holds - in which case we have ample blanks. Should the price have changed, would you please send us a number of subscription blanks before February 16.

Thank you ever so much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

John L. Simon

John L. Simon, M. D.
Chairman

Is it Subversive to be Anti-Franco?

Published by
The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
23 West 26th Street • New York 10, N. Y.

Prologue

In a quiet air-conditioned room down in Washington, D. C., a group of men are meeting. A stenographer takes down every word. Documents are offered to the person who seems to be in charge. Questions are asked and answered. Occasionally a new face will appear. Occasionally the empty seats reserved for the public will be occupied by a scattering of people. There is no shouting, no dramatics. All proceeds with great calm and great monotony. It is difficult indeed to attach any significance to what is happening. The press, usually so hungry for news, is noticeable only by its absence.

These are the proceedings of the Subversive Activities Control Board and what is happening in this room is of immense importance to you as an American. Before long 264 organizations shall have had hearings before this board. If the courts uphold the McCarran Act under which these organizations are being heard, they will be destroyed. Whatever viewpoints they represented, whatever information they made available to you, whatever services they rendered shall cease, and after them will come another 264 organizations, and still more, until every organized voice of opposition in America today is silenced.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is one of the organizations before this board.

And What They Knew, They Know

There are not many veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade–the majority are dead. Almost two thousand have fallen on the battlefields of two wars against fascism. Their bodies are part of the hills and groves of Spain–the beaches and jungles of the Pacific –the hedgerows of Normandy and the sands of North Africa–and many went down at sea.

Those who died and we who survive were volunteers–acting from no compulsion except clear understanding–spurred only by the demands of conscience – asking nothing except the right to defend freedom from reaction – world peace from the onslaught of war – the right to be actually and physically in the front lines against fascism.

Our organization, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, springs from the very heart of America. It came into existence only to give expression to the anti-fascist feelings of America. It is the living symbol of the hatred and detestation most Americans feel for that last survivor of the Axis, Francisco Franco, the butcher of the Spanish people. When our organization, which for 17 years and in two wars has defended the welfare of the United States, is asked to register by the Subversive Activities Control Board as an enemy of the United States–it is fitting and proper that we bring our case to you.

The essential character of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is best expressed by the phrase that was manufactured to taunt us–we were called "premature antifascists." And it is true that first and last we are anti-fascists. To be called premature, was to acknowledge our early readiness to volunteer our lives to stop fascism when so many in high places were making deals with fascism and slandering those who stood against it. Our taking up arms against Franco in 1936, '37, and '38 was a vital factor in creating that climate of anti-fascism in America which was so important for the mobilization of the powerful national effort which defended our country in World War II.

The late Genevieve Taggard, a clear voice for freedom, reveals this understanding of our role in her poem "To the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade."

> Say of them
> They knew no Spanish
> At first, and nothing of the arts of war
> At first:
> how to shoot, how to attack,
> how to retreat
> How to kill, how to meet killing
> At first.
> Say they kept the air blue
> Grousing and griping,
> Arid words and harsh faces. Say
> They were young;
> The haggard in a trench, the dead on
> the olive slope
> All young. And the thin, the ill
> and the shattered,
> Sightless, in hospitals, all young.
> Say of them they were young, there was
> much they did not know,
> They were human. Say it all; it is
> true. Now say
> When the eminent, the great, the
> easy, the old,
> And the men on the make
> Were busy bickering and selling,
> Betraying, conniving, transacting,
> splitting hairs,
> Writing bad articles, signing bad papers,
> Passing bad bills,

Bribing, blackmailing,
Whimpering, meaching, garroting,—they
Knew and acted
understood and died.
Or if they did not die came home to peace
That is not peace. Say of them
They are no longer young, they never learned
The arts, the stealth of peace, this peace,
the tricks of fear;
And what they knew, they know.
And what they dared, they dare.
—Genevieve Taggard.

Yes—when the demanding need of the time was to cut through the net of hypocritical words—when the hour came for men and women to bar fascism with their bodies—the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was born. And when the World War we tried to prevent engulfed our land—when the fascism we attempted to halt in Spain attacked our nation—veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade again gave leadership by example on the battlefields of World War II.

The Right To Fight

Today there are few who will deny that the attack on the Spanish Republic launched in 1936 was the opening gun in the Hitler-Mussolini plan for world conquest. American awareness of this danger was immeasurably strengthened by the direct participation of Americans in this struggle. Perhaps our greatest contribution to the cause of democracy at that time was this arousal and solidification of anti-fascist opinion at home. The late Harold Ickes, strong right arm of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, summed up this estimation of our role in a letter written in November of 1946.

Speaking of the Brigade he said: "... They were among the first to see the menace of fascism and certainly among the first to offer their lives in an effort to halt this menace. In the last decade, they have been in the forefront of all the battles for democracy and they deserve the best this country has to offer."

When Harold Ickes wrote that letter, he was talking not only of the Lincoln Brigade's participation in the war in Spain but also of our participation in World War II and our political struggles for the "right to fight."

For the same forces here at home who rejoiced in Franco's victory, strove desperately to limit our contribution in World War II. Not only ours; but also that of hardened fighters of the Spanish Republican Army who, retreating from Spain, had been herded into concentration camps in France and North Africa. In 1940, many Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade went to jail for leading a successful drive to stop the French government from returning these refugees to sure slaughter or imprisonment in Franco Spain. These trained anti-Fascist soldiers later formed an important part of the French Forces of the Interior (Maquis) and helped liberate that country from the Nazis. The help of these Spanish Republicans to our side saved the lives of many American soldiers—just as the help of Franco to the Nazi side, his spying on Allied convoys—his sheltering of Nazi submarines—his threat to the rear of our forces in North Africa (as attested by General Eisenhower) was responsible for the death of many Americans.

There were others who had fought in Spain who had much to contribute to the Allied victory over fascism. Many Americans—and especially those who fought in the Pacific campaigns will remember Herman Bottcher—promoted from sergeant to captain on the field of battle—the man LIFE magazine, in a feature story, reported was known as the One Man Army. Captain Herman Bottcher—killed in action on Leyte—Veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—refugee from Hitler—was denied re-entry into America along with many other foreign born Americans who fought in Spain. With the help of thousands of our fellow citizens, we led a successful campaign for their admittance to the United States. The glorious record of Bottcher in battle symbolizes the contribution made by these foreign born Americans to this country.

But it was not only foreign born veterans who were at first denied the privilege of defending America from its enemies. All Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade had to fight for that right—and fight we did—thanks to wide support, again successfully.

Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade sent an official letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt volunteering the services of our whole organization. Within a short time over 50% of our organization were bearing arms or were in the Merchant Marine. Here is a quote from the newspaper PM of Nov. 28, 1943:

"Ever since the Army removed its ban on overseas service for members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade those who have got into combat have written a record in blood as glorious as the one they made when they first fought fascism in Spain. . . . Although the War Department denied its existence . . .

discrimination was widely practised. It ended about six months ago when Under-Secretary of War Patterson took cognizance of numerous protests, including some from progressive Congressmen. Since then, 60 of the 600 Brigade Veterans have been sent overseas. . . ." Many more than that 60 soon were in all areas where our armed forces saw service. They won many commissions, many medals, and more than a few gave their lives.

Our Brigade is proud of the long and successful campaign to give the "Fighters for Freedom – Freedom to Fight."

One of the best summations of the role of the Lincoln veterans was expressed by Major General Bissell of Army Intelligence, testifying at a Congressional hearing in February, 1945. Answering charges of reactionary Congressmen attacking the loyalty of Lincoln veterans in the Armed Forces, Gen. Bissell said:

"The Army files show the loyalty of each of these officers . . . Most of these charges were made on the flimsiest grounds . . . These officers have shown by their deeds that they are upholding the United States by force and violence."

The Pattern of Repression

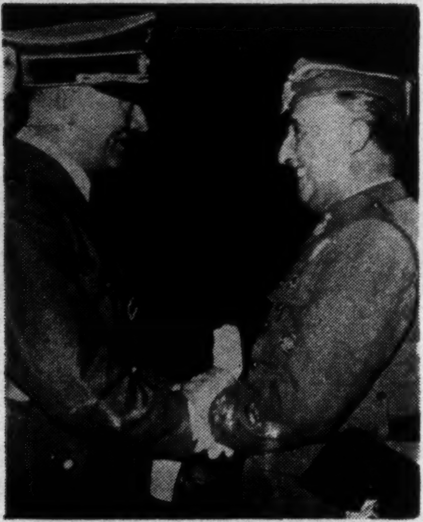
That hearing in 1945, even before victory had been won in World War II, foreshadowed the ever-increasing attempts of reactionary politicans to drive our organization out of public life and to falsely brand Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as "subversive."

Since that day repression has grown. Now it threatens everyone. The danger must be understood. Our dearly bought experience of fascism makes us especially sensitive, one might say allergic, to every manifestation of this political disease. Our members are among the first to suffer the effect of an increase in its virulence. We can detect its signs when those without our unique experience are still unaware of its approach. The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is so truly a cross section of America that within the small body of our organization, as in a test tube, we have seen over the past years the growing deadliness of the reactionary assault on civil rights.

Our members who are in trade unions tell us of the attempts to shackle labor with restrictive legislation like the Taft-Hartley Law and the now projected Butler Bill. The Negro Veterans, who together with their white comrades, were the first to call for mixed Negro and white units in the armed forces of the United States, know from their own experience of the constant attacks against the Negro people. Those Veterans, who earn their living in the professional fields, know of the tight-lipped silence which covers so many of the intellectuals of our country, hampering research and study, making intellectual interchange suspect and intellectuals, objects of suspicion —transforming our once proud forum of ideas into a concentration camp of atomic fear. Every Veteran is aware of the insolent plan to make any past or present support of a free Spain, a "subversive" act in itself. Many Veterans have lost jobs, have been persecuted, jailed and subjected to deportation proceedings because they fought on the side of Republican Spain.

In our years in Spain we met and discussed with the refugees and exiles from Nazi Ger-

The Hitler-Franco Handshake



The McCarran-Franco Handshake

Honored Veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

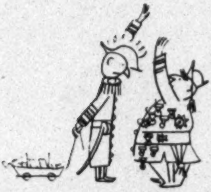
CAPTAIN HERMAN BOTTCHER—killed in action on Leyte during the Battle for the Philippines, awarded Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism.

many, Fascist Italy and Central Europe—the men who later played so significant a role in opposing fascism in their own countries. We heard the same story from all lips—the story which undeniable facts constantly prove. The drive against the Communists, if not resisted by all believers in democracy, soon develops into a drive against all opponents of reaction.

The pattern is clear—let us examine how it operates against anti-Franco Americans.

First, establish that the Communist Party is opposed to Franco. From this base, extend the attack to the most outspoken opponents of Franco. Further extend the attack to all who oppose Franco, no matter what the degree of their opposition or when it was stated. By making opposition to Franco suspect—silence the majority of Americans who dislike Franco and what he represents. Thus with direct attack and indirect threat destroy the democratic right to be anti-Franco.

The Alliance with Fascism



That is the pattern—that is the plan—now what is the purpose behind the plan. The purpose too is clear and evident—to batter down the resistance to a complete alliance between the United States and Franco Spain—to pour more and more millions of American tax money into the coffers of the Franco fascists—and incidentally, line some greedy pockets on both sides of the Atlantic—to make Franco a war ally of the United States as once he was a war ally of Hitler and Mussolini against the United States. This disgusting wooing of Franco, this frightening insistence on making Franco Spain a major atomic war base, leads to greater and greater isolation of the United States. The closer Franco is brought to our country—the further we are separated from the rest of the peoples of the world and especially from the majority of the oppressed, war weary Spaniards. The people of England, France, Norway and Sweden, to mention only a few, are repelled and made fearful by our courtship of the erstwhile pal of Hitler. They know that alliance with fascism can only be alliance for a war they do not want. Half a world in ruins—the evil memories of Buchenwald—remind us that the road upon which the McCarrans and McCarthys would lead us was explored to its bloody end by Hitler and Mussolini.

We Will Not Lie

It is in this situation and under these political circumstances that the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are faced with the demand that we register as a 'communist front' organization—that we lie to the people of our nation and declare that all we have fought for was wrong and that we agree to label our anti-fascist activities from now on as "subversive."

Indeed, there is more precedent for the charges against us in "Alice in Wonderland" than there are in the books of law. Like Alice, we face a court with a fixed idea—a court which opens the trial by proclaiming "Off with their head."

Obviously when the key charge against us is that we are opposed to Franco, we cannot and have no desire to defend ourselves by saying we are not anti-Franco. We Veterans are as openly and as proudly anti-Franco as the Abolitionists of 100 years ago were anti-slavery. For us to deny our anti-Francoism would be to deny our very existence.

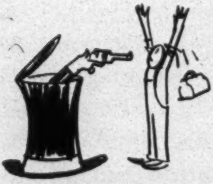
We shall defend ourselves before the Subversive Activities Control Board knowing that this is part of the long fight against reaction—and a defense of the interests of the majority of Americans. We are confident of your continued support. We need this popular support —for the same McCarran who jammed through the law under which we are charged, sits on the Senate Judiciary Committee which hand-picks the members of the Subversive Activities Control Board which is hearing our case. This is the same Senator McCarran who was decorated by Franco for having secured loans of millions of American dollars to keep his bloody regime in power!

Organizations attacked by Attorney General Brownell under the McCarran Act are condemned as either "communist action" or "communist front." The McCarran Act demands the registration for persecution of the membership of the former and the officers of the latter. Such registration orders the organization to make public its financial and other records. They must prominently label all their publications and mail "Communist Action" or "Communist Front." Failure to register can mean imprisonment for an officer or a member of five years in jail and a ten thousand dollar fine. Each day of failure to register is a separate offense and each offense calls for the same punishment. Hence it would literally be possible for a person—within a short time—to owe the government several hundred thousands of dollars, as well as a couple of lifetimes—not for anything he has done, but simply for refusing to register as ordered. In the case of *this* organization—the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—registration would mean that we agree with the Attorney General's arbitrary finding that we are a "communist front" organization within the meaning of the law. And what is the meaning of the law? Simply this: that a "communist front" organization is one which aids and abets a "communist action" organization which allegedly carries out "conspiracy, sabotage, terror and espionage!"

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has not and does not engage in "conspiracy, sabotage, terror and espionage." We will not lie and say that we do. *We refused to register.* The Attorney General has therefore cited the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade before the Subversive Activities Control Board.

"Branded" Americans

The McCarran Act thus seeks to create a "branded" group of Americans—numbering in the hundreds of thousands—whose rights as citizens will be severely curtailed. They would not be permitted to work for the government, nor in any defense plant or factory even partially engaged in defense work. They would be subject to immediate internment should the President at



any time declare a 'State of National Emergency'—in concentration camps already set up in several states and capable of holding 100,000 American citizens!

The McCarran Act seeks to take away those rights which every American enjoys as his heritage; the right to work, to live where he pleases, think as he pleases, write as he pleases, the right to due process of law. A large group of second-class citizens would be created and the concentration camp would become an integral part of "the American way of life." This is what threatens us because we have opposed fascism for most of our adult lives. This is what threatens you if you dare to raise your voice against hydrogen bomb warfare. This is the "American" equivalent of the Nazi Yellow Star of David badge that millions of Jews were compelled to wear—*until they were fed to the gas chambers and the crematoria!*

This is the method of those very forces in the United States who sabotaged the Spanish Republic in its fight against Franco, and who have seized more and more control of the policies of our country. With such men as McCarran and McCarthy in the lead, they made an ally of Franco over the opposition of the majority of the American people. Our small organization did and is doing all in its power to point out the danger of such a policy to the freedom of our country and to the peace of the world. From the time most of our veterans returned from service in the armed forces to now—we have not ceased our efforts for the carrying out of the United Nation resolution condemning Franco Spain as a fascist country.

The Right To Be Anti-Franco

Fifteen years after the last shot was fired in Madrid, the clash of ideas which started with the war in Spain still continues in America. The war in Spain was a war in defense of democracy against fascist reaction. The war of ideas here in the United States today is also a defense of democracy against fascist reaction.

Support or opposition to Franco, and all he stands for, still is an acid test of a person's position in that struggle. The very fact that we, who most vividly represent opposition to Franco fascism, are being persecuted in court and hounded by the FBI shows how far down the road of reaction our country has been driven. The political and economic forces represented by McCarran and McCarthy are determined to smear, blacklist and imprison all who oppose their drive for reactionary power. Today they attack the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—their list for tomorrow includes all who have ever opposed Franco.

Nothing more clearly demonstrates this fact than the recent attacks on the American scientist, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer. Of the many sins that he is accused of by the McCarthyites, the greatest, apparently, was his support of the cause of Republican Spain. We need only remind ourselves that during the war in Spain, the majority of the scientists, writers, actors, artists in America participated in the movement that was sweeping the world to save Republican Spain and to beat back fascism there. The Gallup polls of the day estimated that over two million Americans who had opinions on the subject were in favor of Republican Spain and wanted to see the Republic win. From our own experience we know that most of these Americans went on record by signing petitions, giving money, writing letters, and supporting this movement in many other ways. Nearly every trade union in America is officially on record against the Franco regime in Spain.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, in a television address to the nation on April 9th, stated that the Department of Justice was seeking approval of legislation that would extend the Internal Security Act to include trade unions. The danger here is obvious! McCarthyism strives for a world and a country where civil liberties, trade union rights, freedom of religion are repressed as they are in Franco Spain. If you are opposed to Franco, McCarran and McCarthy as we are—you will support us in our fight for the right to be anti-Franco and anti-McCarthy and anti-McCarran. If with your support, we win—it is a victory for you.

If you are against Franco and McCarran —against McCarthy and reaction—raise your voice against the McCarran Act.

ACT NOW—PROTECT YOUR RIGHTS

WRITE your Congressman asking him to press for the repeal of the McCarran Act.

PROTEST to the Subversive Activities Control Board, 811 Vermont Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C. demanding it find in our favor.

AND ABOVE ALL WRITE to the State Department and tell Dulles that you are against United States support and loans from your tax monies to Franco Spain.

KEEP THE VETS FREE TO FIGHT FASCISM

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

I am enclosing $................to support your defense of the "right to be anti-Franco". Please send me............copies of "Is It Subversive To Be Anti-Franco?"

Name..

Address..

City...Zone.......State.......................

264

KEEP THE VETS
FREE
TO FIGHT FASCISM

UNITED STATES
2 CENTS
FRANKLIN
POSTAL CARD

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

MISS KATHRYN McHALE
MR. WATSON B. MILLER
S. A. C. B.
ROOM 113, LAFAYETTE BLDG.
811 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TO THE HEARING OFFICERS:

As the late Harold Ickes said: " . . . they (the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade) were among the first to see the menace of fascism and certainly among the first to offer their lives in an effort to halt this menace. In the last decade, they have been in the forefront of all the battles for democracy and they deserve the best this country has to offer."

I feel that under no circumstances can they be labelled "Subversive". I urge you to find in favor of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

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MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS 1953 10/26

ASP

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS inc.

35 West 64th Street, New York 23, N. Y.

Telephone: SUsquehanna 7-4677

IRVING ADLER
National Director

Accept

April 20, 1953

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Because we value the contribution that you have made to the cultural welfare of our nation, and because we know you share with us a deep concern for civil rights and peace, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions has nominated you for the position of Vice-Chairman. It is my privilege to extend to you this invitation to honor us with the acceptance of the nomination.

Stemming from the Independent Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions which arose during the 1944 campaign for the re-election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, we have during all these years consistently worked for the principles and goals which President Roosevelt still symbolizes. We strive for the peaceful cooperation of nations through the United Nations, the cultural and material welfare of the American people, and for the defense and extension of the civil rights of our citizens.

As a cultural organization, we seek to encourage the development of our nation's democratic culture and to deal with economic and professional problems which affect the people in these fields. As an independent, non-partisan organization, we support legislation consonant with this program.

The purposes of our organiztion are indicated in the enclosed first draft of a policy and program, prepared for consideration by the National Convention that meets April 25, 1953. If, after reading it, you have any questions, I hope you will address them to me.

We look forward to your acceptance of the nomination and to your participation with your fellow intellectuals, through the semi-annual Board Meetings, in determining those policies by which the ASP hopes to contribute to assuring world peace and advancing American culture.

Sincerely,

Henry Pratt Fairchild

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ASP | National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, inc
35 west 64 street new york 23, n.y. SU 74677

May 19th, 1953

Mr. Paul Robeson,
c/o Freedom,
53 West 125th St.,
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

On Friday evening, June 5th, ASP and the National Guardian will hold a joint rally at the Palm Garden to protest the Velde Committee attacks on freedom of the press and freedom in the arts. We are anxious to have you as a speaker at this rally.

When I spoke to your secretary on Monday, he told me that you would probably be out of town on that day. If there is any change in your plans, I hope you will find it possible to accept our invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Adler

Irving Adler,
National Director.

May 21, 1953

Mr. Irving Adler
ASP
35 West 64 St.
New York City

Dear Mr. Adler,

Mr. Robeson has asked me to express his thanks for your kind invitation to speak at the meeting June 5th. He regrets his inability to attend. As you know, his 1953 concert tour opens in Detroit on May 31 and at the time of your meeting he will be in San Francisco.

Mr. Robeson sends his every best wish for a successful meeting.

Sincerely,

Bert Alves
For Paul Robeson

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

PROPOSED POLICY AND PROGRAM

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions is dedicated to the defense and further development of a free, democratic culture. In the pursuit of this goal it seeks to accomplish two distinct, but related results: first, it encourages the members of the groups it represents to take the distinctive part in the affairs of the community for which their particular capacities qualify them; to use their professional skills in advancing popular welfare, through an improved standard of living, better health and cultural enrichment. Second, it seeks to protect and advance the special interests of these groups and to provide a free field for the exercise of their talents. At the present time the second of these objectives has been forced into a predominant position. The current practice of singling out individuals and groups in the arts, sciences and professions for special investigation, attack, restriction and humiliation, has compelled the National Council to assume the defensive in a considerable part of its activities. But for the achievement of our positive goals, as well as for the defense of traditional rights, we believe that the atmosphere of freedom guaranteed by our Constitution and its Bill of Rights is indispensable and the determination to preserve and protect it permeates and inspires every activity the Council engages in. We therefore pledge our best efforts to the following:

1. We challenge all forms of "thought control" and official and unofficial censorship of political, intellectual, scientific and artistic work or conduct. We regard the current "loyalty" oaths, "investigations" of opinion and belief, blacklists, trials and imprisonment for teaching and advocacy, as a direct violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution and the antithesis of a free society. Enforced conformity dries up the springs of creative effort, destroys the free exchange of ideas, which is the lifeblood of scientific progress, and undermines integrity.

II. We call for freedom of communication and publication, unrestricted travel and the unhampered international interchange of knowledge, ideas and artistic achievements.

The banning - and even the burning - of books, the denial of passports, the interference with scientific and cultural conferences, the elimination of recognized classics from our libraries abroad, are all manifestations of the same growing hysteria - which is an unmistakable forerunner of fascism.

III. We demand full and equal opportunities for the practice of the arts, sciences and professions. The latent talents of the people are a priceless national resource and must not be restricted, squandered or diverted to non-constructive ends. To permit the fullest cultivation of these talents equality of educational opportunity must be provided. This should include opportunity for professional training and employment, with financial assistance to overcome economic handicaps, and without discrimination on grounds of race, religion or national origin.

IV. We condemn and reject the assumption of superiority on the part of any group of people which leads to the oppression or subjection of other groups. In the United States this takes the characteristic forms of anti-Semitism and discrimination against Negroes and the foreign-born. Every such act is a direct denial of democracy, undermines the very foundations of the country and unfits it for leadership in a world striving for national and racial equality. In particular, because this is one of our great national responsibilities, we demand the extension of full political, social and economic rights and equalities to our Negro population. This is essential, not only as a matter of simple justice, but also in order that the nation may have the benefit of the vast reservoirs of talent and ability which are inherent in the Negro people.

[illegible]

The immense contribution already made by the Negro people to the cultural life of our country is indicative of the further contribution that might be made if existent handicaps were removed.

V. We propose resumption of the advance in social and economic well-being which has been interrupted and threatened by the development of the cold war. Much still remains to be done before we can reach the goal of adequate health services, decent housing at reasonable cost and a higher standard of living.

VI. We place particular emphasis on the encouragement of cultural activities of all kinds. We shall do our utmost to widen opportunities for artistic and scientic expression. We shall make our own special contribution through our forums, publications, theatrical productions, films, concerts and art exhibitions.

VII. Finally, and most importantly, as the central and indispensable basis of all that the National Council stands for, we demand PEACE. None of the foregoing objectives is capable of attainment in an atmosphere of war or the preparation for war - cold or hot -- actual or contemplated. We categorically reject all doctrines that hold that war is desirable or inevitable, or that it produces any values that cannot better be achieved by peaceful negotiation. We are convinced that all the difficulties, differences and tensions that afflict mankind at present can be resolved through the medium of peaceful negotiation. And we believe that only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity can the members of the Arts, Sciences and Professions achieve that fruition of their special talents which is essential to the realization of their own personalities and the rendering of their greatest contribution to society.

To achieve these goals, we shall cooperate with other organizations of the people -- economic, cultural, religious and civic -- to the extent that their programs and activities are consistent with ours. Artists, scientists and professionals are traditionally independent in politics, judging legislative proposals and candidates for office on their merits. We aim to give organized expression to this traditional attitude, on matters on which there is a clear consensus of our members. The freedoms we demand are, in a more profound sense obligations. The inalienable right of the artist, scientist and professional is the right to serve. We shall serve our country and its people, with the full measure of our devotion and professional skill.

a Call

to a conference on equal rights for Negroes in the arts, sciences + professions

Saturday, November 10, 1951

A Call To A Conference For Equal Rights For Negroes In The Arts, Sciences and Professions

The laws of our land, expressed in the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, demand the full extension of equality to the entire Negro people.

The violation of these laws — in letter and spirit — in the whole field of the arts, sciences and professions has motivated this call to a conference on equal rights for Negroes.

In the arts and the mass-communication media, Negroes are denied equal opportunity for employment, forced into molds of ancient stereotypes, and prevented from full expression of the culture of the Negro people. While the lot of the Negro artist is characterized by chronic unemployment, the distinguishing hallmark of the representation of the Negro in most art forms today is caricature in which a whole people is portrayed as something other than it is.

In the sciences and professions, the majority of Negroes are deprived of equal educational opportunities by segregation and quota systems, denied employment in the professions, restricted to the most menial occupations, confined to ghetto areas for their private practice, and thus prevented from making a full contribution to the welfare of the nation.

While the effects of this denial of equal rights are registered with greatest impact upon Negroes, the consequences are borne by white artists, scientists and professionals as well.

Blacklisting, character assassination, political inquisitions and other forms of censorship against white artists, scientists and professionals cannot be ended—so long as discrimination against Negroes and other minority-group members is maintained. For those who violate the Constitution and foster a policy of discrimination against Negroes are the very same persons who are responsible for censorship, blacklisting and the debasement of our science and culture. It is they who tolerate and promote the campaigns of violence and brutality against the Negro people, as exhibited in Cicero, in the bombing of the home of a world-renowned Negro chemist, in the refusal of platforms to the most outstanding American Negro artists, in the "legal lynchings" of many young men guilty of nothing more than being Negroes. American culture cannot live in the face of such terror against a large segment of our people. Standards of truth and humanism cannot be maintained in our cultural media so long as the truth of the Negro people's lives is denied expression. Nor can there be decent standards for white professionals in many fields so long as a reservoir of Negro unemployed is used to depress salaries and rates.

The status of the white artist, scientist and professional can only rise with each victory for equal rights. It can only deteriorate so long as discrimination against his Negro colleague continues.

In recent court decisions gains for equal rights have been won, but most of them have yet to be implemented in practice. Some outstanding but isolated victories against discrimination in some professional fields have been won by Negro and white working together. Generally speaking, in art, music, theatre, radio, TV, health, law, architecture, advertising, journalism, science, social welfare and other fields, a great deal more remains to be accomplished.

For these reasons, we believe the time has come for all artists, scientists and professionals — of all parties and of no party — to launch a determined campaign for the rights of Negroes to a career in their chosen professions and against the debasement of the Negro in all media of communication.

We call, therefore, on all artists, scientists and professionals in New York — Negro and white — men and women — professional and student — to attend the Conference for Equal Rights for Negro Artists, Scientists and Professionals and to unite upon a program of action to establish full democracy in the arts, sciences and professions.

New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Saturday November 10, 1951
The Pythian
135 West 70 Street
New York, N. Y.

9:30 A.M. REGISTRATION

10:30 A.M. KEYNOTE SESSION (Main Ballroom)

- **Welcome Address — Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum, Chairman, New York Council of ASP.**
- **What special contributions do Negro artists, scientists and professionals make to the culture and welfare of the American people as a whole?**
- **How are cultural standards lowered and violence encouraged by discrimination in hiring — by the portrayal of Negro stereotypes?**
- **What stake does the white artist, scientist and professional have in the fight for equal rights? How can he contribute?**

12:30 P.M. LUNCH

1:30 P.M. Simultaneous Panels

MASS MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION (Main Ballroom)

- **How do audiences respond to Negro stereotypes — in films — in radio and television — in literature — in advertising — in other media?**
- **Does a Jim Crow policy influence program content in radio, television and theater — effects on artist and audience — status of Negro performers.**
- **Is the Negro writer permitted to write honestly about the life of the Negro people?**

SCIENCE, HEALTH AND WELFARE (Abraham Lincoln Room)

- **Are discriminatory hiring practices in health institutions a threat to the health and welfare of the people of New York?**
- **What part does Jim Crow play in lowering of professional standards; in the deterioration of physical health; in the rising incidence of mental illness; in the housing crisis; in the increase of tuberculosis in New York?**
- **What is the greatest barrier to equality in professional practice?**

ART AND MUSIC (Theodore Roosevelt Room)

- **What is the status of the artist in America? How does this affect Negro artists in particular?**
- **What opportunities are denied the Negro artist as a student — as instructor and exhibitor — as a commercial artist?**
- **Do Jim Crow practices affect the content of American art?**
- **Who sells discrimination?**

4:30 P.M. SUMMARY SESSION (Main Ballroom)

Report from each of the panels with proposed programs for ACTION.

SPEAKERS AT CONFERENCE SESSIONS: *(partial list)*

Miss Gwendolyn Bennett, painter
Mr. David Block, commercial artist
Mrs. Hilda Fortune, social worker
Mrs. Beth Gross, scientist
Mr. Oliver Harrington, painter
Mr. Robert Hart, film technician
Mr. Jacob Lawrence, painter
Mr. Julian Mayfield, actor
Mr. Fred Rayfield, TV critic
Mr. Paul Robeson, artist
Mr. Eric Simon, musician
Dr. Mark Straus, physician
Dr. Goodwin Watson, educator
Dr. Paul Zimmering, psychiatrist

ENDORSERS OF CONFERENCE CALL: *(partial list)*

Rev. Alger L. Adams
Mr. Cedric Belfrage
Mr. Thomas Bell
Dr. Dorothy Brewster
Dr. Gregory N. Brown
Mr. Lloyd L. Brown
Miss Lucy Brown
Mr. Alexander Calder
Mrs. Alice Childress
Rabbi J. X. Cohen
Mr. Lester Cole
Dr. Edward G. Dalton
Mr. Howard Da Silva
Mr. Olin Downes
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Ernest Dupre
Mr. Philip Evergood
Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
Mr. Howard Fast
Archbishop William Henry Francis
Dr. Henrietta Gordon
Mr. Kumar Goshal
Mr. Hugo Gellert
Mr. Harry Gottlieb
Miss Shirley Graham
Mrs. Lena Gurr
Mr. Robert Gwathmey
Miss Uta Hagen
Mr. Leo Huberman
Miss Ruth Jett
Miss Elayne V. Jones
Dr. Percy Julian
Rev. Dr. Spencer Kennard, Jr.
Mr. Andy Kirk
Prof. Oliver Larkin
Mr. John Howard Lawson
Dr. Catherine D. Lealtad
Dr. Inabel B. Lindsay
Miss Elizabeth McCausland
Rev. Edward McGowan
Miss Pauline Myers
Dr. Otto Nathan
Dr. Gaspare Nicotri
Mr. Anton Refregier
Mr. Wallingford Riegger
Mr. Randolph B. Smith
Dr. Bernhard J. Stern
Mr. Charles F. Weller
Mrs. Eugenia W. Weller

New York Council of the Arts, Sciences & Professions
49 West 44th Street, New York MU 7-2161
Please register me for Conference on Equal Rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Name ______________________________

Address ______________________________

I wish to attend the ☐ **Mass Media;** ☐ **Science, Health, Welfare;** ☐ **Art & Music Panel**
(please check one)

Enclosed is $__________ **as registration fee covering**

☐ **$2.50 for the entire weekend OR**

☐ **$1.00 for Theatre Evening (Fri. Nov. 9) presenting new works, new talent in dance, music, drama**

☐ **$1.00 for Conference Day (Sat. Nov. 10) keynotesession, panels, summary discussion**

☐ **$1.00 for Convention Day (Sun. Nov. 11) 2nd Annual Convention, N. Y. Council of A.S.P.**

☐ **$1.75 for any two events (please indicate choice)**

(Make checks payable to New York Council, A.S.P. — 49 West 44th St. MU 7-2161)

N. Y. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
47 West 44th Street, MU 7 - 2161

for release MONDAY, NOV. 12th

SPEECH DELIVERED BY THE HON. EARL B. DICKERSON, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, BOARD MEMBER OF THE NAACP, FORMER MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL FEPC, AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS, SATURDAY MORNING, NOV. 10th, AT THE PYTHIAN, 135 W. 70th, NEW YORK CITY

As I flew in from Chicago, I turned over in my mind what I, a former alderman of that city, who grew up in it, worked in it, loved it and saw it slip deeper and deeper into the grasp of blunderers and profiteers, could bring you from my city which would be valuable to this significant conference for equal rights for Negroes in arts, sciences and professions.

And I remembered distinctly the Chicago which I used to roam about in when I was an urchin. I remembered those streets always had boundaries - color boundaries. The streets of Chicago merge into a little suburb called Cicero, an ordinary little town named after an extraordinary Greek orator, but better known as the home of Al Capone.

Cicero's only other contribution to our American way of life was (besides Capone, Golf bag Hunt, dope-peddling, high-jacking, gambling and vote-buying) that like many other exclusive communities, it was for white folks only.

You have all heard of what happened when a Negro family, the Harvey Clarks, attempted to move into Cicero. You have all heard of how the Ku Klux Klan type mob, assisted if not directed by the Cicero police, turned their furniture into a bonfire - similar to the race hate orgies of Hitler Germany.

Where the illegal mob left off, the legal mob took over. The Cook County Grand Jury indicted the lawyer for the Clarks, the person who had the nerve to try to purchase the building, and two progressive whites who had driven there to persuade the mob to leave the Clarks alone - all indicted for "criminal conspiracy" and for "plotting" to overthrow the property values in Cicero.

These indictments were later dropped but those gangsters in high places who were really responsible for the rioting are still free. But in Chicago today, Negro and white artists, writers and professional people are joining in a gigantic mass demonstration calling for the punishment of the guilty and the end of mob violence in Cicero and everywhere else in America.

What value are the events in Cicero to the artists at this conference who seek to have the curse of Jim Crow lifted from our society?

I hear that your own dear beloved Governor Thomas Dewey has pointed to the answer.

On his recent trip to Asia, Governor Dewey was disturbed when he picked up the Malayan papers and saw the gruesome Cicero riot stories spread all over the front page.

In fact, if he had not taken that trip to Asia, the Good Governor probably never would have known a thing about Cicero, just like he didn't know about Peekskill. You see how important it is to get your governors away from the confinement of their offices -- permanently when possible.

But Governor Dewey was not annoyed at the fact that the murderous mob was driving the Negro from his home. What annoyed him was that people outside of America are keenly interested in racial injustice in a country which has so much freedom, we are selling it all over the world -- at real high prices.

It is this aroused interest of the peoples of the world together with progressive elements here at home, which can force the opening of new doors of opportunity for the Negro people.

Herein lies the lesson of Cicero.

We must continue to appeal to the highest authorities in America to eradicate segregation and racial discrimination but we must not forget that we are too a great part of the human race and we must also appeal to that supreme court of world opinion, the majority of whom are on the side of justice and equality.

We must continue to present to all those who may wish to know the true picture of discrimination as it exists in our community, in our city, in our federal government. We must do this despite the slander, threats and intimidation and the name-calling that will come our way.

Gearing for a fight to end racial discrimination in the great communication field, the first shift it seems to me should be a greater emphasis on the part of artists and scientists on the need for peace. For if the hellish destruction of civilization, the mass murder of men, women, and children, especially that now going on in Korea, is spread in a third world war, and the most ruthless enemies of the Negro people in America and of all cultural progress will have won a staggering victory. A real peace is the only atmosphere under which we can bring about true equality.

It is now possible that the combined strength of the Negro and white artists can help bring about such a peace just as the combined strength of common man has kept us from an atomic war.

The struggle for equal rights of the Negro people undertaken by the ASP is in itself a major weapon for peace. It is a weapon which strikes at the inner cancer of our country, that cancer which has given America a sick personality since the day of its birth.

A personality on the one hand composed of some of the greatest declarations for the rights of man and on the other a history of slavery and domestic colonialism from which Negro citizens gained a short respite during the days of Reconstruction. But this respite was cut short by the betrayal of the 14th Amendment by the Supreme Court's decision in Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, establishing the phony doctrine of separate but equal facilities under which we have been working since that time.

How can we bring about a speedy end to the inequalities in the arts, to the vicious, degrading white supremacy stereotype which characterizes much of our radio, television and comic scripts. We must first work to guarantee freedom and economic opportunity to all regardless of race, creed or color.

The drive of the artists and scientists for equality of treatment of the Negro people cannot be completely successful without a drive for an FEPC and until such a bill is enacted the promise and reformation of movie producers, network magnets and television tycoons may not be worth a tinkers damn.

During the last war, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the federal undertook a serious attack upon discrimination in employment. As a member of that first FEPC committee, I was privileged to study it in operation, to see its weaknesses and its effectiveness. I want to urge this conference to take the following three steps to help bring the denial of job equality to the attention of the world.

1. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which Board of Directors I happen to be a member, has already petitioned the United Nations to investigate the denial of human rights to Negroes in this country. I strongly urge that this conference make a similar proposal to the proper department in the United Nations.

2. I urge that this conference at a later date embark upon a much broader conference of the same nature and invite the artists, scientists and professional men of Asia, Africa, South America as well as Europe here for an international conference against racial discrimination and to work out plans whereby mutual assitance may be given against this evil, once characterized by the late H. G. Wells as the most poisonous disease to afflict Americans.

3. I urge that this conference peition President Truman to proclaim a week, much like our Negro history week, one which will be set aside for the expansion of cultural opportunities in industries and in the artistic field for Negro artists, writers and scientists and also that our President appoint a committee of professional leaders who will conduct an investigation of the state of Jim Crow in these fields and recommend appropriate action to Congress.

I think that such activity on the part of the President of the United States concerning equal rights for the Negro artists will be more in keeping with his office than his recent artistic activities when he and a General joined a search to find a Negro to play the part of Amos in "Amos 'n' Andy". When criticized on the matter, President Truman replied that he thought Amos 'n' Andy was "just good clean fun."

The Nazis enjoyed the same kind of good clean fun with the Jewish people and in the end so many Germans had succumbed to the false portrayal of the Jewish people that they saw no reason why they should interfere with their murder.

In the effect it produces, the Amos 'n' Andy program is about as funny as a lynch mob.

Beulah is about as lovable as a seat in a Jim Crow car.

Rochester is about as funny as a "for whites only" sign over an employment office.

If there has been any great weakness among our leading liberal and progressive artists, it has been in their acceptance of such stereotypes and their failure to actively take the offensive to demand more realistic portrayal of Negro people. Too often we have failed to see that whenever the civil rights of one group of Americans is abrogated, the door of the jail remains open for the artists to follow.

Such is the situation surrounding the notorious unconstitutional Smith Act under which 11 Communists were recently convicted. This act, which even the Supreme Court Justices Black and Douglas described as undermining, opens the door to haranguing and hounding and jailing of dissenters which will only be limited by the kindness and powers of the officials in power. Its effect upon the struggle for equality for the Negro people is doubly dangerous for it relegates the whole movement of the Negro people towards equality in American life to a stature which differs only in theory from that suffered by Negroes prior to the Civil War.

I am one of the few lawyers who has had the privilege of defending one of the victims of the Smith Act and of filing a Brief Amicus in the famous Dennis Case and I can tell you the freedom of no American is safe unless this case is reopened, until the Smith Act is wiped off the books.

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest problems facing this nation today is the so-called Negro problem - a problem which has been with us since the time of the Civil War - and which still cries out for a solution. Despite the 14th Amendment which was intended to extend equality to the Negro, such equality is yet only a dream. This Amendment was intended to bring the fundamental rights of citizens under national protection, but the interpretation of the Supreme Court rendered it a vain and idle enactment which accomplished nothing substantial to change the basic pattern of discrimination as it affects the daily life of 14 million American Negroes.

A major obstacle to the realization of the rights granted under this amendment has been the constant struggle on the part of interpreters to adapt them to "states rights" theories. We have proceeded according to these theories for too long. The "states rights" approach to the problem of civil rights has been tried during the last three-quarters of a century, and has been found wanting. Out of it has grown the "separate but equal" doctrine which was in numerous decisions approved and upheld by the Supreme Court, and has thus tended to perpetuate discrimination and segregation.

The consequence has been a destruction of the 14th Amendment as a charter of Negro rights as it was intended by its drafters.

It is significant that since the passage of the three Civil War Amendments, with the exception of the Civil Rights Statutes in 1875 most of which since have been declared unconstitutional, no other federal laws have been enacted to protect and safeguard the rights of the Negro people.

But this can be said - in recent years the judiciary has shown some sign of awakening, and the cause of equal rights has won a few victories in the Court room. In the case of Smith vs. Allwright the white primary was condemned, yet thousands of Negroes are still deprived of the vote in the South.

Nothwithstanding the decision in Shelley v. Kraemer decided by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1948, declaring restrictive covenants unconstitutional and unenforceable, the citizen of color is not free to live where he chooses, as witness the bombing of the home of Dr. Percy Julian, renowned scientist, in Oak Park, Illinois, and the recent infamous Cicero Riots. While the ink was still drying on the opinion of the Court in which it sought to extend equality of educational opportunity to Negroes in the South, Messrs. Talmadge of Georgia and Byrnes of South Carolina, boldly announced that they would close the shools in their respective states, or turn them over to private institutions before Negro and white students would attend classes together. The decision in Morgan v. Virginia that Jim Crow laws may not be applied to interstate passengers is freely ignored in the South today, and neither Congress, the Department of Justice, nor the Commerce Commission has taken one effective step to compel compliance with it. It is obvious that these have been empty victories from the standpoint of enforcement.

Is it any wonder then that in a land where, in view of lynchings which go unpunished; where, as in Eustis, Florida, a few days ago police officers murdered one Negro prisoner and assaulted another, to deny them the new trial ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court; we, as Negroes, do not have the right to life; where we do not have the right to vote; where we do not have the right to live in homes of our choosing unmolested, or to attend a school of our choosing, that we do not have the right to equal job opportunities or a career in our chosen professions?

I can speak to you not as an authority on discrimination in the arts against Negroes, except that I know discrimination permeates the entire lives of Negroes, but I want to point out that it would not require an unduly curious fellow to wonder why an artist of the ability and reputation of Mr. Paul Robeson did not have a career in grand opera. And it would not require an exceptionally bright person to guess why.

The discriminatory practices which the lawyer faces are well known to me. In an early case the Maryland Court decided that a statute limiting the privilege of admission to the State Bar to white male citizens was not unconstitutional. The Court argued that admission to the bar is a matter for State control and it cannot be termed a privilege or immunity of federal citizenship within the purview of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Today, in 120 Law Schools approved by the American Bar Association in 1950 of the 43,605 students, 1000, or less than 3% are Negroes. This indicates either direct discrimination, or indirectly results from discriminatory practices preventing Negroes from qualifying for admission on economic or educational grounds.

Of the 1,805 teachers in 105 Law Schools holding membership in the Association of American Law Schools, only 18 were Negroes. Of these, 16 were distributed between the School of Law of Howard University, which has a predominantly Negro student body and faculty, and the all Negro Lincoln University School of Law.

Negro lawyers comprise less than 2000, or less than 1% of the 200,776 lawyers in the United States. And of the 7000 attorneys presently employed by the Federal Government, only 25 or less than ½ of 1% are Negroes.

The Judiciary presents a similar picture. The Federal District Courts and Circuit Courts of Appeal have a total of 286 judges, and only 2 are Negroes, including one sitting only in the Virgin Islands.

There is opposition, even in the northern States, to admitting Negroes to membership in legal organizations, such as City Bar Associations. These very rarely get into the courts. The largest national Bar Association, the American Bar Association with a membership of 43,000 attorneys and a tradition of rejecting applications of Negroes, now has approximately six (6) Negro members. The Chicago Bar Association, which prior to a few years ago, had a policy of total exclusion, now has only a token membership of Negro lawyers, and these were admitted only after a few of us made a determined fight to break down the lily-white policy of that organization. The policy of almost total exclusion still prevails in such Northern cities as Los Angeles and Cincinnati.

The fact generally prevails that few Negro attorneys throughout the country are permitted to enter into partnerships, office-sharing arrangements or employment in offices of white members of the profession.

The political parties are notorious in overlooking competent Negro lawyers in making up their judicial slates.

And yet we like to think that we have a democracy. Democracy is a way of life. Considered as a way of life, democracy is a subjective attitude by which the members of the community are led to secure to every one his rights, to look upon all fellow citizens without distinction of color or race as brethren in a common enterprise, and to give spontaneous support to projects which enhance civic excellence and promote the general welfare. In this sense democracy approaches the "virtue" which the old philosophers and the Founding Fathers of America considered the principal characteristic of citizenship, and is akin to the mediaeval "justice" by which all members of the community were to cooperate by joint action to give each one his due.

Both in the attainment and in the preservation of this democracy based on equality, the law plays an indispensable part. The great French political thinker, Baron De Montesquieu commented that "In the state of nature, indeed all men are born equal, but they cannot continue this equality. Society makes them lose it, and they recover it only by the protection of the laws". Our laws have been inadequate to say the least.

There is in the United States a growing clash between democracy as an expanding ideal and concept of government and as a day-by-day way of life in practice. Dr. Myrdal in his monumental treatise, "American Dilemma" put it this way: "the ever-raging conflict, between, on the one hand, the American Creed, where the American thinks, talks and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other, where personal and local interests, economic, social and sexual jealousies, considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook".

In the matter of job opportunity, we are constantly faced with the matter of prejudice and discrimination; such has consistently defeated FEPC legislation. It is argued that you cannot abolish prejudice by law. This argument stems from a failure to distinguish between prejudice, which is a state of mind, and discrimination, which is an overt act. A man has a right to his individual prejudices, however wrongly conceived. But in a democracy, no man has the right to translate his prejudices into action which infringes on the rights and liberties of others.

It is further argued that the solution to the problem of discrimination lies in education rather than legislation. The basic fallacy of this argument is to counterpose education against legislation as though each was an independent and opposing entity. To the extent that a dichotomy exists between the principles taught in our schools and the practices which obtain outside them, to that extent education itself is rendered suspect. Whereas laws do not themselves ever automatically end the abuses they are designed to correct, Laws do, however establish criteria by which our actions may be judged.

As Wendell Willkie said:

"The equitable treatment of racial minorities in America is basic to our chance for a just and lasting peace....We as Americans, cannot be on one side abroad and on the other at home. We cannot expect small nations and men of other races and colors to credit the good faith of our professed purposes and to join us in international collaboration for future peace if we continue to practice an ugly discrimination at home against our own minorities".

We must work vigorously to the end that discrimination in all forms is eliminated; that those who violate our rights are punished; and to the end that we may have a democracy in fact. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED by the Conference on Equal Rights for Negroes in the
Arts, Sciences and Professions sponsored by the
New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
November 10, 1951

RESOLUTION ON NEGRO CULTURE

Without the contribution of the Negro artist, culture in the United States is lacking in an essential element. Each contribution of the Negro has been added to our total cultural heritage under the most oppressive circumstances. In spite of this, the Negro continues to create and his product finds its way into the American mainstream.

In order to realize this full, democratic, cultural heritage, the culture of the Negro people must be allowed to develop free and independent of the dictates of American commercialism. The richness of Negro life must be allowed to flow into the consciousness of the American people nurturing all our lives, broadening our development, our understanding and appreciation.

For these reasons be it resolved:

That this body go on record in support of independent cultural expression by the Negro people.

That we support organizations like the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, and the Negro Actors Guild, which day by day engage in the development and preservation of the culture of the Negro people in the United States.

That we find practical means for creating the conditions for the utilization and spreading this rich culture.

Further, that to bring to the attention of all Americans the cultural contributions of the Negro people, we call on President Truman to designate an annual Week commemorating the contributions and achievements of Negro artists, scientists and professionals, and that this week be in addition to Negro History Week.

RESOLUTION URGING PRESIDENT TO APPOINT COMMITTEE ON JIM CROW IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

We resolve to undertake to initiate legislation on the questions we have today considered by urging upon President Truman the appointment of a fact-finding committee to investigate the Jim Crow situation in the arts, sciences and professions and to make recommendations to Congress regarding specific legislation in this field.

RESOLUTION ON RADIO AND TELEVISION

Aside from a brief, liberal interlude at the close of the last war, Negroes in the Radio and Television media are still portrayed as the ignorant, laughable, dialect-speaking, inconsequential being of American life. The only major shows, Amos 'n' Andy and Beulah, picture Negroes in the usual, derogatory, stereotyped fashion. Other shows, when Negroes are included, adhere to the pattern without regard to the ineradicable impression burned into the American mind. If he refuses to debase himself and inslut his people, the Negro performer is barred.

We are determined that Negro performers not be driven from the airwaves or forced into degrading themselves. We must include many more, but in roles of dignity, accurately depicting their lives and building toward a complete, peaceful democracy for America.

Therefore, be it resolved:

That we urge the radio and television industries to take positive measures toward completely integrating Negroes into those media.

That NBC, CBS and all other networks enforce their publicized statements in regard to utilizing and integrating Negroes into all levels of the industry from executives, through technicians and actors to office personnel. As a first step in this direction, we urge that each radio and television network immediately initiate at least one major evening program created, produced and presented by Negroes.

That we, here, take action by writing to sponsors and networks when either media is offensive, asking others to join with us and organize nation-wide boycotts when necessary.

That the networks be urged to canvass and utilize the works of Negro writers and that a reservoir of such material be created.

That we press for an investigation by the Federal Communications Commission, guardian of the American airwaves, to withdraw and withold radio and television channels to thoseinstitutions engaged in poisoning the American mind.

RESOLUTION FOR AN FEPC

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guarantee to the Negro people equal rights as American citizens. It is the absolute duty of the President of the United States and the Congress to execute all orders and pass all legislation to bring these guarantees into reality. Be it therefore resolved that:

This Conference urge the President of the United States to execute his authority to issue an immediate Executive Order establishing an F.E.P.C.

This Conference and its participants, individually and through their church, fraternal, trade union and other organizations, communicate with their Senators in support of the Humphrey resolution for the establishment of a permanent Federal FEPC. This Conference pledges to send a spokesman to testify at the hearings on this bill scheduled for early January and recommends to the ASP and all other organizations whose members are represented here today that they take similar action.

This Conference go on record with the President and N.Y. Congressmen in support of the immediate enactment of anti-lynch and anti-poll tax legislation.

RESOLUTION ON THE LAKE COUNTY, FLORIDA INCIDENT

This week a Florida sheriff, in cold blood, murdered a manacled Negro prisoner and assaulted another. It is no mere coincidence that the two victims were on their way to a new trial ordered by the Supreme Court, and were turned over for protection by the law, to a Sheriff known for his anti-Negro bias.

We angrily protest this addition to the long list of crimes against the Negro people.

We demand that President Truman institute an immediate Federal investigation into this newest and most vicious act of lawlessness in the conspiracy to deny to the Negro people their elementary rights.

We further demand that Sheriff McCall be immediately indicted and prosecuted for murder.

RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF PASSPORT FOR PAUL ROBESON

The freedom of Paul Robeson, to function in his dual capacity as one of the world's best loved artists and a brilliant and militant leader of the Negro people, has been drastically limited by the State Department which refuses him permission to sing and speak in other countries. That so distinguished a citizen and artist be silenced and confined by his own government is an intolerable situation. It must be remedied - immediately. We pledge our efforts as a Conference body and as individuals to work for the re-issuance of Paul Robeson's passport so that his voice may once again be heard throughout the world.

RESOLUTION ON STORK CLUB DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JOSEPHINE BAKER

The insulting and humiliating treatment accorded artist Josephine Baker by the Stork Club is an insult not only to a great artist, but a great democrat and spokesman for the Negro people. It is also a flagrant violation of the laws of this State which specifically prohibit discrimination by publicly licensed restaurants, bars and hotels.

We support the demand of the NAACP that the restaurant and liquor licenses of the Stork Club be revoked and the place closed; we further demand that Sherman Billingsley be prosecuted for deliberate flaunting of these laws.

We condemn the part that Walter Winchell has played in this incident by defending the undemocratic acts of the Stork Club and attempting to malign Miss Baker.

We further urge that the Mayor's Committee Against Discrimination and the appropriate state body be immediately petitioned to strengthen existing legislation as concrete evidence of the determination of our municipal and state governments to enforce existing anti-discrimination laws and punish every infringement.

RESOLUTION ON THE CASE OF DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS AND ASSOCIATES

Working for peace in the United States has come to be equated with being a "foreign agent". All Americans who refuse to support a suicidal war program are harrassed and finally placed behind bars.

Among the victims of this war drive is a man who is known throughout the world as one of the foremost scholars of the twentieth century. This man, Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, has devoted his long life to the betterment of the human race and to the complete emancipation of the Negro people. He is today on trial in a Washington court room for his activities on behalf of world peace.

His "Crime" consists of serving as Chairman of the former Peace Informatio Center whose function included the circulation of peace appeals.

The indictment against Dr. DuBois has shocked and outraged every decent, peace-loving citizen in America.

Therefore, be it resolved:

That the Department of Justice immediately withdraw and drop its case against Dr. DuBois and the other defendents.

That the fight for Dr. DuBois is our fight and one in which we will take concerted action and see through to victory.

RESOLUTION ON A NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

Because we are convinced that the problem of Equal Rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions cannot be localized to a single city or even a single nation, and because we are convinced that the discussion here today and the actions initiated by this body are only one step on the direction of full achievement of equal rights, we recommend to the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions that it immediately urge its other chapters throughout the country to initiate similar meetings to this in preparation for a national conference to be convened as early as possible in 1952. We also recommend that to this national conference be invited artists, scientists and professionals from all other nations.

RESOLUTION ON EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

We demand equality of representation and equality of leadership for Negro men and women in all areas of public life, in trade unions and people's organizations, in all phases of political, cultural and social activity in the United States.

The fight for jobs in the arts, sciences and professions, and the concurrent fight against degrading stereotypes and "racist" caricatures, can be fully effective only if it is conducted as part of the larger struggle for the full rights of the Negro people. The restrictions at present placed on Negro representation and leadership violate the most elementary rights of Negroes, insult their abilities and mock their legitimate aspirations and deprive the American people as a whole of the rich cultural contribution of the Negro people.

We call for a countrywide campaign for unrestricted Negro participation in all areas and at all levels of city, state and national government, for equality of Negro representation in all judicial and administrative posts, for recognition of Negro leadership in trade unions and all people's organizations on the basis of equality.

We are conscious of our primary responsibility to advance this program in our own field of work, and we are keenly aware of the unsatisfactory and shocking situation that exists in the arts, sciences and professions. Even those cultural organizations which take a stand on Negro rights are content with token Negro representation in committees and activities, thus reflecting the present Jim Crow pattern of the dominant culture, and making no serious effort to change the pattern.

We feel it imperative to point out that the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and the National Council of which it is a part, must henceforth take the lead among those organizations which will provide full and equal opportunities for the participation of Negro cultural workers.

The present conference signalizes important progress in the struggle for Negro rights in the cultural field. But it will have definite value only insofar as it recognizes past weaknesses and takes concrete steps to implement a new policy.

We therefore call upon the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and upon the National Council and its affiliates, to provide full equality of Negro representation and leadership in all activities.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS
49 W. 44th St. New York 18, N.Y. MU 7 2161

November 19, 1951

SPECIAL MEMO TO ALL CHAPTERS:

Subject: Proposed Conference on Equal Rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions

Last weekend, the New York Council ASP sponsored a Conference on Equal Rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

One of the resolutions adopted there was to request each council of ASP across the country to sponsor a similar event in its area. This would be in furtherance of the National Council's policy against discrimination. Accordingly, it is requested that you raise this proposal for a full discussion by your Executive Committee and that you advise the national office, within a month, of your decision.

It is our hope that there will be at least half a dozen such conferences during the coming year. You have the assurance that the national office is prepared to help your efforts in every way that it can. To begin with, we are sending you a packet of materials describing the New York Conference.

The Conference opened with a Cultural Evening. It was in the form of a revue presenting the work of Negro artists and of white artists on the question of equal rights. It included a chorus, a dance group, a living newspaper, poetry, individual singers and scenes from two plays - Finnian's Rainbow and Medal for Willie. The whole was tied together by a narration. Parts of this evening are enclosed in the packet.

The all-day conference consisted of a keynote session in the morning, three panel sessionsin the afternoon and a summary session to close. The keynote speaker was the Hon. Earl Dickerson and other speakers at this session, which was chaired by Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum, chairman of the New York Council, included Mr. Paul Robeson, Mr. John Howard Lawson and Prof. Goodwin Watson. In the packet you will find copies of the main addresses at the keynote session and the various panels.

You will be interested to know, from the experience of the New York Council, that participation by the membership in the various panel committees, in the arrangements committee, in the exhibit committee, in the promotion and publicity committee, and in the theatre evening committee, involved scores of individuals, all of whom contributed their ideas and efforts to the final product. Running through the conference was a main theme of the responsibility of the white professional to take the initiative on the issue of equal rights. It was a step towards full equality that our Negro members and colleagues outside the ASP assumed leadership for much of the planning and execution. During the course of the preparations and during the conference itself, many new members, Negro and white, joined the ASP. Further, continuation committees, established during the conference, are already meeting to implement the work of the conference and the resolutions adopted. A set of the resolutions is also enclosed.

It is not suggested, of course, that each Council will want, or be able, to do the conference on equal rights in the same form that the New York Council selected. The material is being sent to you as a suggestion and it is recognized that there are many other creative possibilities for your effort. In New York, the conference was held on the same weekend as the Annual Convention and the combination tickets sent to you show how the cultural evening, the conference and the convention were tied together. Attendance at the cultural evening was, of course, the greatest of the three and the conference second largest.

Your questions on other details of the conference are welcome. I hope that you can make the sponsorship of a Conference on Equal Rights a major target of your 1952 program of action in ASP. As soon as your Executive Committee has discussed this proposal, we would like to hear from you.

J. J. JOSEPH
National Director

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

INTRODUCTION .....CULTURAL EVENING (Conf. on Equal Rights for
Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Prof.)

FIRST VOICE:
We are here tonight to speak of fifteen million Americans who have suffered fifteen times fifteen million indignities, not only of the flesh, but of the spirit - fifteen times fifteen million humiliations, not only of the body, but of the mind. We are here tonight to speak of the Negro people, and the unspeakable injustices done them throughout the 300 years of their Americanism.

SECOND VOICE: (Negro)
Are we to talk again of violence? Of the faggot and the jail cell? Of the lash and the lynch rope? Shall we trace once more the cruel design of conspiracy against my people which runs like a red thread across America's time and geography? Shall we mention yesterday's slave blacks in Natchez, Mississippi, and today's pavements in Cicero, Illinois or hooded riders of Georgia, and unmasked monsters in Peekskill? Is this to be our story tonight?

FIRST VOICE:
No, our story tells of violence, but it is, even more, a dedication to that which has always remained inviolate -- the creative spirit of the Negro people - a spirit which sorrow could not quench, torture could not intimidate, and murder could not silence! Instead, strengthened by adversity and invincible in struggle, Negro creative genius daily gives our country a deeper and a richer culture.

SECOND VOICE:
In the beginning, nurtured in America on the bitter bread of slavery, and suckled in the dank waters of plantation swamps, our voices rose in songs of protest, our spirituals. These were nameless, then, the voices anonymous! But today our music is sung throughout the world.

FIRST VOICE:
The world now knows, too, of America's Negro poets, Negro singers, Negro actors, scientists, artists, scholars -- those men and women who could not be silenced, who would not remain nameless, and for whom there was no substitute for just recognition.

SECOND VOICE:
But the world must not forget the violence committed against even these - renowned among us. Centuries ago it was Phyllis Wheatley, sold as a slave at 8 years....

FIRST VOICE:
....but remembered as a poet...

SECOND VOICE:
The textbooks neglect to tell us that, though her poetry won her freedom from slavery, she died a servant in a cheap lodging house. Even today, two hundred years later, Charles Gilpin, actor....

FIRST VOICE:
Theatre history lauds Charles Gilpin and his brilliant characterization of Emperor Jones....

SECOND VOICE:
But theatre people forget that after the play's run, Charles Gilpin again became an elevator operator to earn his living.

FIRST VOICE:
The voice of blues singer Bessie Smith is still tops among record collectors....

SECOND VOICE:
Bessie Smith bled to death after an auto accident because the only hospital in the vicinity refused emergency medical attention to a Negro woman.

FIRST VOICE: are
Today, Negro jazz musicians/recognized for their talents the world over.

SECOND VOICE:
Yet Negro instrumentalist, Edmund Hall, plays his clarinet into the sound track of a movie short, and a white musician takes his place on the actual screen, lest Hall's color offend.

FIRST VOICE:
Today, science honors Dr. Percy Julian, synthesizer of Cortisone....

SECOND VOICE:
And hired guards must protect his home from bombs!

FIRST VOICE:
We revere the humanitarian Dr. DuBois....

SECOND VOICE:
Can we ever blot from our conscience the outrage of handcuffs on an 82 year old scholar?

FIRST VOICE:
We do not forget these subtle and mischievous crimes against a people and a culture. Tonight we dedicate ourselves to that which is indestructible. To the Paul Robesons, the Marian Andersons, the Dorothy Maynors....

SECOND VOICE:
....to the Drs. DuBois, the George Washington Carvers, the Percy Julians...

FIRST VOICE:
....The Pearl Primuses, Janet Collins, Katherine Dunhams...

SECOND VOICE:
...The Charles Whites, the Countee Cullens, the JesseOwens...

FIRST VOICE:
....To all those who have brought honor not only to their own names, but also to their people...tonight we are here to do them honor....

SECOND VOICE:
And what of those thousands whose voices are still unheard, whose talents remain untapped, whose university diploma entitles them to sweep out Gents' Rooms, run elevators, wash dirty dinner dishes? Let us also dedicate this program to them - the nameless and the numberless - to the Negro musician whose heart has been quickened with melody, but whose lips have been denied the release of song ....

FIRST VOICE:
Nor do the Negro people alone assume this responsibility. A river deprived of its tributaries will dry up and disappear. The currents of American culture must be fed with the surging streams of Negro genius. Their creative spirit must be poured, without restraints, without bias, into the great cultural reservoir of American life. Else we do violence, not only to the Negro people, but to our own country's resources and rob all the American people of their rightful cultural heritage,...

SECOND VOICE:
This program, then, is dedicated to a rededicated mission - to enable the Negro people to serve equally in the enrichment of our cultural future... this, then, is the opening program for a program of action....

FIRST VOICE:
A program to guarantee equal rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions....

SECOND VOICE:
As a further guarantee to the American people, that, by breaking down the barriers which have restricted us from making our full contribution, we open up the frontiers for a humanist culture - a culture of peace - a culture of progress - a culture of equality of men equal with men - of peoples equal with peoples - of nations equal with nations.......

From: New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 W. 44th St. New York 18, N.Y. MU 7 2161

November 10, 1951

ADDRESS OF FRED RAYFIELD, TV CRITIC AND COLUMNIST OF THE NEW YORK DAILY COMPASS , AT THE MASS MEDIA PANEL OF THE CONFERENCE ON EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS AT THE PYTHIAN, NEW YORK

A few weeks ago the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters came riding out of the west, Chicago to be exact, with a new Television "code of ethics". This was to be the NARTB's answer to critics of the industry: this was to assure a better, more decent, more tasty product. It was to give television, in a word, purity.

Aside from the fact that it will do nothing of the kind, the code did adhere to one particular type of purity indigenous to radio and television: a lily-white purity. The code did not contain one word about the Negro in radio and television. The broadcasters' concept of ethics is not so broad that it includes the problems and aspirations of the millions of Negroes in the United States. This attitude indicates that the broadcaster's attitude toward Negroes is one of the following:

One of complete unawareness of the Negro's rights and needs as an American and a human being.

One of complete unconcern for the Negro's rights and needs.

Or one of fear of offending the audience and buying power of the Deep South.

Whether the broadcaster is ignorant, unconcerned or fearful, or all three, it's clear that unless a big firecracker is set off under and inside him, he's not going to do much, if anything, to change the status quo in radio and TV as it affects the Negro. What is the status quo?

Radio and television right now is something like a big Stork Club. (In fact, the very existence of a "Stork Club" program on television symbolizes the industry's adherence to old and divisive racial codes.) On radio and TV, or in the Stork Club, if you will, a Negro can here and there sneak in, usually when accompanied by a white man with surpassing influence. But the Negro can enter the sacred portals only rarely and at the benign generosity of the host.

But, and Josephine Baker symbolized this, it's impossible for the Negro to eat from these drips and drabs of benign charity. If the Negro wants to eat, in the Stork Club, or on the air, he's got to be a porter, or a kitchen hand, or a servant, or more likely a tramp, a drawling, lazy schemer, or a wide-eyed, trembling ninny to feed the ego-perverted comic needs of a portion of the white population. The Negro has either got to starve in his chosen professions or prostitute and slander himself.

Naturally, there are a few exceptions. (In understand that Ray Robinson once crashed the Stork Club, too.) On radio on WMCA there was the excellent "New World a Comin'" program; CBS once did a show on Negro History Week written by Shirley Graham; independent stations have, here and there, a Negro disc jockey and some even offer programs on race relations; Josephine Baker, Lena Horne and other Negro stars occasionally appear on television programs. But these examples only make the picture sadder. For they are indications of what could be, of the radio-TV world we could have.

For the rarities don't count. Despite the occasional exception we all know what the Stork Club and Billingsley stand for. And due to the very fact that the Bakers and the Hornes and the "New World a Comin's" ARE exceptions, radio and TV stand as active perpetuaters of a system which throttles Negro expression and Negro talent and genius.

The exceptions mean even less as far as the effect on the radio and TV audience is concerned. Here I quote a man who wrote of another of the popular arts. "If we are discussing aesthetics," he said, "the exceptions would count heavily; when we talk about effects, the general average alone counts. It alone has sufficient mass and velocity to become a creative force...."

In the overwhelming majority of the few cases we do see and hear of the Negro on television or radio he or she is either of the"Amos 'n' Andy" or "Beulah" stripe, or a Blackfaced Mammy singer in a minstrel act, or a maid or a porter, or a jazzed-up lindy-hopper, always with a big fat drawl to make the white man feel a bit more smug and secure and superior. The Negro can also be seen almost nightly on television in old Hollywood flickers -- in the awful picturizations of those days -- as a crapshooter, or a lazybones of the Stepin Fetchit type, or a quaking, terrified "Yahsa, boss" porter. There is not one program on a radio or TV network which portrays Negro life with accuracy and understanding. The Negro, on radio and television, either doesn't exist or is a clown.

What a way to represent a great people with so much dignity and so much achievement behind them, who have come so far against such great opposition! -- And who offer such a rich store of talent today! The haters, the Deep Southerners may rest easily as they watch telebision, the lily-whites who don't want themselves or their families disturbed by questions of equality and the rights and heritage of other people can switch on the radio and television sets with placidity and confidence. Here they'll find the Negro quashed and distorted, reduced to insignificant and comic stature.

This is the great irony and bitter gall: that in a radio of 90 million sets, and a television of 14 million sets, which come into so many living rooms and could so easily and effectively reach the hearts and minds of the people -- in this great potential voice for fairness and rightness - the best in a people is bypassed and the worst becomes the rule and the standard. A medium which could do so much good does so much evil. A medium which can do so much to end frameups of Negroes, lynchings, segregation, hatred, only cements the grips of these sicknesses.

For in the entire field of entertainment radio and television are the worst offenders. The theatre has recently had plays which looked into Negro life and Negro problems -- plays like "Othello" with Paul Robeson, "Native Son", "Deep Are The Roots", "Set My People Free" and "On Whitman Avenue". And the movies has had a score of recent productions dealing with Negroes and their problems. Not all of these were accurate and trenchant motion pictures, but I'm convinced that the recent startling renaissance in the quality of films can be laid to a new degree of honesty and a trend towards more depth and probing -- which stems at least partly from the days filmproducers first began to realize Negroes were human beings and their problems the stuff that art and good motion pictures are made ot.

And this is the lesson for all of us. Television, which has been made a toy by the triviality and the cops and robbers games which fill its endless hours, will not improve in quality until the day it begins to look around and probe. It will not emerge from infantilism until it begins searching into, among other things, the life of the Negro, his problems in a hostile society, his slum-dwellings, his desire to be something better than a porter and a shoe shine boy in a society largely fighting to keep him just that. A TV writer told me recently that the entire area of Negro life was taboo on television. Until this sort of attitude is erased television will never rise above the level of a plaything.

And this is what the Hearst Sheets and Red Channels and Counterattack and the other blacklisters are fighting for -- to keep television in a rock-candy, bubble-gum state. They are not fighting individual, meaningless battles against Lena Horne or Jean Muir or Paul Draper - they are fighting against a television of greater substance and meaning. They are fighting to prevent television from assuming its natural role as a medium of enlightenment and intelligence and art. The blacklist and the innuendo and the whiplash of fear are their greatest weapons and these will not be destroyed until the Negro takes his rightful place in front of and behind the cameras.

For when the Negro and his life become a natural part of television expression how can they -- the stifler -- prevent long and deep glances at other phases of American life? When discrimination and blacklisting of the Negro is a thing of the past how can they whip up enough fear and confusion to perpetuate the atmosphere of blacklisting which now envelops radio and television? How can they smother creativeness and genuine talent when a huge hole has been broken in their defenses?

The broadcasters, as we noted before, will take no steps of their own volition. No doubt they feel their dollars are more secure riding along on their current magic carpets. It's up to the listening and viewing public to rouse them out of their lethargy and unconcern. A couple hundred letters and phone calls to General Foods brought about the cowardly dumping of Jean Muir. A couple hundred letters and phone calls can for a change do good; it can bring about the dropping of an objectionable Negro character, or a stereotype, and it can make the sponsor, the station and the network aware of their culpability and their responsibility. "Amos 'n' Andy" hasn't been banned from the air, but at least one station has dropped the program and the campaign against it has hit the sponsor where it hurts most - in the money bags. This sponsor, and others, and the network, will think long and slowly about launching another "Amos 'n' Andy" on television. Education is a wonderful thing.

That's the negative side; there's a positive side, too. Actors of influence, directors, producers, union members, newspaper writers, practically anyone you can think of, can carry on their own campaigns of education, can by example do much to end the blacklist against Negroes and Negro expression. I can't tell a writer or a director or producer or casting agent or union official what to do about this thing; they know what they can do. It's up to them to know what's at stake and to do what they can to the utmost. I think that just as the movie tycoons were shown to a degree, sponsors and networks can be shown and convinced. A taboo that remains unchallenged will always be a taboo.

I personally am sick of the Ivory-pure gentlemen's club dramas on television. Why can't the next-door neighbor in a play be a Negro? Why don't I ever see a Negro doctor or lawyer or teacher portrayed on television? Why can't Josephine Baker be given a regular spot on a big program to throw the hatred against her and her race back in the teeth of the Billingsleys and Winchells? Why can't the bars against Negroes be broken behind the cameras — among the cameramen, the engineers, the network business and administrative and publicity offices and - yes - even among the executives?

The answer is that there is no natural reason — only a few man-made taboos - against all this taking place. And it will take place. The haters and the benighters all over are fighting a losing battle against the moving finger. But the idea for us is to defeat them in our time. Leave the hereafter to them. And defeat them before and lest they crush us.

One of the great ironies is that in the sports events that come ready-made for radio and television, Negroes are the finest performers. Roy Campanella won the Most Valuable Player award in the National League this year. Jackie Robinson is practically a legend. So are Joe Louis and Ray Robinson and it is mainly Negro boxers who entertain us and stir our admiration at home. No one, nor even the wildest Negro hater, has suggested that these fine men be barred from television. No one has suggested this because in this enlightened sports era, it would be ridiculous and unthinkable. It's equally ridiculous and unthinkable, of course, that the Negro be prevented from taking his rightful place in the, if I may use the expression, creative end of television and radio. It's just that some people aren't yet aware how ridiculous and unthinkable this is. When these people are shown and convinced, the white curtain which drapes radio and television will be lifted and this will be a freer and healthier society for all of us.

From: New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 West 44th Street New York 18, N.Y. MU 7 2161

November 10, 1951

ADDRESS BY CUTHBERT A. PITTER, PUBLIC HEALTH ENGINEER IN JAMAICA, B.W.I., NOW EMPLOYED AS A CONSTRUCTION ENGINEER, AT SCIENCE, HEALTH AND WELFARE PANEL OF THE CONFERENCE ON EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS AT THE PYTHIAN, NEW YORK.

A terrible fraud is being foisted on the American people in the names of housing improvement and slum clearance. Slums are being ploughed under so that new crops of beauteous buildings and moneyed individuals may flourish where squalor and poverty formerly showed their ugly faces. Slums are being pushed back so that, hidden, their unwilling inhabitants may hurry out an abbreviated existence under increased pressures of disease and lack of space, completely beaten and overwhelmed by a total denial of human rights by their fellow-citizens and by all the sacrosanct agencies responsible for the welfare and protection of the citizen.

Housing is being improved with no thought to the needy in the matters of shelter and homes, with a callous disregard for the true pressures that dictate improvement.

One who is not privy to the councils of the authorities issuing housing and development permits and of the financiers who carry them out can hardly be justified in imputing to them the nefarious motives and impulses that seem to inspire and control the dreadful fiasco we are here to contemplate. But the aspersion is justified since evil is woven into the very warp and woof of the fabric of their action.

Consider the pattern, and question if you can that such skilled weaving springs from design.

The pattern discloses these abuses:

1. Slum creation in the name of slum clearance;

2. Blatant economic discrimination;

3. Denial to the individual of equal rights (to live where he pleases)

4. No employment of Negro architects on housing development in Negro areas;

5. The partial exclusion of Negro residents from government-aided projects whose rentals are well within their means. (Levittown)

Does not this pattern suggest that there is truth behind the dark rumors of a "policy of containment"? Is there to be a campaign of obliteration by some more subtle and excruçiating means than ordinary mob-hysteria, vandalism, lynching, false convictions and the denial of justice.

If someone here should insist that in justice these are mere aspersions indeed and that deductions are not proof, I should still not hesitate to condemn the blindness and ineptitude in planning, if these were the only faults of the system, from which such abuses spring; still no iota of commiseration would stir me for the lack of intelligence shown. For I know the untapped reserves of intelligence in the slums themselves, I know keen intellects made sharper by hunger and privation that could and should be brought to work on the problems of housing improvement and slum clearance. The patient knows the cure if the doctor does not. How tragic it is that the doctor also knows, but is pledged to let the patient die.

And if we rule out of discussion such matters as merely conjecture - despite the weight of evidence, right here in New York, that stops the mouth of argument - where justice is impudently over-ridden and insolently denied? What shall we say of the Stuyvesant Town ejections?

So, now we have the aspersions, and, against them, the facts that seem to justify them. The monstrous conspiracy is no longer invisible even were we unwilling to take cognizance of it. There is a design and no accidental pattern. The Negro is to be at least "contained" in a ghetto

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if not obliterated from the scene. Government and big business have joined forces to this end. The friends of the Negro must lie with him in the miserable bed that others have made for him. The abolition of slavery as contrary to the laws of God merely conferred the freedom to suffer and become extinct in a hostile society. Or so it seems. Or so they think who in this instance seek to tamper with the dictates of divine law and to nullify the constitution of this great land and to debase the meaning of humanity both in themselves and in their victims.

But it is not so. Our presence here says no. The breath of God in us says no. And we are assured that every honest, mundane effort of ours will be effective in staying and in turning back the unjust tide. We are inheritors of the vision and resolution of other sturdy souls -

> "Who thought not
> Though right were worsted
> Wrong would triumph
> In the end."

Today we have met to face the problem , and realistically to consider what we can and shall do to resolve it. To know what should be done were simple in a time and place of equity. The temper of our times and the ruthlessness of our opponents make it imperative for us not simply to do the obvious things but even to create the proper atmosphere of equity in which our efforts will thrive. This must be borne in mind even while we debate our weapons, our friends and how best we can help them to help us.

From: New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 W. 44th Street New York 18, N.Y. MU 7 2161

November 10, 1951

ADDRESS OF MISS GWENDOLYN BENNETT, POET AND ARTIST, AT THE ART AND MUSIC PANEL OF THE CONFERENCE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS, NOVEMBER 10, 1951, AT THE PYTHIAN, NEW YORK CITY.

Throughout the various panels of this conference, full discussion will be held on the general background of the Negro artist, his history in America, the rich gifts he has given in song, dance and poetry, and his place as an American who is denied the full benefits of the heritage he has done so much to build. In preparation of this paper, I am mindful that the opening speeches will undoubtedly deal with the peculiar position of the Negro in America today and those national and world forces that have made his position a unique one -- a man whose blood has flowed freely in every war for freedom fought by our nation; part of an oppressed nation within our nation whose men and women - artists, heroes and heroines, teachers, workers, and spiritual leaders in every walk of life - have helped to build the American tradition in the truest sense of the words and yet find themselves segregated, discriminated against, and on every hand denied the benefits of the principles of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as laid down by our founding fathers.

And yet, as much as may have already been said and as much as will still be said during the course of the conference, we cannot stress too greatly the fact that the very social deprivation of the Negro people in America today is the reason for the lag in employment of Negro artists, scientists and professionals; is the cause of blindness on the part of white workers in the arts and professions; gives rise to neglect and insensitiveness on the one hand and to calumny and distortion on the other -- in fact, if the Negro's status in American life were not what it is today, there would be no need for such a conference at all. Add to the recognized status of the Negro as scarcely half a citizen the fact that war hysteria and our predatory international policies have resulted in a black-out of the arts that keeps a thriving people's culture from developing, and certainly, denies the Negro who is last to be hired and first to be fired in the arts as in other avenues of endeavor the right to be employed in his chosen field. As in the past, the Negro has little opportunity today to obtain the years of experience and training that would make him a sought after worker in the specialized fields about which this conference concerns itself. In this paper, I will address myself principally to the graphic and plastic fine arts. It is possible, then, to say without fear of denial that, except for relatively few individuals, Negro artists but rarely make their living as workers in the various fields of art. The discrimination against Negroes where employment as artists is concerned is so nearly complete as to blind employers to the fact that there are Negro artists to be employed and to make even progressive white artists tend to be insensitive to the enormity of the problem. Discrimination, like an ugly cancerous disease, tends to affect those who ever so slightly allow it to go unchallened, and hence, by confusion, lack of understanding and seeming indifference give impetus to its increase as grievously as it affects those against whom discrimination is practiced. In short, white artists - be they ever so progressive - who allow the doors of opportunity to remain closed to Negro artists lay themselves open to the erosive effect of purporting to be sensitive creative workers who love and understand their fellow man without raising a hand to meet his needs. The white artist, therefore, who does not fight with every ounce of his strength -- his paint, his stone, his color and line -- to keep art free for every artist, black or white, will find that the scales that grow over his eyes will blind his vision of the future and will discover that his palette, canvas, chisel or paper fail to reflect the verities of life for which he has trained himself and to which he, as an artist, is dedicated. For as truly as honest reflection of life as it really is will shape men and events for good; just so truly will discrimination and its consequent insensitivity to truth effect the content of an artists work to the end that his influence on society may become an evil one. Discrimination against the Negro artist must inevitably take its toll of the white artist, however progressive he may be -- change and mold the content of his work to a point where its failure to reflect life truthfully will have the opposite effect to that which he had intended. This effect is evidenced by either the sin of omission, whereby, the Negro as part of our daily life in America is completely overlooked or through the sin of commission that results in the stereotyped or completely unsympathetic portrayal of the Negro.

When one comes to amass the data to be offered in proof of the fact that the Negro is either left out of American art or insensitively protrayed, it becomes evident that little or nothing has been written on the subject. The few books on the subject of the Negro in relation to the arts understandably makes virtually no significant reference to this area of the problem. Everyone knows that the Negro is either left out of our nation's art expressions or unsympathetically or dishonestly portrayed with but few exceptions but to amass the actual testimony to substantiate this common knowledge would require time-consuming and difficult research./ Perhaps one of the results of this conference could be such a piece of research. Perhaps we can go forth together from this meeting resolved to comb through the works of every artist we can find and list how often the Negro is the subject of a work of art and in what manner he is shown. To prepare for the writing of this paper, however, I had none of this data. The experiment I conducted in its stead might be of interest to you, and might reveal as much to you as it did to me.

I spent a total of ten hours - a full working day, mind you, with overtime - looking through hundreds of prints and reproductions in order to list the Negro subject matter and come to some conclusion based on objective facts. During the first session of two hours of looking through reproductions of painting and sculpture by leading American artists of today and other periods, I found not a single representation of a Negro of any sort. There were Americans eating, drinking, working on farms, as stevedores, killing, making love, and even just sitting, sleeping or shooting crap - but not a single Negro among all the street, outdoor and interior scenes. Toward the end of this first period in which my search carried me through a random collection of all kinds of reproductions by scores of artists, I came on the first Negro in a picture painted in the Colonial Period of our Nation - "Charles Calvert of Maryland" done by John Hesselius in 1761. The next hour of looking was more rewarding - I found the following paintings : "Watson and the Shark" by John Copley, dated 1778; "Romance" by Thomas Benton; "Will Shuster and Black Man Going Shooting" by Thomas Eakins, painted in 1876; and "Harlem Easter Parade" by Adolph Dehn. An analysis of these four examples of portrayal of the Negro revealed the interesting facts, that, in earlier days, the Negro was painted as part of the American scene with little or no comment on him as being different or strange. He was a man or boy doing whatever his life called for him to do. He was neither funny nor special nor grotesque. In the earliest picture, painted in 1761, there are two children in the picture- one white and one a Negro who is undoubtedly the slave companion of the white child - each well dressed, both are sympathetically drawn and no special comment is made on the fact that one of them is a Negro. The same is true of the Negro present in Copley's boat and of the carefully painted Negro who is the shooting companion of Will Shuster in the picture by Eakins. Benton, who is not always sympathetic to the men white or black that he paints, has drawn Negro lovers in a truly tender scene with no harsh comment except that the man is walking barefoot and carrying his "city slicker" shoes in his hand. Adolph Dehn, on the other hand, paints a water color of the Negro people with too much sly humor and through the colorful pageant of their Easter parade shows them as a grotesque, laughable caricature of the well-dressed Easter standards of white people. Mind you, I do not impute to him a conscious desire to make Negroes appear ridiculous, but I do charge that in painting surface characteristics he has arrived at conclusions that are certainly distasteful to Negroes and should be abhorrent to white people who have respect for their fellow man even though his skin is a different color. At this point I stopped for a good long session with the Negro artists, themselves, and with catalogues from shows of work by Robert Gwathmey and Philip Evergood as an antidote. But let me return from this digression to the results of my experiment.....

In looking through over a thousand reproductions collected through the years under the rough category of "American Art", I came on just about fifty works of art showing the Negro. True, I did not have, no doubt, the vast evidence of works submitted to shows for Negro History Week exhibits in recent years; nor was the work of Negro artists, themselves, included in my experiment. My search widened to include artists of Europe, and I found many instances of the Negro painted without ridicule by the early masters. In the mid-15th Century, Hans Memling painted the Negro king in "The Gift of the Magi" as a dignified, beautiful figure; Holbein in the 16th Century painting the same subject gives a different Negro with equally careful observation and furnishes the proof that in a hundred years no stereotype had developed; Rembrandt in the 17th Century carries such observation even farther in his "Two Negroes" and the study of "Tetes de Negres". The names roll on of white artists of yesteryear who paints the Negro with keen observation, understanding and sympathy: Gainsborough, Hogarth, Fuerbach and Delacroix. Dr. Alain Locke lists some forty-odd modern European painters who have depicted the Negro with distinction in the Bronze Booklet, "Negro Art: Past and Present." To quote Dr. Locke on this subject: "And of course, we must not forget the occasional black notable or scholar, whose diealized portrait reflected the admiration and sentimental interest of the 18th Century in the Negro. As literary examples, characters like "Oronooko" by Mrs. Aphra Behn, or "Rasselas, Prince of Ethiopia" by Voltaire, are typical. These men like Juan Latino, the Spanish Negro scholar, Gomez Parera, the apprentice disciple of Velasquez, Capitein, the black Dutch theologian, down to Samuel Brown, the learned servant of Samuel Johnson, sat for the best painters and engravers of their day, and thus from this tradition we have the occasional but important Negro figure portrait of a Velasquez, Rembrandt, Rubens, Goya, Reynolds or a Hogarth." Dr. Locke continues; "Such a tradition even carried over into early colonial America, wherever the aristocratic tradition was strong. We see it unmistakably in the portrait of George Washington's family, where the dark brown, elegantly groomed Lee is a prominent figure in the group. In fact, there is scarcely a grotesque or carelessly painted Negro in art before the beginning of the 19th Century, which coincides exactly with the Negro's lapse into chattel slavery and plantation bondage. Then it was, that the social stigma was branded from which it has taken more than a century to free him; and from which he is only now slowly emerging. For a time, the Negro completely disappears from the canvas of art, and when he makes his reappearance it is in the background corner as a clownish, grotesque object setting off the glory of his master or as the comic subject of his amused condescension. The "old faithful uncle," - later Uncle Tom, Uncle Ned and Uncle Remus, the broad expansive "mammy" from Aunt Chloe to Aunt Jemima, the jigging plantation hands in tattered jeans and the sprawling 'pickaninnies" all become typical stereotypes, and scarcely any 19th Century art show was without its genre painting study of one or more of these types or its realistically painted or sketched portrayal of "The Plantation Quarters" or "Ole Virginia Life" or some such glorification of the slave system. The tradition was so strong that it lasted forty years at least after the nominal fall of chattel slavery; and it has been and still is one of the mainstays of the literary and artistic defense of the 'lost cause' of the Confederacy. In fact the cleverest argument for the slave system was this misrepresentation of the Negro as happy, content and 'naturally in place' in such a romanticized presentment of the patriarchal regime of the Southern plantation. It was from this that American Art had to react in the latter decades of the 19th Century, and it was this tradition that made the Negro artist, during all this period dread and avoid the Negro subject like the black plague itself. Few were able to remember that the Negro subject had been treated with dignity and even romantic touch in the previous century; and no one dared to resume it against so strong and flourishing a stereotype of Nordic pride and prejudice. A Negro figure not obviously a peasant or servant, decently clad, with decent clothes and without the counterfoil of his overlord to show his inferior status was a rarity; a book in a Negro hand instead of a serving tray would have been an intolerable heresy."

Dr. Locke goes on to point out that the Negro artist of this day might have taken up the challenge of painting Negro subject matter with truth and understanding but that he too tended to shun the Negro subject. He further points out that this tradition gradually began to lapse with Negro painters and such white artists as Thomas Eakins, Winslow Homer, Robert Henri, George Luks, George Bellows, John Stewart Curry, James Chapin, Julius Bloch, Thomas Benton and others began to make an effort to paint the Negro as a true part of American life. He concludes with...... "But this is just a favorable beginning. Now that the Negro subject has become artistically respectable and important again, it is the duty and opportunity of the Negro artist to develop this province of American art as perhaps only he can. Certainly from the point of view of the spiritual values and interpretation, the Negro painter and sculptor and graphic artist ought to be able to advance an additional message, if not add the last word. Although one-tenth of the population, one trembles to think what posterity would have thought of us had some Vesuvius buried us under or tidal wave washed us out in 1920. The archeologists of the next age of civilization, digging out the evidences of American art, would not only have had a sorry idea of the Negro, but no clue to his factual bulk or cultural character.

By only the narrow margin of a little over a decade, then, are we safe from such a serious misrepresentation."

This perhaps overlong quotation from this eminent scholar who is himself a Negro and has given a lifetime of study to the Negro in the arts can be excused in so much as it puts the seal of authority on my little experiment. True. Dr. Locke was writing in the late twenties or early thirties before the strong trade union movement and progressive artists organizations again revived interest in the Negro as an art subject. But essentially, this quotation from his writing gives a fair and considered picture of what was the condition up to the time that he wrote. Many of the artists in this room have done much to bring the Negro into American art as an acceptable figure, part of the Nation's life. But again we seem to face a fade out on the general art scene. It leaves the task sharply up to the progressive artist and the Negro artist to pursue with vigor the struggle to keep Negro subject matter in the mainstream of our American art expression. It is not enough on stated occasions to paint a lynching scene, although goodness knows such forms of protest must be registered by the artist as well as other citizens, or to paint some symbol of Negro and white unity almost as a moral exercise. The thinking white artist must look about him and recognize his Negro brother. He must battle the discrimination in the arts that keeps the Negro artist from working in his field and prohibits him from following the admonition of Dr. Locke and others that he must paint and sculpt his own people for all the world to see. The Negro artist must eat to live. If this allows time and energy and means for painting, American art will become so much the richer. Beside fighting for equal rights for the Negro artist, the white artist must tear away the scales that discrimination has grafted on his own eyes. In addition to painting the picture of Mrs. Ingram and the Martinsville Seven, he must see the beauty of Jennie Jones who cleans house next door; must look for something other than just a panther-like grace in the figure of the unemployed Negro man standing on a corner. He must look at what such artists as Jacob Lawrence, Richmond Barthe, Charles White, Ernest Crichlow and the many other Negro painters and sculptors have to say and then he must search through our city streets and in the country by ways for the evidence that will confirm in himself as well as in his fellow white American the realization that the Negro is part and parcel of our American heritage and must share in the benefits of the ideal he has helped to build. They will then be able to really understand what Langston Hughes means, to turn to another of the arts, when he says:

> I, too, sing America
>
> I am the darker brother,
> They send me to eat in the kitchen
> When company comes,
> But I laugh
> And eat well
> And grow strong.
>
> Tomorrow,
> I'll sit at the table
> When company comes.
> Nobody'll dare
> Say to me,
> "Eat in the kitchen,"
> Then.
>
> Besides,
> They'll see how beautiful I am
> And be ashamed -
>
> I, too, am America.

As one of the Negro spirituals has it....

> Better Mind dat sun, and see how he run
> And don't let him catch you wid yo' work undone.

The white artist has a grave, urgent task before him. The task of seeing the beauty and suffering of the world around him; of stamping out discrimination and lack of opportunity for his Negro confrere; of looking with new eyes at the people about him -- and particularly at the Negro people that artists have so often in the past put down in color and line. He must know the Negro today; he must glory in the greatness of Negro history and its inspiring figures. In short, he must really be an artist, sensitive to the great scourge of prejudice that threatens the morality of the American people; an artist with open eyes and a willing heart. If a Rembrandt can paint the beauty of a Negro face, if a Wordsworth can pledge his loyalty to a Toussaint L'Ouverture, then the white artist today must be able to strike at prejudice and discrimination with his paints and clay, and if need be with his bare hands, in order to guarantee his own freedom of spirit. He must with humility and honor be able to say with that great American poet, Walt Whitman:

> The hounded slave that flags in the race, leans by the fence,
> blowing, cover'd with sweat,
> The twinges that sting like needles his legs and neck, the
> murderous buckshot and the bullets,
> All these I feel or am.
>
> I am the hounded slave, I wince at the bite of the dogs,
> Hell and despair are upon me, crack and again crack the marksmen,
> I clutch the rails of the fence, my gore dribs, thinn'd with the
> ooze of my skin,
> I fall on the weeds and stones,
> The riders spur their unwilling horses, haul close,
> Taunt my dizzy ears and beat me violently over the head
> with whip-stocks.
> Agonies are one of my changes of garments.
> I do not ask the wounded person how he feels, I myself
> become the wounded person.

DISCRIMINATION and CONTENT OF ART by Gwendolyn Bennett

From: New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 West 44th Street New York 18, N. Y. MU 7 2161

November 10, 1951

ADDRESS BY MR. ERIC SIMON, ON STAFF OF MANNES SCHOOL OF MUSIC. FORMER CLARINETIST WITH NEW FRIENDS OF MUSIC. PLAYED AT SALZBURG FESTIVAL WITH VIENNA PHILHARMONIC SYMPHONY. AT THE MASS MEDIA PANEL OF THE CONFERENCE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS AT THE PYTHIAN, NEW YORK, ON SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1951.

Music and the Negro People in the United States
A brief survey

I want to thank the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions to have called on me as a participant at the music and art panel on equal rights. It is a privilege to be on this panel together with three representatives of the Negro people, and it is only with great humility that I attempt to do my small share. We know that in the future conditions will be conducive to the actual realization of equal rights for the Negro and all colored people in this country. We also know that in that future the white people will not have to experience the debasement that became routine in the Negroes' life. It is in view of this ever unpayable debt that I submit my survey to discussion and to criticism from especially those people for whose cause we are assembled.

It is usually said that the Negro people have made a great contribution to American music. This formulation, in my opinion, is an understatement. What is considered to be American music all over the world, be it in the field of so-called popular music or in the field of so-called serious music, did more than receive a contribution from the Negro: Negro music is the life-blood of American music. The world-wide impact of Jazz was enormous. Around 1920, at the end of the first world war, there was hardly a European composer who would not incorporate elements of Jazz into his own language, into his own works. In that time of utter physical and mental disintegration, when most composers in Europe had lost the connection with their own people, American Jazz, the music of the American Negro, gave them a new lease on creative life and inspired them to works that were grasped and appreciated by many more people than were their abstract products. Take Stravinsky's "Story of the Soldier", take Milhaud's "Creation of the World", take the most significant works of Hindemith, Honegger, and most other important composers of that generation - they would be unthinkable without the rythmical and also melodic influence of Jazz. Unnecessary to say that the Jazz idiom became an indispensable ingredient, more than that, the substance of American art-music. Only from that point on American art-music was on its own in the international family of musical cultures.

Right here we have to ask ourselves some questions: When it is an accepted fact that Negro music has deeply affected European art-music, when American art-music is unthinkable without it, how is it possible that the Negro people themselves have not fully developed their own art-music, based on their own material; how is it that only recently Negro composers of stature, like Ulysses Kay and Howard Swanson, can be found among the ranks of American composers. Is it that the Negroes are destined to compose Jazz and Spirituals while it is up to the white composer to distill these ingredients into art-music. Certainly not. Music history teaches us that all nationalities who were given even a small chance had their own great composers who assimilated their folk-material into their masterworks. Think of Smetana and Dvorak, members of the Czech national minority in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, think of 19th century Italy, rallying as a nation, and its exponent Verdi. - The genius is not found like a rare flower in the woods. True enough, the genius is a rare flower, but, once found, he must be cultivated. And more than that: Only in the course of cultivation will it turn out that a composition student is that rare flower. Therefore, two indispensable prerequisites that are lacking today are needed for the Negro people to come into their own in using the treasure of their own folk-music: The chance for careful and conscientious education in music, and, in addition, this kind of education given to a sufficiently large number of students so that every potential ability may be developed. One of the two prerequisites is meaningless without the other.

The situation among Negro singers and Negro instrumentalists is hardly any different. Listen to Marian Anderson sing Schubert songs and listen to Paul Robeson interpret Brahms. Is there any more proof needed for the universality of musical talent and genius. The quality of human being plus adequate training is everything needed for anybody to attain achievement in the most diversified branches of music.

To analyze the position of the Negro performer in the field of serious music means to repeat the shameful story of the general pattern of discrimination. I hesitate to resort at this place to statistics, as the glaring notoriety and the very shamefulness of the situation speaks for itself. However, when I now try to focus a few details, this shall not imply deflection from the overall picture, but shall rather serve to point out some particularly vulnerable spots in our field.

In so-called serious music we can distinguish between two major groups of musicians; the vocalists and the instrumentalists. In each of these groups we have to analyze the situation of the soloist (recitalist and opera singer), and the member of ensembles, like the chorus singer and the orchestra player.

I do not know of any Negro engaged as a member of one of the top-ranking orchestras. To my knowledge, the only Negroes engaged in professional orchestras of some standing in New York, have been the tympanist Elaine Jones, the violinist Sylvia Medford, the violinist Everett Lee, and the cellist Kermit Moore. Particularly in the field of orchestra playing where the absence of the Negroes is such a glaring fact, the situation developed into a vicious circle, started, of course, by the general pattern of discrimination. It runs this way: The chance of a Negro to be engaged as member of a professional symphony orchestra was close to zero, therefore few Negroes turned to the study of an orchestral instrument, fewer even than the scant educational facilities for Negroes would permit in this field. The lack of opportunity in addition to the small number of Negro applicants for the job of orchestra player, result again in the notion that Negroes "are not generally equipped for serious music." Again we have to repeat, for this cannot be repeated often enough: There is no mysterious matter in our bloodstream that would keep anyone of us from assimilating any kind of culture. Proofs for this fact we can see all over the world, Philippinos playing Mozart and Chinese playing Beethoven, and playing it well.

The situation of the instrumental recitalist is a consequence and an outgrowth of the just mentioned plight of the orchestra musician. The legend that a Negro can be a boxing champion but not a baseball star was only recently exploded. However, the notion that the Negro people have the "gift" for singing but not the makings for an instrumental virtuoso is still prevalent. This, of course, is pure nonsense. If there is a Jackie Robinson, why not a Negro Heifetz?

What is the situation in choruses? Yes, there are some Negroes to be found in amateur choruses, some are being engaged by the Metropolitan Opera chorus. As much as a small step forward in any field should be welcomed, half-hearted engagement of Negroes strikes me, not so much as the granting of equal rights, as more or less an alibi that white people want to give themselves in order not to be called discriminatory. How satisfying and successful the real thing can be, is demonstrated by the Interracial Chorus under the leadership of Harold Aks.

The City Opera Company took the lead in breaking a stone out of the wall of discrimination against opera singers. Camilla Williams, Lawrence Winters, Todd Duncan were engaged to sing roles that were heretofore reserved for white opera singers. Again I feel, with all due and honest respect to the City Opera Company, that the overall picture in the vocal and instrumental field remains so, that through the engagement of one Negro here and one Negro there (one out of fifteen million) the shamefulness of the general situation is rather emphasized than alleviated.

In the Jazz field, supposedly the domain of the Negro people, (a field in which, unfortunately, I am not an expert), I would like to quote two instances, two out of many similar ones, that form the general picture in that specific field. One of them is the recent case of the Jazz clarinetist Edmund Hall. He is the only Negro member of a white band. When a picture was taken for a film he was to be replaced by a white player while his playing was to be dubbed in. Mr. Hall refused, and the case still awaits its final solution. As the second instance I would like to quote from an interview with Roy Eldridge in the August issue of the "Music Maker" an Australian magazine comparable to our "Downbeat". Returning to the United States after a year's absence in Europe, he went on record as follows: "I'm sure glad to be back - but I know what I have to face. I've made up my mind not to let anything bug me. I'm going to be real cool. One thing you can be sure of though, as long as I'm in America, I'll never in my life work with a white band again!" The details of Roy Eldridge's interview are truly sickening, and they will make us understand why he drew this last conclusion.

It is with a feeling of great insufficiency that I tried to describe in this very general way the situation of the Negro people in the musical field. I know that I enumerated with inadequate words what they are experiencing daily and hourly in their own lives.

I also know that there is no ready-made solution for these problems but that a plan of action must grow out of the basis of wide discussion. By what rule should our actions be guided? By the rule of equality. However, it is not the equality of treatment, but the creation of conditions which will give the Negro people a chance to develop into an equal. You will forgive me if I use again the comparison of the flower in the garden. The Negro people, under present conditions, can be compared to a plant that grows, or rather vegetates, under most adverse conditions, a plant growing on poor soil, with little sunshine. Will it be sufficient to give this plant equal treatment with the other plants in order to bring it to equally full bloom, to give it an equal amount of water, an equal amount of fertilizer? Apparently not. It will only develop into an equal if it receives more water, more fertilizer. That means that the Negroes have to be given easier access to education, freer access to jobs, better chances to develop within a job.

As a musician, permit me a closing phrase. We musicians are dedicated to art, to the beautiful. The more we hear a great piece of music the more we will love it, the less will we take it for granted. Just as we love the beautiful more and more, let us hate the ugly more and more. The more we see discrimination the more shall we hate it, the less shall we take it for granted.

From: New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 W. 44th Street New York 18, N.Y. MU 7 2161

November 10, 1951

ADDRESS BY ROBERT E. HART, MEMBER OF EXECUTIVE BOARD OF DOCUMENTARY AND TELEVISION FILM CAMERAMEN OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCAST ENGINEERS AND TECHNICIANS, C.I.O. AT THE MASS MEDIA PANEL OF THE CONFERENCE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS AT THE PYTHIAN, NEW YORK CITY.

Several years ago, when the automobile workers in Detroit conducted their first big strike against the Ford Motor Company, Henry Ford tried to break the morale of the strikers by importing a number of Negro laborers from the South and running them into the plant as strike breakers. These Negro workers knew little about mass production industry and trade unionism, but as soon as they saw the picket lines they recognized the situation, and refused to be parties to the scheme. The white strikers met the situation in the only way it could be met: they organized the Negroes into their union, and together they won their strike. It was a lesson that strengthened the labor movement everywhere. The participation of Negro workers in the auto unions produces in our day such leaders as William Hood, whose address last month to the Negro Labor Council in Cincinnati has keynoted a whole new phase in the struggle for equal rights. As for Henry Ford, the best that can be said of him is that he helped to dig his own grave.

The Ford pattern is typical of many other industries. Where there is Negro-white cooperation in the trade unions there is also inter-union democracy and militance on both the economic and political fronts. It could hardly be otherwise. White workers who have reached some understanding of the Negro question are not easily misled by the arguments of company men, red-baiters or other disrupters. As for the Negro workers, they have never been taken in by such arguments. It is no coincidence that in the battle for peace and against fascism the most articulate unions are those with a record of consistent struggle against Jim Crow.

As the entertainment field becomes increasingly industrialized and concentrated in metropolitan districts like New York, actors, writers, musicians and all the other artists find themselves directly on the payroll and punching the time clock for the organized institutions of monopoly capital. Cultural production in the day of the comic book and the television commercial is quite firmly in the clammy grip of the big octupus. Whether he likes it or not the creative artist is forced into the same bread and butter relationship to the big corporation as the auto worker in Detroit. He is hired and ordered about and fired just like other people. This is a necessary part of his education, it will affect his work, and will prove to be a good thing in the end. Today cultural workers must either organize into trade unions or face brutal exploitation —brutal in the sense that they would receive but an infinitesimal fraction of the wealth they created for their employers. All of us are aware, I think, that the show business has earned the reputation of being a cynical and ruthless exploiter of talent and sweat.

The centralization and unionization of the entertainment industry has sharpened the thinking of many creative artists on the questions of discrimination and denial of equal rights to the Negro people in the professions. Our meeting here is an indication of that fact. These questions, always a stark reality to the Negro, have more often than not been academic to the white. Now that we are all boiling in the same kettle, however, all the hidden prejudices, the feeble humanitarianisms, the endless procrastinations with which the white cultural worker has treated the Negro question meet with a serious challenge. Everything comes suddenly into focus. Here is a Negro actor in your show who has to sleep in a different hotel. Here is a motion picture studio which hires Negroes only as janitors. Here is a Negro woman singing in a night club at one-third the salary of the white comic, although she has top billing. Here is a Negro technician discharged for making an error of judgment that white technicians make every day without even a reprimand. You cannot avoid taking a position on these issues.

Most important of all, here are the Negro people themselves, strong, determined, numerous, insistent, indignant, fighting mad, because they also live in this world, and they fully intend to take part in it. They do not ask permission; they do ask for cooperation.

Addressing myself to the white trade unionists, I would say this: What are we going to do about it? We have no choice but to support the movement for the complete liberation of the Negro people in America. Liberation -- which includes equality of opportunity -- is in the interest of the Negro people, and it is also in the interest of the majority of the white people. It is therefore inevitable, and that is why we have no choice but to support it.

Let us mention some concrete proposals. First of all, we can see to it that in each union constitution there is a clause specifically opening the books to all workers in the field, regardless of religion, color, or national origin. Further, the clause must be made operative. High initiation fees, impossible examinations and other restrictions on membership which prevent Negroes from joining the union must be abolished. Negroes who are working on jobs within the jurisdiction of the union must be invited to join, to attend meetings, to serve on committees, to be members in the full sense of the word. Negroes should be elected to executive boards and to offices in all unions in our field. If there is to be opposition to the employment of Negroes in our field, let no one be able to say that such opposition originates with the trade unions.

Simultaneously with this program let us all re-examine our own thinking on the Negro question. Even in such a gathering as this, I would estimate that each white person here on at least one occasion each day is guilty of a discriminatory act toward the Negro people, or of a prejudiced remark, or of the failure to effectively protest such an action or remark on the part of another, or of the failure to make some positive contribution to the struggle of the Negro people for full equality. Let us correct these mistakes to the best of our ability, and let us fully discuss the matter with our fellow unionists, for without a conscious effort to raise the level of thinking of our members, no constructive collective actions will be forthcoming. The Negro people cannot wait patiently for a spontaneous awakening to reason of their white fellow-citizens.

While we are setting our own house in order, let us lose no time in engaging the main enemy, the employer who has an economic interest in the perpetuation of discriminatory practices. The best place to fight Jim Crow is on the job. If there are no Negro employees in a given area, then the fight must be to break this pattern. The specific problem will suggest its own method of solution. If the employer admits that he discriminates against Negroes, full use must be made of existing fair employment practices legislation, together with a political effort through the union to improve such legilsation. Pressure from civic organizations, publicity or consumers' boycotts may be indicated. If the employer claims that he does not discriminate, insist that he prove it by hiring Negroes.

Suppose that the employer claims that there are no Negroes with sufficient training and experience to fill the available positions. Ordinarily a union does not act as an employment agency, but since the Negro worker is especially victimized, special countermeasures must be taken. The union may conduct a search for Negroes capable of filling these jobs, at least in the initial stages of the struggle, in order to make a breach in the Jim Crow wall. The Marine Cooks and Stewards once sent six of its Negro cooks through an expensive course in extra-fancy cooking in order to be able to crack discrimination in the galley of a big passenger ship.

The question of whether or not a union can be held responsible for the technical qualifications or efficiency of its members should be answered in the negative. Once a workers' organization offers a guarantee on the ability of its members the employer will attempt to use the union as a police and enforcement agency in his behalf. But at the same time if Negroes are not employed because they lack training and experience, then the remedy is to supply the training and experience. Thus it may sometimes be a union problem. Whenever possible, training should take place on the job at the employer's expense, since he benefits from work performed by the trainee, even though it be unskilled work. If a system of paid apprenticeship cannot be established, then it becomes the responsibility of the white artists and technicians who possess the necessary knowledge to find ways of imparting this knowledge to Negroes seeking to enter the field. For example, film techincians from one union have instructed students at a school in Harlem organized for this purpose by the Committee for the Negro in the Arts. The problem of qualifying job applicants for work can be solved, provided only that there is a sincere desire to solve them.

The fight cannot end with the admission ot a token number of Negroes to the industry. The goal is full equality, in all the categories of work -- not just the most menial; in all pay scales -- not just the lowest; in the front office and the drafting room - as well as the boiler room and the warehouse; in suprevisory positions, not just over Negroes, but over both Negroes and whites.

Even when Negroes fill these positions, the fight against discrimination will continue -- in upgrading, in seniority, in layoffs.

It is high time to raise the question of jobs for Negro women in the entertainment industry. There is no logical reason why a Negro woman cannot operate a motion picture camera, paint a backdrop, stage manage a play, or sit at the mixing console of a recording studio. The only obstacles to the employment of Negro women in such positions are white chauvinism and male supremacy. The first step toward the correction of these evils is to call them by their names.

In conclusion, let me point out that the measure of our sincerity and comprehension is not what we say here, but what we do when we leave this conference. Let us all take our program into our unions. I presume everyone here who works for a living is a member of a union. If not, he should be. If, at the end of a year of work, substantial victories have been won, then this conference will have been a success.

From: New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 W. 44th St. New York 18, N.Y. MU 7 2161

November 10, 1951

ADDRESS OF MR. JACOB LAWRENCE, ARTIST, AT ART AND MUSIC PANEL OF THE CONFERENCE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS, November 10, 1951, at THE PYTHIAN, NEW YORK CITY.

Friends and members of the arts, sciences and professions; I have chosen to make a statement today dealing with truth in the graphic arts, truth as practiced by the greater number of our American artists. Or, it would be more correct for me to state that the greater number of our Americans are by omission sacrificing themselves to the false prophet Ananias. It is truly an omission of fact; when in a country with a vast population of one-hundred fifty million people of which one tenth of this population is Negro -- a group which has been and is, a part of the great arteries of this our land we call the United States of America.-- A group which has contributed and is contributing both of its labor and culture. Is it not an omission then -- when the greater number of works purporting to represent this land is so sparsely representative of all the people? In far too many of the graphic works that do aim at portraying all the citizens that do make up America -- the Negro is too often treated in a manner inconsistent with his true life. It is true that a majority of our works of art in recent years have modified the stereotype; but for the most part the portrait still exists; in a manner too subtle to translate into the spoken word.

I must make it very plain here that all artists are not guilty of omitting the stereotype to their works. In the main however, an error does exist; an error that is not only harmful to the artist as a creative being, but also to his fellow men generally; in that he (the artist) does not create a true picture of the American panorama. This, I think, is very serious. Is it not true that Negro Americans along with all other Americans have helped to build cities and towns as well as swept the streets and drained the sewers of these same cities and towns? Has he not sailed the seas and fought and died with other men on battlefields at home and abroad -- as well as worked the leveees and served as orderlies to generals and admirals? Has he not helped build bridges as well as labored in the great fields of the south-land picking and chopping cotton? Has he not helped erect skyscrapers and tunneled subways, as well as sweep the corridors of these same skyscrapers and subways: Worked at the sewing machines in huge factories? Worked the hospital wards as aide, nurse and physician? Sat in the court houses as lawyer and judge as well as defendent and witness: And has he not also entered politics with the same zeal and social intent as any other American citizen? Surely, artists of America, you cannot deny these facts. Then, if you cannot deny them, why then are the walls of our great museums throughout the country so mute in recognizing the Negro citizen? Why then have you failed to see this segment of America?.....A segment that is not apart from the whole but a very vital part of the whole. Have you (even thoug a creative and therefore truth seeking human being) closed your eyes to one of the most fertile components that help make America? If so, your collective portrait of America has been a false one, or maybe truer still, humanity, that is, all humanity, to you, has been reduced to the sterility of the line, the cube, the circle and the square; devoid of all feeling, cold and highly esoteric. If this is so -- I can well understand why you cannot portray the true America. It is because you have lost all feeling for man. And the art of those that are devoid of feeling themselves, cannot reflect the vital, strong, and pulsating beat that has always been humanity. And your works shall remain without depth for as long as you can only see and respect the beauty of the cube, and not see and respect the baauty of man -- every man. You may ask at this point: "But what has all this to do with the Negro as subject matter in the arts?" I do not think it necessary for this question to go begging for an answer. Has it not always been true that the great art of the world has always been that which has reached great depths of emotion? An emotion that at times has reached such great depths as to evoke a strong social reaction. Does it not stand to reason then -- so as America would not be America without the sprawling plains of the West -- the woodlands of the North -- the rock bound coasts of the East - and the hot red earth of the South -- then does it not stand to reason also that you and I, the creators of American art cannot create a great art by ignoring one facet of the whole America?

So it is as a colleague that I say to you -- artists and students of arts -- do not be blinded by reaction -- do not be stifled by powers that will have you believe that man has lost his significance -- do not let your creative powers rust by temporary recognition. In practicing your art see the universal:, and your portrait will be of every road -- every house and street - every brick every blade of grass -- and man - EVERY MAN.

THE UNFINISHED TASK

CHORUS (OFF):

Sing a song of the faith that the dark past has
taught us;
Sing a song full of the hope that the present
has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won..." (FADE)

VOICE OF AMERICA: (STAGE RIGHT)

From the beginning of our history, our country has always been a song; a song of declaration and of promise...of slavery and revolt...a song of deeds done and yet the unfinished task.

From the beginning of our history, there have always been voices. Listen to their echo in our pulse: Crispus Attucks...Benjamin Banneker ...Deborah Gannett...Denmark Vesey...Nat Turner ...Sojourner Truth...Harriet Tubman...Dred Scott ...William Still...Frederick Douglass. And their allies of the common heart: John Brown... Harriet Beecher Stowe...William Lloyd Garrison ...Susan B. Anthony...Thaddeus Stevens.... Abraham Lincoln.. Yes, and my own voice, too: a voice of America, if you please!

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Tonight, being here, we meet our history; remembering it was only 86 years ago, a proclamation was signed saying emancipation...but remembering, too, the gap between the work and the deed; between "liberty and justice for all": the poll tax, Jim Crow, lynchings...remembering 'equal rights'...and " sorry, no job", no school, no sale....

Tonight, opening this conference on equal rights for the Negro in the arts, sciences and professions, we meet our future. Tonight, we pay tribute to a few great Americans for their deed done. In so doing, we also dedicate ourselves to the tasks still unfinished. We pledge our integrity and love to the proposition that in our time, every voice may be lifted with free and equal right; Black and white keys together, we shall yet create America's great music.

MUSIC RETURNS BRIEFLY:

Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won....

VOICE: January, 1951. We go to the boat to meet one such great American.

(LIGHTS, CENTER STAGE, SPOT NEGRO ACTRESS)

This is your first trip to the U.S. in 15 years, isn't it, Miss Baker?

BAKER: Right. Last time I came to New York was in 1936.

VOICE: And then you stayed abroad for another ten years?

BAKER: Right again.

VOICE: Why?

BAKER: Prejudice!

(SPOT OFF VOICE)

VOICE (From darkness) January, 1951, Copa City Club, Miami, Florida.

SPOT ON MAN, STAGE LEFT: Now, if you'll please sign this contract, Miss Baker.. right here on this line...

BAKER: I'll sign....on one condition....

MANAGER: What is that?

BAKER: I will not appear where there is discrimination!

MANAGER: I promise you there will be no discrimination whatever. Your audience will be Negro and white.

BAKER: Then I'll sign!

VOICE OF AMERICA (Spot shifting from manager to STAGE RIGHT): May 12, 1951. The Fox Theatre, Detroit. Miss Baker, have you a statement to make about Willie McGee?

BAKER (Sadly) Yes, I have. Today is a tragic one for all American Negroes and darker peoples of the world. The execution of William McGee does not stop with just the death of McGee. It means a part of every American Negro died a little with his.

VOICE (in darkness and spot comes up on MAN, stage left.) August 8, 1951. The Key System Transit Co., Oakland, Calif.

BAKER: Tell me this: how is it so many Negroes qualify to drive trucks in the Army - but cannot qualify to drive your city buses?

MAN: Well...if a Fair Employment Practice Ordinance were passed, as you would like, it would make things tougher.

BAKER: If passing the law will make it tougher, then why don't you take some overt steps to hire Negroes in your own organization?

MAN: None have applied....

BAKER: Then we'll see that they do!

MAN (looks frightened as the spot fades out, fades in VOICE)

VOICE: November 9, 1951. Miss Baker, have you any comment to make about the Jim Crow experience at the Stork Club?

BAKER: Nobody is going to push us around. Josephine is going to stick with her people as long as any of her people are left!

MUSIC UP: WITHOUT WORDS

VOICE: Honor! Tonight we honor Josephine Baker, singer! dancer, fighter for equal rights! And with this honor, our love....

MUSIC UP, BRIEFLY:

VOICE: There was another such great American, Dr. Charles Drew, chief surgeon at Freedman's Hospital and head of the Department of Surgery at Howard University.

NURSE (SPOT 'CENTER' on Negro doctor in white coat, with a test tube in his hand. Over telephone or intercom) : Dr. Drew.

DREW: Yes?

NURSE: There's a cable for you from England.

DREW: Read it, please.

NURSE: Because of your discovery for processing blood and banking it for transfusion, they want you to be medical supervisor to the British Army.

DREW: Please wire them I accept.

NURSE: Another urgent wire, Doctor, from the American Red Cross.

DREW: So?

NURSE: You have been appointed first director of the Red Cross blood banks.

DREW: Tell them I am happy to accept. Anything else?

NURSE: One more wire...from the army...You have been appointed assistant director in charge of blood collection for the U. S. Army.

DREW: I accept.

NURSE: I'm so happy, Doctor.

(SPOT HOLDS ON DR. DREW, OTHER SPOT DISSOLVES FROM NURSE, STAGE LEFT, TO

VOICE (STAGE RIGHT) We are not happy! Despite his contribution to suffering humanity, Dr. Drew's blood was refused at first by the American Red Cross because he was a Negro!

LIGHTS FADE, STAGE DARK.

VOICE (in darkness) We are not happy! Because of Jim Crow cars, Dr. Drew drove to Burlington, North Carolina, instead of travelling by train. He was killed in an auto accident, April, 1950. Honor! Honor tonight to Dr. Charles Drew, scientist. The safeguarding of every life, the full use of Negro skill and potential: another unfinished task to which we dedicate ourselves!

MUSIC UP AGAIN, BRIEFLY.

VOICE: Daytona, Florida, 1904.

SPOT ON YOUNG NEGRO WOMAN, about 20, talking with a white farmer.

FARMER: Yes, Mary McLeod, what can I do for you?

MARY: I'd like to buy this dumping lot. How much will you take as down payment?

FARMER: Depends on what you want it for --

MARY: I want to start a school for Negro children.

FARMER: Oh, I see. For something like that. Would $ 5.00 be too much?

MARY: No. Will you hold it for me, please?

FARMER: Hold it?

MARY: I mean until I can raise the $ 5.00.

FARMER: How much you figure you got?

MARY: About $ 1.50 saved back home.

FARMER: How you fixin' to raise the other $3.50?

MARY: Bake penny potato pies.

FARMER: Mm. I reckon I can hold it.

SPOT ON VOICE (STAGE RIGHT)

Today on that site, stands the Bethune-Cookman College, with 850 students registered. Tonight we pay tribute to Mary McLeod Bethune for her courageous fight for the free education of the Negro people.

MUSIC UP, SPRIGHTLY: "TAKE ME OUT TO THE BALL GAME"

VOICE: Friends, let's try a friendly sport quiz:
What Negro pitcher won 45 games in one season?
Pitched and won 5 games in one week?
Struck out Roger Hornsby 5 times in one afternoon?
Made Dizzy Dean say:

SPOT ON MAN LEFT: "Him and me could win 60 games in one season". SPOT OUT.

VOICE: Caused Joe DiMaggio to say:

SPOT ON MAN LEFT: "Best pitcher I ever saw." SPOT OUT

VOICE: Famous in the '20's.... a legend in the 30's... it was not until the late '40's that he broke the Jim Crow in major league baseball, there to give a glimpse of what greatness our national pastime had missed because of discrimination. Mused this great player:

SPOT NEGRO CENTER: "I ain't as fast as I used to be....I used to overpower 'em; now I outcute 'em."

VOICE: That's right, the player is Leroy "Satchel" Paige whom we honor tonight for his great fighting heart. We also pay tribute to the growing army of Negro baseball players who by their ability are chasing Jim Crow off the ball field: Jackie Robinson..... Roy Campanella...Larry Doby...Luke Easter... Don Newcombe...Monte Irvin...Sam Jethroe...Willie Mays... Dan Bankhead...Henry Thompson...Ray Noble...Art Wilson...Orestes Minosa...Harry Simpson...We honor them by renewing our determination to strike out Jim Crow with the management of the New York Yankees, the Washington Senators, and the ten others.

MUSIC RETURNS, FOR JUST A MOMENT AND THEN INTO MUSICAL MOTIF: "LIFT EVERY VOICE"

MUSICAL MOTIF UP, BRIEFLY, AFTER WHICH THE VOICE.

VOICE: To a great Negro American recently came this invitation:

MAN (spotted, STAGE LEFT): Your appearance here will take the form of a national Festival. Will you come to Israel for ten concerts?

DELIBERATELY, THERE IS NO ANSWER, PERHAPS ONLY DARKNESS.

MAN (STAGE RIGHT): In Scotland, the National Union of Mine Workers wants you to sing. Will you?

SILENCE, AGAIN.

NOW, IN RAPID SUCCESSION:

INDIAN WOMAN: Our all-Indian Cultural Conference is in November. Will you encourage us by your presence?

MAN (STAGE RIGHT): The Union of Roumanian Composers invites you and your pianist Mr. Lawrence Brown. Will you come?

MAN (STAGE LEFT): Can you accept a concert tour of Great Britain this month?

THE STAGE IS DARK AGAIN, AND THEN ROBESON COMES IN BY SONG: CLOSING SECTION OF BALLAD FOR AMERICANS.

VOICE: (With rising fervor): There are men in this country -- catfish men: all mouth and no brain -- who would silence this great voice. We honor this man, not by applause, but by dedication. We pay tribute to Paul Robeson, not

VOICE (continued): by acclamation, but by fusion in struggle. You...you, out there, will you enlist with Paul Robeson for equal rights? Will you join with him for the chance to drink in the free sunshine... to work where you can.. to say your piece without fear? You...you...will you honor this singer, artist, conscience by your own emulation? Will you?

AUDIENCE:

VOICE: Somebody said recently: "When Dr. DuBois is humiliated, everyone everywhere who respects the dignity of man is humiliated." Will you free him of the crime of "Peace"? Will you? Will you translate your voice into act today?

AUDIENCE:

VOICE OF AMERICA: Friends, the road is long and the way difficult. Yet it is required: Equal Rights for Negro artists, scientists, workers: once and for all time! Equal opportunity: for this, individually and in sum, we pledge our honor and courage. Equal rights: This is truly the voice of America!

BLACKOUT

NEW YORK COUNCIL of the ARTS, SCIENCES & PROFESSIONS
49 West 44th Street MU 7 2161
New York 18 New York

In order to insure action on the program outlined at the Conference on Equal Rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions, I would like to join a conference continuations committee.

My general field is________________________________

Name________________________________

Address________________________________Phone________________

City________________________________

Panel________________________________

Indicated below are the specific programs in which I should like to participate.

1.________________________________

2.________________________________

3.________________________________

4.________________________________

5.________________________________

6.________________________________

7.________________________________

8.________________________________

9.________________________________

10.________________________________

EQUAL RIGHTS PLEDGE

In order to permanently erase the undemocratic pattern of oppression and discrimination against the Negro people in America, I pledge myself, in all cases encountered, whether in legislation, theatre, film, television, press, books, magazines, radio or any other media, or in whatever situation arises in my daily living to, initially, take personal on-the-spot measures, urging others to duplicate my actions. This, I solemnly pledge in order to extend and secure democracy in America.

CONFERENCE on
EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES
IN THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND
PROFESSIONS
Saturday, November 10, 1951
The Pythian
135 West 70th Street

9:30 A.M. Registration

10:30 A.M. Keynote Session (Main Ballroom)

Welcome Address - Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum,
Chairman, New York Council
ASP

Keynote Address - Earl Dickerson, President
National Lawyer's Guild

Paul Robeson, international
artist

Prof. Goodwin Watson,
Columbia University

12:30 P.M. LUNCH

1:30 P.M. SIMULTANEOUS PANELS

Mass Media and Communications (Main Ballroom)

Moderator - Leon Bibb
David Block, commercial artist
Lloyd Brown, author "Iron City"
Robert Hart, Executive Board, Documentary and Television Film Cameramen of NABET, CIO
Julian Mayfield, actor
Fred Rayfield, TV columnist, Daily Compass

Science, Health and Welfare (Abraham Lincoln Room)

Moderator - Beth Kline Gross
Dr. Mark Straus, Bedford-Stuyvesant Health Council
C.A. Pitter, Engineer
Hilda Fortune, Director of Placement, Harlem, YWCA
Dr. Paul Zimmering, Chief, Adolescent Psychiatric Division, Bellevue Hospital

Art and Music (Theodore Roosevelt Room)

Moderator - Lucy Brown
Gwendolyn Bennett, painter-poet
Oliver Harrington, painter
Jacob Lawrence, painter
Eric Simon, musician

4:30 P.M. SUMMARY SESSION (Main Ballroom)

Submission of Resolutions
Panel Reports

SCENE III from Finnian's Rainbow

The Colonial estate of SENATOR BILLBOARD RAWKINS. Time and termites have bitten into the bases of the three massive Greek columns which support the sagging portico; and their parallel lines have long since gone their separate ways. An old-fashioned garden swing, with moving platform, stands on the lawn; and, near it, a service table which holds a tray, a pitcher of water, a glass tumbler, and some julep goblets. Surveying this picture of seedy grandeur is a young, intelligent-looking Negro, named HOWARD. BUZZ bustles out of the house.

BUZZ

Oh-- you the new boy?

HOWARD

Yes, sir.

BUZZ

Ah, you'll like working here, boy. I've hired all the Senator's butlers for the past ten years. Hundreds of 'em. Of course, he's a little intolerant at times, but that's his blood pressure. Now let's see you serve this julep.
(He acts the imaginary guest as HOWARD takes the tray with goblets on it and offers it)
Mm-mm. Rawkins won't like it. That's no way to serve a julep. It's too fast. Get some shuffle into it. You've seen movies like Gone with the Wind, haven't you? Here, like this.
(He takes the tray and gives a quick course in Southern julep-serving, based on the minstrel tradition of Dixie shuffle and exaggerated accent)
Youah julep, suh, Mr. Rawkins, suh, all frosted and minty- yawk, yawk!
(Turning back to HOWARD)

See?

HOWARD
(In dignified straight English)
But why do I have to shuffle, Mr. Collins?

BUZZ
Why? Well, it's a mark of breed, here in the South. Makes for kindly feelings between master and servant.
(Handing him the tray)

Once more now, try it again. And not so fast this time.
(HOWARD tries it again, but he has evidently been walking upright too long to change his habits. BUZZ shakes his head)

I don't understand you, Jackson.

HOWARD

The name is Howard, Mr. Collins.

BUZZ

That's beside the point, George. Do you want a job here as butler or don't you?

HOWARD

Yes, sir, I do. I've got another year to go at Tuskegee.

BUZZ

Tuskegee? What's that?

HOWARD

A College.

BUZZ

Oh-oh. Don't mention the word college to Mr. Rawkins. It upsets him.

HOWARD

But I do need that tuition money, Mr. Collins.

BUZZ

All the more reason for you to make good here this summer. Then when you get out of college, you've got a job here for life.

RAWKIN'S VOICE (A senatorial and Stentorian boom, from inside the house)

Buzz!

BUZZ (to HOWARD)

I'll speak to you later.

THE VOICE (again)

Oh, Buzz!

BUZZ

I'm over here, Senator. (HOWARD exits with tray, as RAWKINS strides onto the porch and gets lost among the ancestral columns)

RAWKINS

I don't seem to see you.

BUZZ

It's those columns, Senator. They sort of get in the way.

RAWKINS

Poppycock! These columns ain't moved an inch in a hundred years. (Disgustedly)
Oh, meet me down at the swing.
(This is exactly one stride away. RAWKINS negotiates the crossing and settles himself in the swing. BUZZ hurries over and begins to rock it gently--evidently an old-established custom. The SENATOR is now expansive)

Buzz, that was a great day's work you did yesterday.

BUZZ (preening himself)

Well, I bought up the whole valley for you-- except that one little parcel.

RAWKINS

By God, that'll keep them bureaucrats back in Washington, where they belong. Cheap electric power! Let 'em go build their dam on the Potomac instead of desacratin' this heaven-given valley with a lot of copper wire--
(Sensing a speech, BUZZ quickly hands a glass of water to the SENATOR, who is now one with Patrick Henry and Daniel Webster. The arc of the moving swing increases with the fervor of the oratory)

--electrocutin' innocent bullfinches and sparras. Gentlemen, the festering tides of radicalism are upon us. But before I yield up our glorious South--and her sister commonwealth, the U.S.A.-- I will lay down my life. I will go further than that-- I'll filibuster. Back, you crackpots, and forward, America! Forward to the hallowed principles of our forefathers! Forward to the sweet tranquility of the status quo! Forward to yesterday!

SHERIFF (entering, excitedly)

Senator, I caught 'em dead to rights-- two of 'em-- right spank on your property.

RAWKINS

DAMMIT, Sheriff, can't you handle those chicken thieves by yourself?

SHEFIFF

They're worse than chicken thieves this time, Senator-- they're Federal men.

RAWKINS

Federal men! By God, we acted in the nick of time. Already they're trying to get their clutches on the people's property for that power project. Bring them in. (Steps down from swing)

SHERIFF (Calls)

Fetch 'em in, Pete.
(A deputy leads in two young men, one a Negro, dressed in the rough field garb of surveyors, and carrying a box-like machine with dials and needles.)

RAWKINS (looking them over)

I thought you said there was two of them.

NEGRO GEOLOGIST (quietly)
There are two of us, Senator. Here are my credentials.
(Hands over papers to RAWKINS, who pushes them away)

RAWKINS

Credentials? You? You're in the wrong state, fella.

WHITE GEOLOGIST
(controlling his annoyance)

Mr. Rawkins, we're merely here in the line of duty to make a geological survey of the soil in this area in connection with the new dam.

RAWKINS

Well, I don't need nobody to tell me what's on my land, least of all--
(He looks hesitatingly at the Negro--) his kind.

NEGRO GEOLOGIST

Youre giving me too much credit, Senator. All I do is read the findings on this meter. It detected gold on your property this afternoon.

RAWKINS (His breath taken away)

It did what on my property?

WHITE GEOLOGIST

Located an amazing concentration of gold. The meter reacted so violently it broke the needle.

RAWKINS

Well, that's too bad. Where did this unfortunate accident of the needle breakin' occur?

WHITE GEOLOGIST (consulting mem. book)

Near that big cypress tree on parcel sixteen. Rainbow Valley.

BUZZ (sinks into swing)

Oh, my God!

RAWKINS

What are you mumblin' about, Buzz? Fetch some mint juleps for our guests. It ain't every day we're honored with the presence of two distinguished scientists from Washington.

BUZZ

Mr. Rawkins, that's the strip I told you about.

RAWKINS

What strip?

BUZZ

The one we couldn't buy.

RAWKINS

What do you mean, we couldn't buy? Who bought it?

BUZZ

A man named Finian McLonergan

RAWKINS
(He is against blood-pressure control, too)
Why, you fuddlehead! You Yankee brain! What wasn't you prepared for him?

BUZZ

I never saw him before. He's an immigrant.

RAWKINS

An immigrant! Damn! My whole family's been havin' trouble with immigrants ever since we came to this country! (Collapses into swing)

WHITE GEOLOGIST

Come on, Bill. (The GEOLOGISTS and DEPUTY exit.)

BUZZ

Don't get excited, Senator. You'll feel better when you have your julep.

RAWKINS (Gasping for breath)

To hell with my julep! Get me a bromo-seltzer! My blood-pressure's chokin' me!

BUZZ (Calling frantically to HOWARD, in the house)

Howard, bring the Senator a bromo-seltzer! Quick!

RAWKINS

And call my lawyer! Tell him to find a loophole! Where's that bromo?

BUZZ (Yelling off)

Where's that bromo, Howard?

RAWKINS

My loophole's chokin' me!

HOWARD'S VOICE (from the house)
Comin', Massa, just as fas' as I kin. (And HOWARD appears with a foaming glass of bromo-seltzer on his tray. It sizzles and smokes violently as-- having won his diploma in julep serving-- he slowly shuffles toward the SENATOR)

BUZZ

Great work, Howard, you finally got it, fine manners. Take it easy, take it easy.

RAWKINS

Hurry it up, man, for God's sake, please!

HOWARD

Comin' suh, Massa Rawkins, suh. Ah hopes you enjoys it.

RAWKINS

Give it to me! Give me my bromo! (He is on his knees, his collar off, his ego down, pleading and crawling toward HOWARD)

HOWARD (the bromo evaporated)

Yessah, Massa Rawkins. (On HOWARD, the picture of a man on a treadmill, making forward steps, but never advancing, the lights fade out fast.)

END.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP 1953-54 10/27

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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October 28, 1953

Mr. John Gray
c/o Freedom Associates, Inc.
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Gray:

We are happy that Mr. Robeson has agreed to participate in the Annual November Rally of the National Council.

The date is Thursday evening, November 12th. The place is the Carnival Room of the Hotel Capitol, Eighth Avenue at 51st Street. For the public there is a direct entrance from the street to this hall which is at street level. We shall be able to speak to you later about a more convenient and less public entrance, if there be one, where Mr. Robeson can come in when he chooses.

Mr. Robeson's participation is always according to his own arrangement but has included each time both singing and speaking and this type of mass rally makes singing a much appreciated part of his appearance.

We shall take responsibility for piano and assure a good instrument to be tuned on the afternoon before the evening event.

We shall gladly pay fee to Mr. Robeson accompanist at your direction.

The enclosed release gives you a roster of those participating in the event to which I hope may be added within the next twenty-four hours one or more speakers representing Labor.

Command me if I can cooperate further in arranging Mr. Robeson's coming for which we are grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

Sound equipt

$\$50^{oo}$

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Dr. Barsky

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Max Weber

November 17, 1953

Mr. John Gray
c/o Freedom Associates, Inc.
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Gray:

I was sorry to miss you the other evening at the Rally. But just having come out of the hospital I was a bit wobbly and uncertain what would happen if I hit it off too strongly. So when the program was well under way I slipped out for home.

Everybody tells me that Paul's appearance was phenomenal the other evening, somehow reaching a new high point as he sang so beautifully and freely in what was, indeed, a concert. As I understand it, check already has gone forward to Freedom.

In sending our thanks to Paul we have asked him if he has copy of the things he said the other night or notes that could be filled in. There were so many substantial addresses that we would like to prepare excerpts from each and build them into a publication which can be shared with people across the country. I shall appreciate your taking this matter up with Paul to see if his address can be secured.

Thanks for all your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

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November 27, 1953

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Mr. John Gray
c/o Freedom Associates, Inc.
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Gray:

I began to realize in the last few days that Mr. Robeson was probably out of town in accordance with his plan about which you told us some weeks ago.

But I am hoping that both you and he may now be back in town and that you may be able to secure from Paul the transcript of his address at our Rally on November 12th in line with my previous letters to you and to him.

It is essential that any publication of the major excerpts shall include every speaker. All the others are in hand at this point and we hope to get the job in the works soon.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Richard Morford

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

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October 26, 1954

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Max Weber

Mr. John Gray
c/o Freedom Associates
139 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear John,

We are very happy that Paul's schedule will permit him to take part in the event on Tuesday evening, November 16. Although it is true we always hope that he can travel outside of New York whenever possible because he means so much to the building of a strong movement for peace and equality throughout the country.

This is the Annual Rally of the National Council in which Paul has taken part almost every year. It is to observe the dual anniversaries: this year is the 37th Anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State and the 21st Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

In keeping with the tradition which Paul has established we hope he will be willing both to sing and to speak. The time allowance is 30 minutes, divided as he chooses.

The place is The New Rockland Palace, 155th Street and 8th Avenue.

The Rally is scheduled for 7:30 and will probably begin at 8:00 P.M. I would like to reserve until a little bit later the specifying of a time for Paul's appearance. There are one or two tentative items of program pending which affect the scheduling.

You will wish to know the other speakers - Dr. John A. Kingsbury, our National Chairman will preside and make the opening address. Others to speak include the Rev. William Howard Melish, Dr. Corliss Lamont and also one woman. We await final agreement from the woman speaker. It is possible also that we shall add brief entertainment at the opening of the program.

Let me know any further wishes you or Paul have with regard to the occasion so we can make it convenient and comfortable for him.

Sincerely yours,

Dick

Richard Morford
Executive Director

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Max Weber

November 11, 1954

Mr. John Gray
139 West 125 Street
New York, New York

Dear John,

I am prepared now to go further in detailed arrangement for Mr. Robeson's appearance on Tuesday evening, November 16.

Enclosed is a tentative time schedule. A meeting advertised for 7:30 we propose to begin at 7:50. If we have any luck with the enclosed schedule Mr. Robeson's appearance would be at 10:05. I should say 9:45 would be a safe arrival time.

When arriving during the course of the meeting, Paul's usual procedure has been to arrange with one of the attendants to let him in the fire door at the stage end of the hall which permits him to go upstairs behind the stage and sit down awaiting his call. Any other arrangement he chooses will be quite satisfactory to us.

As outlined before, Paul will be free to divide 35 minutes as he wishes, or such portion of it as he wishes, between speaking and singing. We shall take responsibility for a tuning of the piano on Monday. If there is anything else in this connection we should take care of, you will tell us.

Inasmuch as we are not now able to arrange meetings in a number of cities, we feel it important to spread the messages given on these anniversary occasions across the country by publishing major excerpts of the addresses.

Do you suppose it will be practicable for Paul to write out all or a major portion of his address which can be used for this purpose? I remember that you helped us last year to get a hold of his hand-written script and we were able to decipher it. If it were available on Monday it would give the added advantage of being able to make press release also. We have found that whereas the local papers may fail to give coverage, if we send out a press release, with excerpts of speeches in it, across the country, out-of-town papers have printed reasonably ample stories. And this also helps the cause, we think.

I will be grateful if you can get in touch with me upon receipt of this letter. If there are other things that we should do in preparation, we stand ready.

Sincerely yours,

Dick

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc
enc.

310 Windsor Place
Brooklyn, 18, N.Y.
November 11, 1954

Mr. Richard Morford,
National Council of American Soviet Friendship
114 E. 32nd St.
New York City

Dear Dick -- and colleagues:

The theme of the rally being "Peace" I am enclosing a wonderful poem on the subject. While I am sure Brother Paul will sing, it occurred to me that it would be most impressive to hear him recite this poem, the poignancy of which would be infinitely enhanced by his magnificent delivery. I am sending him a copy of this note and the poem.

It may not be possible for me to get back in time for the rally. "The old gray mare ain't what she used to be" and I'm all tuckered out and expect to get away for a few days.

Elizabeth did me the honor of entrusting to me the typing of her autobiography which I completed, so far as she has gone; apparently my work gave satisfaction for when Steve Nelson blew into town and EGF showed him the job he said he hoped that I might be able and willing to help type his forthcoming book -- on his second trial. Naturally I was willing but it meant pretty intensive work for a few days to meet the closing date.

In case I can't make it I enclose a modest dollar for the collection -- I would do better if I could -- but today's demands are crushing.

With warmest good wishes for success of the Rally.

Affectionate greetings,

Muriel I. Symington

Copy for
Brother Robeson

Nov. 18, 1954

Att. Mr. John Gray
Freedom Associates
N.Y., N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

The New York Student Division of the Labor Youth League would like to extend an invitation to Mr. Paul Robeson to sing at an affair we are planning. The nature of the affair is that of a concert and dance, to be held on December 18 at Yugoslav-American Home, 405 W. 41 Street. We would be greatly honored if Mr. Robeson would agree to sing for us for about an hour or two, during the evening.

Please send your reply to:

Mrs. Sema Gorkin
3307 Hull Ave.
Bronx 67, N.Y.

or call: OL.2-0247

Hoping that we receive a postive reply from you at your earliest convenience, I am

Sincerely yours,
Sema Gorkin
for the N.Y. Student Division
of the Labor Youth League.

Contacted by phone
Unable to accept,
J.G.

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Max Weber

November 19, 1954

Dear John,

Thank you for all you did by way of arrangements that brought Paul Robeson to our Rally on Tuesday evening.

We believe his participation is an important contribution to the cause and you have had a share in it.

Sincerely yours,

Dick

Richard Morford
Executive Director

RM:bc

Mr. John Gray
139 West 125 Street
New York, New York

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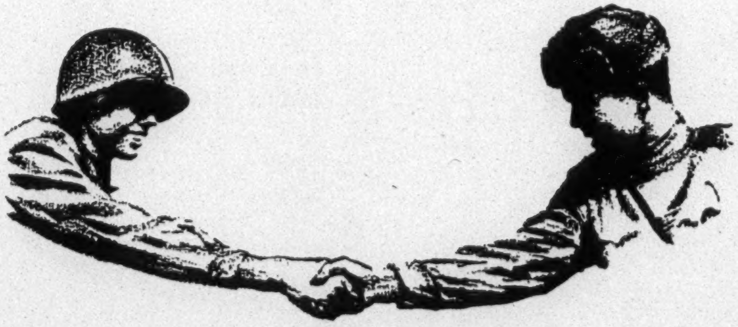
american soviet facts

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

(Third in a series on cultural exchange)

". . . In the matter of increasing contacts, many items were discussed. The freer flow of news—the circulation of books—peaceful trade. But the subject that took most of our attention in this regard is the possibility of increased visits by the citizens of one country into the territory of another . . . to give each the fullest possible opportunity to learn about the people of the other nation. In this particular subject there is the greatest possible degree of agreement."

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower—July 25, 1955
Reporting to the nation on the Geneva Conference



A NEW ERA IN CULTURAL RELATIONS

The encouraging words of President Eisenhower on cultural exchange were quickly implemented by action here at home. The State Department, overwhelmed with suggestions for technical and cultural exchange announced that it was planning to set up a special section. (N.Y. *Times* 8/1/55). "The section will be the counterpart in function, if not structure, to the Soviet organization, long in existence –V.O.K.S.–initials for All-Soviet Society for Foreign Cultural Relations," the announcement said. Since then, William H. Jackson, special assistant to Secretary of State Dulles, has been given the task of working out details for East-West cultural exchange.

FROM THE U.S.A. TO THE U.S.S.R.

28 members of Congress and a Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court were this summer granted passports valid for travel in the Soviet Union. Most of these visited the Soviet Union, some with their wives. They spent from two weeks to a month in the Soviet Union, met with leaders in Government, men and women on collective farms, visited factories and schools. Five of the U. S. Senators–Henry C. Dworshak (R., Idaho), Milton Young (R., N.D.), Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), J. Allen Frear (D., Del.), George W. Malone (R., Nev.), and also Mrs. Malone, met with Premier Nikolai Bulganin and Communist Party General Secretary, Nikita Krushchev and discussed trade and cultural relations.

This group also visited the new Atomic Energy Plant near Moscow, soon after our Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen and other foreign diplomats had spent a day at this power station, the first plant in the world to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The United States' lawmakers have publicized impressions of their Soviet visit on TV and radio and in the press. The following excerpts indicate the tenor of their remarks:

> Senator Malone: "There is no evidence that the Russians are preparing to go to war . . . Therefore the U. S. should plan for a prolonged period of economic competition during which the most important thing will be to make our economic system work . . . I saw no evidence that the Soviet people will rise against their Government . . . (therefore) we should retrench expenses like the Voice of America."
>
> Mrs. Malone describing her meeting with Soviet Premier Bulganin and Mr. Krushchev wrote: "They talk and act as though they are going some place and the country's appearance does not belie it. They have patience and talk of accomplishments in terms of decades and centuries–not as we do in the right now . . . I couldn't agree with my husband more, that we must just make our own system work."
>
> Senator John A. Sparkman (D., Ala.) expressed his agreement with Senator Malone and said: "It would be the most serious mistake we could make if we assume the Russians do not have the technical equipment, the know-how and the potential to do everything on the production line we do."
>
> Senator Henry C. Dworshak: "It is quite apparent the people in the Soviet Union want peace, not war. They are friendly and cordial."

> Senator Allen J. Ellender, (D.,La.) said that his impressions "differ sharply from those received from State Department information about the Soviet Union . . . I saw enough and talked with enough people to confirm that the Russians don't want war." Senator Ellender talked for almost two hours with Anastas I. Mikoyan, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. whom the Senator found "extremely intelligent, with a keen sense of humor, a man Westerners can understand and appreciate."

General agreement was expressed by all Congressmen that such visits were worthwhile and should be continued.

> According to the New York *Times* (9/4/55) "Rep. Patrick J. Hillings (R., Calif.), after a meeting in Moscow with Foreign Minister Valerian Zorin, announced that he would move to eliminate from U. S. Immigration Law the requirement that alien visitors be finger-printed—a requirement that has caused considerable ill-will abroad, especially among the Russians."

> Even Congressmen Joe Holt (R., Calif.), and John J. Rhodes (R., Ariz.), who felt their visits were censored and said "We only saw what they wanted us to see," advocated increased exchange of visitors between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

* * *

More journalists from the United States have visited the Soviet Union this summer than at any time since before the war. The *Herald-Tribune* has recently opened a permanent Moscow office with correspondent Marguerite Higgins in charge. Frank Kelley of the *Herald-Tribune's* Rome bureau visited Moscow in June. The Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram* now has a correspondent, Andrew Tully, and the *Afro-American* has a correspondent, William Worthy, in Moscow.

Welles Hangen (N. Y. *Times*—9/9/55) wrote from Moscow: "Moscow is not generally considered a summer resort, but it is fast becoming the year's prime tourist attraction for congressional visitors from the U.S.A."

* * *

The Soviet Union attracted not only congressmen and journalists.

The Armenian Churches of the U.S.A. and Canada sent 28 clerical and lay delegates to the National Ecclesiastical Convocation held in Soviet Armenia and called by the Supreme Council of the Armenian Church.

Four leading Protestant clergymen—the Rev. Theodore F. Adams of Richmond, Va., President of the Baptist World Alliance; the Rev. V. Carney Hargroves of Philadelphia, former President of the American Baptist Convention, the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, President of the National Baptist Convention, major Negro denomination, and the Rev. Arnold T. Ohrn, General Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance—visited the Soviet Union in August, preaching in Baptist Churches and meeting with Soviet Churchmen. Dr. Jackson, reporting to his congregation, the Olivet Baptist Church of Chicago said that he found "freedom of worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda in the Soviet Union." Dr. Adams (N. Y. *Times*—8/18/55) wrote that the Russians "certainly have full freedom of worship although they do not have religious freedom the way we know it." Dr. Adams said that he travelled 3,500 miles in the Soviet Union, preached 18 times in 15 churches and found "religion vital and growing." Speaking on October 2 on the NBC Television Program "Frontiers of Faith," Dr. Adams said there were 5,400 Baptist churches in the Soviet Union with a constituency of more than 3,000,000.

> "This means," he said, "that spiritually the Baptists have a tremendous responsibility . . . Ours then is the opportunity and responsibility to seek, through the fellowship of these two groups of believers, to help build bridges of understanding between our two countries that will strengthen our faith, foster evangelism and promote peace on earth and goodwill among men."

A delegation of Quakers spent a month travelling widely in the Soviet Union. Interviewed in Moscow by correspondent Clifton Daniels of the N. Y. *Times* they said that they had met few restrictions, were impressed with the sincerity, vitality and depth of faith in the Russian people, found them a warm, friendly people with a deep desire for peace.

Mr. Wroe Alderson, market analyst, member of the Quaker delegation, told the Philadelphia *Daily News* that he was "strongly in favor of increased travel between these two countries." He said he "would urge our own country, the U.S.A., to work toward making this exchange possible."

Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, leader of the Quaker Delegation, discussed the requirements that persons visiting the United States must be finger-printed and the custom of stamping American passports with the statement that they are "invalid for travel in the Soviet Union." He said:

> "It is our conviction that there might well be a considerable increase in the visits of scholars and technically trained people of various sorts from the U.S.S.R. to the U.S.A. if the above obstacles were removed . . . The visit of the Russian farmers to this country indicates clearly the value of such visits." The Quakers invited Soviet tourists to visit them in Philadelphia.

The Quakers wrote, in a recent report of the American Friends Service Committee, under a section entitled "World Windows Open":

> "The six Quakers who spent a month in the Soviet Union took an initial inventory of their preconceptions and agreed pretty well on 30 items. Ten days later they had revised their opinion on half. By the end of the combined 12,000 miles of travel they had to shift judgments some more. For example, they had doubted Russian willingness to discuss controversial topics, but as they steamed down the Volga the Russian-speaking member found himself in constant conversation for two days— literature, religion, politics, race, forced labor—all frank and uninhibited."

Professor William B. Edgerton, Assistant Professor of Russian at Pennsylvania State University, also a member of the delegation, delivered lectures at the Gorki Institute of World Literature of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and carried on research on the Russian writer, N. S. Leskov in the libraries of Moscow and Leningrad. He said:

> "We scholars of the United States and the Soviet Union especially need the opportunity for free and unhampered contacts with our foreign colleagues . . . the friendly informal discussions I have had with Soviet scholars have enabled me to clear up questions that I had been unable to solve in years of research when Soviet and American scholars had no such contact . . . Many more American and Soviet citizens ought to travel over each other's country, read each others books, newspapers, see each others plays and moving pictures, hear each others concerts and visit each others factories, farms and homes."

* * *

While Soviet agriculturists were touring our country this summer, a group of United States farmers, headed by Dean

W. V. Lambert, Chairman of the College of Agriculture of the University of Nebraska, were visiting Soviet farms in many parts of the U.S.S.R. The group travelled in Soviet Central Asia, the Ukraine, the Russian Republic, talking with collective farmers, workers at the machine tractor stations, in agricultural research institutions and colleges. Their discussions were frank and informal. The United States farmers inspected machines, barns, homes, fields and livestock. They collected information about costs, methods and wages. Dr. David Gale Johnson, Associate Professor at the University of Chicago, asked how the collective farmers spent their spare time; farmer Charles Hearst asked what steps the collective farm would take if the machine tractor station did a poor job; farmer Asa Clark criticized the method used in cleaning grain; farmer John Steddom, visiting a hog farm in the Aksai district invited its chairman to visit his farm in the United States.

Dr. Lambert expressed the feeling of the delegation when he said: "Such exchanges help us to learn from each other for our mutual advantage."

* * *

The U. S. Weight Lifting Team headed by Paul Anderson of Toccoa, Ga. was according to Clifton Daniels of the N. Y. *Times,* June 18:

> ". . . Unquestionably the most popular Americans to visit the Soviet Union. Fifteen thousand Russians sat in rain and cold to watch them perform. The spectators applauded the Americans wildly. In Leningrad a special bus was put at their disposal for sight-seeing and luncheons and receptions were given in their honor. Russia's leading sports paper *Soviet Sports* devoted a full page to the Americans."

25 American chess players went to Moscow in June for an American-Soviet match. The manager of the U. S. Team, Mr. Rossen Reeves, thanking the Russians for their hospitality said:

> "I would like to utter a prayer that Russians and Americans for the next ten thousand years meet in combat no greater than chess."

* * *

Among the American citizens who, during 1955, have toured the Soviet Union as individuals are:

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. He spent many weeks traveling by car through the Central Asian Republics. Said Justice Douglas on his return to Moscow when interviewed by a reporter of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*:

> "The Central Asian Republics impressed me greatly. The beautiful scenery, tall mountains and blossoming orchards reminded me of the favorite haunts in my own country . . . I talked to judges and ministers, chairmen of collective farms and farmers, teachers . . . whoever I talked to was exceedingly cordial, kind and friendly."

In answer to a question as to what he thought of extending contact between the Soviet Union and the United States, Justice Douglas replied:

> "I think that the broadest exchange of tourists should be arranged. And not only tourists but entire groups of people in different walks of life should come to the Soviet Union from the United States, and vice versa. I should like to see in the Soviet Union American lawyers, physicians, teachers, engineers and farmers. It would be well to imitate the example of the visit of the American agricultural delegation to the Soviet Union and the visit of the Soviet agricultural delega-

> tion to the United States. The exchange of these delegations was undoubtedly very useful and permitted us to get a better knowledge of one another . . . We should know one another better. Then it will be clear that the Russians and the Americans have much in common."

Professor Paul Schafer, head of the Thoracic Surgery Department of the U. S. Army General Hospital spent a month as a guest of the Soviet Ministry of Health. He said:

> "The exchange of medical delegates between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. is a great thing . . . I also consider it expedient to begin an exchange of post-graduate medical students for periods of from six months to one year."

A leading authority on Soviet law, Professor Harold Joseph Berman of Harvard, lectured on September 9th at the Vishinsky Institute of Law in Moscow. He said: "Direct contact is of great benefit."

The Rev. Charles F. Boss, Jr., Secretary of the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church with national headquarters in Chicago spent some time visiting the Soviet Union this summer conferring with Church leaders.

In an interview in *U. S. News and World Report,* Dr. Homer L. Dodge, President Emeritus of Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont and his son, Norton T. Dodge who recently made a long study tour in the Soviet Union commented:

> "Their (Soviet) society is structured to encourage a boy or girl to climb as high on the educational ladder as he or she is capable. As a result very little talent is wasted."

Other visitors included Daniel Weissberg, Professor of Real Estate and Housing and Albert Maysies, instructor in Psychology, both of Boston University; Colonel M. Spencer, Chairman of the Chicago City Planning Commission and his wife; 20 students from American colleges and universities who attended the Youth Congress in Warsaw, and Dr. Berthold F. Schulz, (a Chicago dentist who drove his own car from Finland into the Soviet Union) toured the U.S.S.R.

The New York *Times* of September 15 reports that the growers of Burley tobacco hope to have a representative promoting the use of their tobacco in Russia within the next few months. Robert A. Whitney, President of the National Sales Executives Association has also announced a plan to send representatives to Moscow. The Jewish Labor Committee has been invited by Ambassador Georgi N. Zarubin to send a delegation to the Soviet Union.

FROM OTHER COUNTRIES TO THE U.S.S.R.

During 1954 the Soviet Union welcomed ten thousand guests from 90 countries. 1955 figures are not yet available. However, there is every indication that the number of foreign guests is steadily increasing.

In September, 1955, Harrison Salisbury wrote:

> "Hundreds of foreign tourists are flooding Moscow and Leningrad. Foreign guests are no novelty in the Soviet Union. This year, however, there have been some new developments."

The "new developments" Salisbury refers to are the visits of official governmental delegations. In response to invitations extended by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. parliamentary delegations from India, Norway, Syria, Finland, Sweden, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Japan, Vietnam and France have toured the Soviet Union and met with Government leaders.

The French delegation from the National Assembly included the President of the Federal Union of Railroad Men of the French Confederation of Catholic Workers and the Vice-President of the Orleans Chamber of Commerce.

Exchange between cities similar to the exchange carried on between Coventry, England and Stalingrad (described in a previous issue of FACTS) are being extended between Birmingham, England and Sverdlovsk; between Greenwich, England and the town of Gorki; between the Greek city of Volos and Rostov-on-Don. The Mayors of these cities and members of their municipal Councils have visited the Soviet Union on invitation of City Soviets and vice versa. During August, Sir Seymour Howard, Lord Mayor of London, visited Moscow as a guest of the Moscow City Soviet.

Two Soviet cruisers and four destroyers under the command of Admiral A. G. Golovki, Commander-in-Chief of the Baltic Fleet, will visit Portsmouth, Britain's chief naval base from October 12 to 17. An exchange visit will be made at the same time by four British destroyers, an aircraft carrier and mine layer under Admiral Michael Denny, Commander-in-Chief of the home Fleet, to the port of Leningrad.

In addition to the United States' clergymen, churchmen from Holland, Finland and West Germany have recently visited the Soviet Union.

During the last few months the Soviet Union has been visited by journalists from the Philippines, India, Egypt and Denmark; by groups of French, Italian and Egyptian scientists. A delegation of Indian scientists, headed by Professor Honi Bhabha visited the Institute of Nuclear Problems of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. There have been Asian geologists; teachers from Ireland and Yugoslavia and museum workers from China visiting their counterparts in the Soviet Union. Among the delegations visiting the Soviet Union were those sent by: The Union of French Building Workers; The Finnish Lumbermen's Union; The Swedish Peat Workers Union; The Renault Auto Workers of France; The National Union of Printers, Great Britain; The British Engineering Workers Union; The All-India Peasant Union; Burmese Mining Engineers; Austrian power technicians and Indian machine builders. There have been businessmen from Canada, China, France, Japan and many other lands consulting on trade relations. The Canadian Minister of Fisheries, James Sinclair, after attending the conference held in Moscow during July of the International Whaling Commission spent some time travelling through the Far Eastern areas of the Soviet Union.

During July Soviet athletes participated in 18 international meets including yacht races in Finland and soccer games in Lebanon, Switzerland and Italy. When the famous British soccer team from Wolverhampton played in the Dynamo Stadium of Moscow on August 4, the game was televized in England and the Soviet Union and aroused tremendous enthusiasm and interest.

The Seamen's International Clubs established by VOKS (The U.S.S.R. Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries) contribute toward bringing together peoples from different lands. There are such clubs in Leningrad, Odessa, Archangel, Onega and Mezen. During 1954 ten thousand foreign seamen from 22 different countries, including Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Argentina, Greece, Iceland and Denmark made use of these clubs. When a foreign ship enters a Soviet port representatives of the club visit the ship, inquire what the seamen would like to do, invite them to the club, arrange excursions, visits to concerts, movies or sports events. The captain of a British ship, Rippingham Grange, wrote to thank the director of the Leningrad club. He said: "The excursions and trips arranged by you were a wonderful way of spending our time and they shed light on many things."

There is a continual flow of artists, musicians, actors and dancers from other countries to the Soviet Union. For example, this summer Korean singers and dancers toured Latvia; Yugoslav musicians, the Chilean pianist Oscar Gacitua, opera singers from Stockholm, appeared in Moscow. The Brazilian conductor Claudio Santoro and the Finnish conductor Tauno Hannikainen conducted orchestras in the Soviet Union.

FROM THE U.S.S.R. TO OTHER COUNTRIES

Exchange is not a one-way affair.

During July a delegation of twelve agriculturists from the U.S.S.R., including its highest ranking agricultural officials began a five-week tour of the United States. They came at the invitation of an Iowa newspaper, *The Des Moines Register and Tribune,* to study American methods of corn and hog production. The new York *Times* headlined a story about their arrival in Iowa (July 17):

"Five thousand in Iowa cheered the twelve-man Soviet delegation headed by Vladimir Matskevich." Everywhere they met friendly crowds, farmers ready to explain their farming methods, agricultural college specialists willing to demonstrate the newest techniques, and housewives eager to feed them Iowa ham and fried chicken.

THE U.S.A. WELCOMES SOVIET FARMERS

1955

AN ILLUSTRATED PAMPHLET

How the American People showed their cordiality to the Soviet Farmers. Story is taken from newspapers in the areas visited: big city dailies and small town weeklies.

Prices: Single copy 25¢; 5 for $1; 10 for $1.75; 20 for $3.00.

Order from

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On their return to Moscow the Russians reported that they: "travelled through 12 states, visited 50 farms and drank 500 liters (158½ gallons) of lemonade, that all their meetings with American farmers were marked by great friendliness."

Before their departure, Secretary of Agriculture Benson received the Soviet farmers in Washington. He praised the group as "good ambassadors" and commended them for their "friendliness and goodwill."

When in Chicago, Allan B. Kline, past president of the Farm Bureau greeted them on their visit to the United Packinghouse Workers of America. He said:

> "Peace and friendship between our peoples is the basis for helping both to develop a rising standard of living . . . we should improve relations to the point where we can begin to spend a great deal more of our total energy on things concerned with progress."

* * *

Soviet builders are now touring American cities and housing developments on the invitation of the Home Builders Association.

Six Soviet journalists will tour our country this fall.

Premier Bulganin and Mr. Krushchev have accepted an invitation from the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Anthony Eden, to visit England next spring.

Yakov A. Malik, Ambassador to Great Britain was invited by the Mayor of Blackpool to switch on the famous Blackpool illuminations this September. Greeting the Mayor and the people Mr. Malik said:

> "There is no higher or more noble task today, than the effort to strengthen peace and friendship among the nations, than the struggle for peace, to rid mankind of the threat of devastating atomic war . . . Our peoples can learn from one another in developing their economy in the field of science and technique, in mastering atomic energy and using it for peace and constructive purposes. . . ."

Wishing the people of Britain "peace and prosperity, happiness and well-being," the Ambassador declared:

> "May the lights of peaceful, creative work, of tranquil life, of prosperity for the peoples shine ever more brightly on earth!"

The President of the Intourist Soviet Travel Agency, Mr. Vladimir M. Ankudinov, has announced that Intourist "would be ready to send tens of thousands of tourists from the Soviet Union to the United States if material conditions can be worked out."

* * *

(Toward the end of August the states of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts were severely affected by a flood costing many lives.)

On September 21, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R,. Professor G. Miterev, sent a telegram to the President of the American National Red Cross, Mr. E. Bunker, expressing "deep sympathy to the people of the United States in connection with the disaster that befell the Northeastern region." The message was accompanied by a gift of 100,000 rubles to be used for victims of the flood. In accepting the gift, Mr. Bunker expressed gratitude to the Soviet people.

Recently, as a result of an earthquake, Imbabura Province, Equador, suffered seriously from a shortage of food and housing. Professor Miterev sent a cable of sympathy to the people of Equador and a check for 50,000 rubles to aid the earthquake victims.

Among many messages received from all over the world expressing grief at the news of the illness of President Eisenhower were the following:

> From N. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.: "I have learned with great grief of your illness. I wholeheartedly wish you early recovery."
>
> From K. Voroshilov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.: "I am very grieved over the news of your illness. I sincerely wish you a speedy recovery."
>
> From N. S. Krushchev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.: "Remembering our personal meeting in Geneva, I have learned with grief of your illness. I wholeheartedly wish you a speedy recovery.'
>
> From Georgi Zhukov, Marshal of the Soviet Union: "Spending my holidays far away from Moscow I have only just learned about your sudden illness and was deeply moved by the news.
>
> "My family and I sincerely wish you rapid recovery and many years of life."

A GLIMPSE OF WHAT'S AHEAD IN CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Marguerite Higgins writing from Moscow, September 29, (N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*) *says*:

"Carlton Smith, Director of the National Arts Foundation, a private New York organization devoted to cultural pursuits is now in Moscow to develop an exchange of artists and art. . . .

"A projected visit to the United States by Miss Galina Ulanova and top Russian concert artists was revealed here on September 23.

"According to Congressional restrictions, this visit must first have State Department approval. Specifically, the Justice Department must be prepared to certify that Miss Ulanova's trip is in the national interest. . . ."

Mr. Smith is also working on plans for a visit to the United States by Soviet composers. Aram Khatchaturian, Dmitri Shostakovich, Tikon Khrennikov, Reinhold Gliere and Dmitri Kabalevsky have been invited to conduct the playing of their compositions in our country. The invitation has been accepted. It is also possible that the famous Russian Folk Dance Group directed by Igor Moiseyev may tour our country.

Emil Gilels, famous Soviet pianist began a tour of the United States by an appearance with the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra in Philadelphia on October 3. Concerts follow in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. The world renowned Soviet violinist, David Oistrakh, is scheduled to appear in concerts in the United States in November or December.

Later this fall "Porgy and Bess," American opera, will be played in Moscow and discussions are now in progress about the possibility of presenting other American musicians in the Soviet Union and performing American plays on the Soviet stage.

Plans are under way for an exchange of paintings between the museums of the Soviet Union and those of the United States.

Seven Soviet journalists have received American visas and will leave shortly for an extended tour of the U.S. (*N. Y. Times* 9/30/55). It is expected that four Soviet scientists, members of the Soviet Academy of Science, will attend an international conference here on the use of antibiotics in agriculture. The conference, October 19-21, is sponsored by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences.

It is reported that Columbia Broadcasting System may include a televised trip to the U.S.S.R. this year on its TV program for children "Let's Take a Trip".

As part of the Soviet program for furthering cultural exchange, a new magazine *Foreign Literature* appeared in August. The first number includes contemporary German, French, Indian, British, Polish, Japanese writings, reviews of foreign films and drama.

Its purpose is to make available foreign literature to Soviet readers in Russian translation. The magazine will also facilitate exchange of Soviet and foreign literature.

The Soviet Union has announced that it will pay royalties on all literary works by American authors published in the Soviet Union.

* * * * * *

October 3, 1955.

Note:

Information and quotations in this issue are largely taken from stories appearing in the *N. Y. Times* and the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*. Sources will be identified upon inquiry.

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You are cordially invited

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ADDRESSES

ANNUAL NOVEMBER RALLY FOR PEACE

November 12, 1953 - New York City

On November 12, 1953, the National Council conducted a People's Rally for Peace at the Capitol Hotel in New York City to observe the dual November anniversaries: the thirty sixth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State and the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was the thirteenth November Rally in New York in an unbroken series.

The speakers taking part in this program were: Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. John A. Kingsbury, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Reverend William Howard Melish, Mr. Paul Robeson, Miss Jessica Smith and Mr. Leon Straus.

Many persons who attended the Rally have spoken since in appreciation of the substantial and constructive utterances of these distinguished speakers. The National Council is pleased to publish these addresses, somewhat abbreviated, believing you and other readers will also find them valuable. It is recommended that you share with your friends, sending for additional copies if you wish.

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ANNUAL NOVEMBER RALLY FOR PEACE

NOVEMBER 12, 1953

NEW YORK CITY

OPENING ADDRESS

"TOWARD THE DAY OF PEACE"

DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY

Chairman, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

Once again we are met to celebrate two historic events: the Thirty-sixth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution; and the Twentieth Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. As chairman of the National Council, on behalf of its membership throughout our land, I welcome you to this Grand Rally. It is not easy in these times of hysteria, when our nation is blanketed with fear and suspicion, to find a meeting place for so many people. It is gratifying to greet such a large and friendly audience.

I am not going to take the time of our distinguished speakers to talk of the extraordinary achievements of the Soviet Union, nor to speak of its vast projects of peaceful construction. But I can assure you from personal observation, during my visit to the Soviet Union last year and the year before, that there is no hysteria in the U.S.S.R. There is no evidence of war psychology. The people of the Soviet Union are being conditioned not for war but for peace. One hears no sirens screeching; one sees no signs pointing to bomb-shelters. There are no A-bomb drills in school; children do not wear dog tags. There is no war propaganda in the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union the government and the people are eager to embrace American-Soviet Friendship and for such friendship we will continue to work. I often recall the last letter I had from that great English woman Beatrice Webb. During the last days of the war she wrote: "We are so glad to hear that you are still working for American-Soviet Friendship. It is clear as daylight that without the cooperation of the U.S.S.R., not only in winning the war, but also in making a durable peace, we shall fail as we did after the last war." And shortly before her death she wrote: "My testament to the British people is to keep the closest possible friendship with the Soviet people. Without it I see no future."

Tonight we want to stress the paramount importance of promoting improvement of American-Soviet diplomatic relations between our two governments, together with other major powers. To that end I would remind you of the words of Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company, spoken at the great Madison Square Garden Rally in November 1942. "Without Russia as our friend in the post-war years," he said, "never will a man or woman in this great audience see a peaceful or a stable world...Yes, for us a modus vivendi in war and in peace is vital."

I want to emphasize that Thomas Lamont of Wall Street stood for peaceful negotiations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. We mustn't make the mistake of lumping all our great leaders of finance together, labelling them war-mongers. Demand for negotiations on the basis of peaceful co-existence must come from all sections of the people, left and right.

I can assure you that there are many outstanding men in Wall Street who are just as eager as we are to see a peaceful and stable world. Aside from the program of the World Peace Council the soundest plan for peace I have seen was written by a great Wall Street lawyer. It embodies assumptions and conclusions with which we may differ, but its "Five Essentials for Peace" are almost identical with the World Peace Council's program. Let me quote a few sentences from his little book called "A Plan for Peace" by Grenville Clark, an outstanding lawyer, a member of the firm formerly headed by Senator Root, Secretary of State under Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Clark knows war as well as peace. He was a prime mover in the "Plattsburg Idea" at the outbreak of World War I. It was he who largely conceived and wrote the Selective Service Bill at the beginning ...

of World War II. Even Mr. Acheson, not even Senator McCarthy, could call this plan, so like the plan of the World Peace Council, "communist conceived, inspired by Moscow."

Listen to the headings of the following essentials of Mr. Clark's plan:

1. Encourage a more searching discussion of the implications of a third World War; so that, realizing the shocking moral as well as physical consequences, we will be more resourceful in finding means to establish world order.

2. Recognition that disarmament in all arms by all nations is the key to any stable world settlement and to genuine peace.

3. Formulate tentative but comprehensive terms for East-West settlement arrived at by persistent negotiations.

4. Pending the outcome of negotiations let the nations maintain their military establishments, but let us work for a better atmosphere for settlement.

5. Recognize that our executive officials cannot be expected to produce the new ideas to deal with the unprecedented problems; and that new conceptions must come from the people through their representatives.

I was reliably informed that Mr. Acheson didn't like Mr. Clark's plan any better than he liked the plan of the World Peace Council, but, coming from Mr. Grenville Clark, he couldn't publicly condemn it. Especially since such men as John W. Davis, former candidate for President of the U.S.A. said: "It is far and away the sanest and best thought out program I have seen...He(Clark) has struck a blow that may ring far." And Marshall Field said: "I really believe it is the finest piece of reasoning on this subject that I have encountered."

I want to emphasize that Grenville Clark said: "We ought to ponder the moral even more than the physical implications of these questions, and to what extent we might lose our self-respect; or, still worse, become callous and debased by the use of weapons of mass destruction...intangibles just as important as damage to cities and loss of our best young men." He might well have added: Witness our use of napalm in Korea.

Regarding negotiations Mr. Clark says: "Let the best available men be drafted. Let informal explorations and exchanges occur. If there is prospect of success, let formal negotiations be commenced...not confined to diplomats.

"Let negotiations continue over a long period...Let not the effort be discontinued by reason of fatigue or difficulty. The stakes are too great to permit such an outcome.

"I firmly believe that if new comprehensive negotiations were based on disarmament in all arms by all nations...there would be an excellent chance of success."

What do you think of that from one of the most distinguished and influential Wall Street lawyers. It certainly doesn't sound like war-mongering.

I took Grenville Clark's "Plan for Peace" to Moscow and to Peking last year. I presented a copy to the Chairman of the Peace Committee of the U.S.S.R. Mr. Nicolai Tikhonov, and to the Chairman of the China Peace Committee Kuo Molo. While they took sharp issue with some of Mr. Clark's assumptions and conclusions they concurred with his essentials for peace.

If we are to attain our objective of peace by negotiations, as Pietro Nenni said at the Vienna World Peace Council, which I attended in 1951, we must implement our resolutions which provide that every person...who wants to work for this or that proposal formulated by the World Peace Council has a place in this Council. Accordingly, I proposed that Mr. Clark be invited to the next meeting of the Council.

Not only distinguished lawyers and business men such as Mr. Clark and Mr. Ernest T. Weir, president of one of our great steel corporations, concur in the essentials of peace for which we are working, and favor peace by negotiations. Leading scientists such as Albert Einstein stand for these essentials for peace, and demand peace by negotiation. Said Einstein (N.Y. Times, Feb. 13, 1950): "The first problem is to do away with mutual fear and distrust...Every kind of peaceful cooperation among men is primarily based on mutual trust and only secondarily on situations such as courts of justice and police. This", he said, "holds for nations as well as individuals. And the basis of trust is loyal give and take. It is impossible to achieve peace as long as every single action is taken with a possible conflict in view. The leading view of all political action should therefore be:

"What can we do to bring about peaceful co-existence and even loyal cooperation between nations?" The substance of this statement has been reiterated many times by Einstein and other leading scientists.

As my distinguished predecessor, Dr. Corliss Lamont said at one of our Grand Rallies: "You may be sure that the Council will go ahead with an expanding program of education regardless of any and all attempts to hamper our activities by reactionary Congressmen playing the part of midgets in the seats of the mighty."

By the Attorney General, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been listed as a subversive organization and now he has instituted proceedings with the Subversive Activities Control Board requiring us to show cause why the Council should not register under the McCarran Act as a "communist-front" organization. The Council and its officers, with the support of its membership, propose to fight this subversive listing every step of the way; if necessary, we shall again carry our fight for the preservation of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights to the Supreme Court of the United States.

But while this fight goes on you may be assured the Council will go ahead with an expanding program of education directed to the achievement of the essential, the possible and the cherished goal - American-Soviet Friendship.

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"DISCIPLINED OPTIMISM"

THE REVEREND WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

Minister of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn

We meet tonight on two significant anniversaries; the 36th of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the 20th of recognition of that new country and system of society by the United States under the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt.

Both were events of enormous consequence. That the nation of nations then brought into existence today embraces 200,000,000 people and has achieved allies numbering a third of the people of the globe, is a fact of historic significance. And that this has been done without military conquest but, quite on the contrary, in the face of the most savage military onslaught from without, not only once but twice, on the basis primarily of the attractiveness of ideas, is an extraordinary thing. It is inconceivable that a structure of such slow and costly building should not have an internal strength of loyalty and staying power. That this is really so daily becomes more obvious.

Indeed, what actually, I believe, leads to this crescendo of hatred, is the simple fact that the success of the Soviet Union has reached the point where it cannot be destroyed from without and where its character is increasingly challenging the other nations.

The issue, as I have said to you many times before, is not that of/our adopting or rejecting Russian ways but finding our own American answers to the challenge the Soviet Union poses to us: a concept of a planned society based on peaceful abundance through technology, a society in which class and colonial exploitation are done away, a society in which social motivations replace private profit as the chief incentive, and a society in which national and racial equality are elementary facts of living practice.

Whatever limitations exist in the U.S.S.R. between theoretical principle and actuality, and I am prepared to believe that they are many, it still remains that on this 36th anniversary we are watching a growing society where the benefits are beginning increasingly to pay a return on the tremendous investment in human sacrifice and energy.

It is not surprising that U.S. business leadership is increasingly troubled at the advancing technical skills now available in the Soviet Union, and being shared with China and the Eastern Democracies. It has been hard for American minds schooled in the conventions of our industrial and productive supremacy, to conceive of another society that might outstrip us in intellectual and trained technical potential. Yet, in the atomic field, forced by the threat of American domination to follow where we had arrogantly led the way, Russian scientists have already completely upset the calculations of western atomic diplomacy. If this new giant could be spared the ringing threat of air bases and atomic planes, its advances could be increasingly spectacular in the non-military field. There is good reason to believe that the stake of the Soviet Union in an atomic war is so great that she will make every move to prevent its outbreak.

Some of you may have seen the reply of Ilya Ehrenburg to a British schoolmistress who had written to him asking that he work against atomic warfare. She closed her letters with these familiar and rather pathetic words: "I do not know whether you believe in anything, but it is your duty to do all you can to save people from such a calamity."

Ehrenburg replied to that appeal, "The Kingston schoolmistress says that she does not know whether I believe in anything. I do! I believe in the triumph of justice and human dignity and goodness. And, for that reason, I believe that peace will prevail."

Here tonight on this 36th anniversary I would echo Ehrenburg and declare, as I believe you will join me in doing:

"We, too, believe in the triumph of justice and human dignity and goodness. And, for that reason, we, too, believe that peace will prevail."

The second anniversary that we celebrate tonight is American recognition under Franklin Roosevelt twenty years ago.

I am one of those who believe that President Roosevelt was right in that action then, as he was equally right in his attempts to find agreements with the Soviet Union that would respect the territorial integrity and the immediate basic interests of the United States and the Soviet Union in the post-war world. It is the fashion of the moment to brand this realistic approach to the realities of the contemporary world as treasonable.

It is true, of course, that if the premises of the "cold war" are correct-that communism is demonic and an international conspiracy - there is a certain logic to this rejection of the past. But if the premises are wrong, and what we are faced with is not the demonic but a very human new departure in human social relations, and instead of a diabolic conspiracy, we are confronted really with a tremendously challenging set of variant and workable ideas, the whole world picture takes on a very different character.

It is not my task tonight to defend one type of society as against another but I cannot refrain from this one single comment. If the premises were really true, our waging of the "cold war" would not be having so internally disastrous and morally degenerating an affect upon our own society! It seems, from the evidence all around us, that the "cold war" is a flight into unreality; it is the attempt to meet the ideological substance of communism with the weapons of war and the weapons of suppression; and because our answer is ethically and socially insufficient, the result is deterioration and degeneration. I believe that this evil formula is becoming increasingly transparent, and as the public recognizes this, it will reject the premises of the "cold war" and move once again in the direction of sanity and reason.

Our task, as pioneers in American-Soviet understanding, is to help speed this transition. We do not do this by deserting a needful organization such as this one, when the going gets difficult. I want to salute you faithful supporters who are here tonight. You are no summer-soldiers!....

Well-meaning Americans, who ought to know better, have been confused and yet they are not vicious; they are able to respond to arguments; and we have been witnessing a very real qualitative change in the last few months. The sleeping giant that is Protestant sentiment in America, under the assault of

J. B. Matthews and the various congressional committees, has begun to come awake; it has stirred a little in its sleep; and a stir of so vast a body is a prodigious thing. The wonderful statement of Dr. John Mackay and the Council of the Presbyterian Church, and the Jewish and Episcopal and other statements that have followed it and given it buttressing, all indicate an aroused resentment. Where the government had prepared and published the ground work for perjury indictments against a number of progressive clergymen, it looks now as if the whole attack on the clergy will be postponed indefinitely. The arrogance of these committees and the damage they are doing to American reputation and standing and prestige around the world have begun to irritate and alarm the public. ...

I mention these things because they represent a qualitative change that is taking place in the public attitude, and they suggest that those who can stand squarely and firmly with disciplined optimism in the immediate period ahead are going to begin to see some light breaking in at the end of the long tunnel through which we are passing.

And I should not be altogether surprised, for many reasons, if a year from now, instead of being relegated to a smaller hall for a modest anniversary meeting such as this, we may find this new trend asserting itself, and the basis of our appeal for reciprocal friendship, disarmament, cultural and commercial interchange, assuming public acceptance and even urgency. The day may even come when you will give me the pleasure of addressing you, the friends of the Council, once again from the rostrum of Madison Square Garden.

It is in this spirit that I greet you on this significant anniversary occasion. There is a saying in the Bible: "The stone that the builders rejected has become the head of the corner." That time is not yet, but you and I know that the arch of international security, prosperity, peace and progress is still to be capped by the thing for which we work - the keystone - the "head of the corner" - American-Soviet friendship.

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"THE GREAT SOCIAL EXPERIMENT"

DR. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago

When I spoke for the first time in defense of the Soviet Union in 1919, I quoted the advice of Gamaliel to the Jews in regard to the persecution of the Christians:

> Ye men of Israel take heed to yourselves as touching these men what ye are about to do...Refrain from these men and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown, but if it is of God ye will not be able to overthrow them, lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God.

The government as usual did not heed my advice, although it was in line with the admonition of President Wilson, who declared that the treatment of the Russian revolution was the "acid test" of the sincerity of the Allies. He sent Lincoln Steffens and William Bullitt to Russia to investigate; he tried to bring about a meeting of the Allies and the Soviets at the Prinkipo Islands; he appointed Norman Hapgood Ambassador to Denmark to keep in touch with the leaders of the Soviet Union and report to him, until Mr. Hapgood was refused confirmation by Henry Cabot Lodge; he urged the return of the Baltic provinces to Russia. Unfortunately Wilson became the captive of the Allies at Paris and of his opponents in Washington. As such he sent American troops into Siberia and into the Murmansk region, making war on the Soviet government, perhaps with the best intentions of frustrating the British and the Japanese, but nevertheless making war, a fact never to be forgotten.

Among friends of the Soviet Union whom I knew in those days I like to remember Colonel Raymond Robins who as representative of the American Red Cross saw the revolution from the start and returned to us to give a factual account, in which he could not conceal his enthusiasm: I remember Lincoln Steffens who spoke more freely: I remember Kenneth Durant who acted as adviser to Ambassador Martens of the Soviet Union before the latter was deported without diplomatic courtesy. I remember my friends Jack Reed, Pax Hibben, both now resting in the Kremlin, and my former pupil Anna Louise Strong, who has exhibited the striking test of loyalty by accepting condemnation without renouncing faith.

It was the succeeding administration which forced the cold war, by sending direct aid to the White Russian armies of Kolchak, Denikins, Wrangle and Yudenich. Harding's administration was dominated by Herbert Hoover, who initiated the detestable practice of using food as an instrument of national policy. All organizations showing friendship to the Soviet Union by seeking to relieve the terrible famine in the Volga region were commanded to cease and desist so that the American Relief Administration was alone in the field (except for the Friends) with its policy of feeding only children lest some Bolshevists should be kept alive....Mr. Charles Evans Hughes as Secretary of State lowered the first iron curtain, as told by Dr. Frederick Schuman in his book on diplomatic relations of the United States and the Soviet Union. ...

Among these early friends of the Soviet Union I should cite Jane Addams. She once said that Russia offered the greatest social experiment ever undertaken by mankind. This puts the relations of the Western nations to the Soviet Union on the fundamental principles of science indicated by Wilson as the acid test. When a difficult and dangerous experiment is in progress anywhere it is a crime against human knowledge to interfere with the apparatus in order to falsify the result.

When I was a little boy I used to add to my nightly prayers a petition to God to postpone the coming of Christ to the year 2,000 - I thought that the date might appeal to God's sense of timing. I was not quite sure whether I preferred to be alive on that great day, to see the show, or to be among those rising from their graves. Today I do not pray to God about the end of the world but rather to the nuclear scientists; and while I have an uncertain preference, it is between having the planet blown to asteroids by internal combustion, and having the atmosphere burnt off, to leave no vestige of life on a world as dead as the moon. This fate is what Thomas Hardy would call one of Life's Little Ironies.

O gentlemen the time of life is short,
To spend that shortness basely were too long.

It was agreed in the nineteenth century that, apart from the supernatural sanction, the aim of life to be worth living was to develop the individual in the fullest exercise of his powers of thought and action, of imagination and love. ...

The great social experiment initiated by the Soviet Union is to determine whether the approach to the good life for the human race can be made most hopefully by individual effort or by a mass movement of the people, uniting for their own uplifting. Two contemporaries of Matthew Arnold, whose outlook was primarily aesthetic, believed the latter. William Morris forwarded individual effort at Merton Abbey, but he gave wider application of his doctrine in News from Nowhere, as did Oscar Wilde in his beautiful almost forgotten essay The Soul of Man under Socialism.

We need not expect socialism soon in Asia and Africa against the forces imported under the banner of free enterprise from Western Europe and the United States. We can not expect a general movement of friendship for the Soviet Union in the West such as was shown at the outset of the revolution. But we can demand a free field with no favor for the greatest social experiment ever undertaken by mankind; and toleration for those among us who out of faith in it profess friendship toward it. At least the wise advice of Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes should prevail: to submit their views to the competition of the market place - and today the market place is the world.

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"RESPONSIBILITY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM"

MR. PAUL ROBESON

Winner of the International Stalin Peace Prize - 1952

It is a great privilege to be present with the leaders and friends of this organization, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

In a world of tremendous and rapidly moving change - this friendship, this understanding, this appreciation of different but mutually contributing ways of life and civilization, remains key - and fundamental.

The events of the last days make increasingly clear that our own land stands at the cross-roads. Crystal clear is the fact that the attacks upon the vanguard Party of the working class - upon leaders of the people - attacks upon all who firmly demand friendship with the great Soviet Socialist Republics, with the new People's Democracies, with mighty China - all these attacks have been but a prelude and cover for the real, basic attack upon the root of our democratic and constitutional liberties by those circles whom President Wilson condemned; whom President Roosevelt called the kernel of American fascism.

We have seen the issue joined time after time in our history between those who truly love and defend the precious heritage of our land and the despoilers and the enemies of the people and the race baiters, those who hate the various language groups who have courageously and loyally helped to create the wealth of which we boast.

So we do well to repeat well-worn words we hear tonight that we together with millions of others carry the responsibility that once was that of Jefferson and his colleagues, of Douglass, Tubman and Garrison and their tens of thousands of followers including my slave fathers and mothers - the responsibility of those progressive forces who saw in the dark days of the depression, that we too in America want to become a part of a new world and growth.

The struggle becomes fiercer and fiercer and any easy way out less and less possible.

It is of little avail to cry out about being ANTI-progressive - ANTI-communist! It becomes more and more evident that the very defense of our civil liberties must be the defense of the first victims of this hysteria - the brave leaders of the working class. There can be no escape for a Truman or Morgenthau or any other New Dealer or liberal until the Smith Act has been repealed, and until this nation bows its head in admitted shame for the murder of the valiant Rosenbergs, until a Robert Thompson walks out of his prison to rejoin us in the struggle for peace. A person said to me today, what a shame to see the former President smeared. Yes, he said, and what did Ben Davis do? Nothing but fight for his people.

The lesson is clear that there must be an all-out fight for our liberties. We are close to the forefront. There will be literally thousands upon thousands stretching out their hands for guidance - for help. Let us reach back, forward and around us to talk with the workers, to the Negro people, to the Jewish people, to the fighting Puerto Rican and Mexican peoples; to those of British Guiana and the West Indies, to all oppressed groups of our land, to liberals who must become our allies or be destroyed. Never fear, they will listen.

We must build our organizations, our papers; organizations such as the Council on African Affairs struggling for the rights of the African people. We must build for peace, the American Peace Crusade, all organizations which must and will rally to the defense of our land.

How wonderful it is that we are privileged to live and labor at this time, in this time of our nation's need.

We, just as the Soviet people, the people of the New Democracies, the people of China, Korea, Asia and Africa, the West Indies and Latin America have come through suffering and revolution, toward a new concept of human dignity and freedom for all. These values, these freedoms we shall courageously preserve and advance through all our struggles toward a world of peace and abundance. To our world friends we say Pokoj - Mir - Paz - Shalom - Paix - PEACE.

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"USA-USSR - COOPERATION FOR PEACE"

MISS JESSICA SMITH

Editor, New World Review

Winston Churchill has made an interesting discovery. He said recently: "I do not find it unreasonable or dangerous to conclude that internal prosperity, rather than external conquest, is not only the deep desire of the Russian people, but also the long interest of their rulers."

We might conclude that Sir Winston has learned something since his Fulton speech. But unfortunately the contradictions and pressures of his imperialist interests prevent him from following this knowledge to its logical conclusion of helping to bring an end to the cold war, a halt to the restoring of Hitler's Wehrmacht and the building up of Western Germany as a new base for aggression, and pressing consistently for the constructive negotiations around basic issues that are offered by the Soviet Union.

Internal well-being is indeed and always has been the deep desire of the Soviet people and their leaders, and the pursuance of this internal well-being requires peace - peaceful relations and trade - which in turn are the only guarantee of the well-being of peoples everywhere.

And on this 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our country and the Soviet Union, and 36th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet state, it is of the most vital importance that the American people understand this - that we work ceaselessly to help bring about this understanding and the reestablishment of friendship and the cultural and economic interchange that mean so much for our country's welfare, and are essential for its security.

The Soviet Union has during the past year given innumerable examples of its desire for peace, both before and after the death of Stalin, in both words and deeds, as has been true in all the years of its existence. This policy of peace flows directly out of the nature of the socialist system and its basic law, as expressed by Stalin, of "securing the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society...."

Last August, Premier Malenkov announced a new stage in the development of Soviet economy and outlined a program for all-round improvement of the living standards of all the Soviet people by a sharp rise in all branches of the economy serving their needs, parallel with continued development of heavy industry.

This is possible now because of the tremendous increase in output of means of production, which in the past 28 years has increased 55 times, while production of goods for general consumption has increased 12 times. Now that gap can be closed. It would have been closed long ago but for the world war and the terrible destruction it caused. And it must be noted that it was the achievements in heavy industry that determined the very survival of the country in the world war, and the victory over fascist aggression.

The impact of these new plans is already being felt in the increase of consumers' goods, trade turnover and housing. With their increased buying power due to six price reductions since the war, the increase of real wages and of incomes generally, the Soviet people are taking full advantage of this. In ten months of this year they have bought 20 per cent more goods than in the same period last year.

Along with increased production and distribution of consumers' goods has gone a tremendous drive for better quality, more durability, more attractive clothes, more varied and tasty foods.

Perle Mesta, in her recent series of articles that told so much more about herself and her vulgar and snobbish standards than about the Soviet Union, had a lot to say about the poor quality of things she found in the shops. The dresses weren't cut well - they had not kept up with American styles. Well, on the one hand, perhaps they don't like American styles. But the Soviet women have very strong ideas as to what they do like, and Perle Mesta's complaints are pale in comparison with their own, which one sees frequently in the Soviet press. The point is that they are beginning to get the kind of clothes they want -- although they may not be just what Perle Mesta had in mind. ...

Consumers' goods goals set originally for 1955 in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, are to be considerably increased. For example, by 1955 there is to be more than twice as much meat as in 1950, almost two and a half times as much clothing, about four and a half times as many radio and television sets, four times as much furniture, and more than ten times as many refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners and so on. In other words, the goals originally set for 1955 will be reached a year earlier.

Now a word about agriculture, as dealt with in the recent Khruschev report.

There have been great successes in Soviet agriculture. Through the collective farms, with the highest mechanization of any agriculture in the world, the grain problem has been basically solved. Last year's harvest was almost twice the average harvests of tzarist times. At the same time, Khruschev outlined in the frankest possible terms the very serious shortcomings in some branches of agriculture which has not lived up to all its potentialities and has also suffered by the concentration on industry.

This has been reflected especially in livestock raising. While mechanization is almost complete in grain farming, too little has been done in the mechanization of processes connected with livestock raising. Also, prices for livestock and dairy products paid to the collective farmers have been at too low a level to give them the necessary incentives, either in relation to their individually owned cattle or the collective livestock herds.

I don't know whether a delegation of Soviet cattle farmers visited Khruschev as American farmers visited Benson in Washington. But I do know that the Soviet Government is very much aware of their needs, as it is of the needs of the whole population, and is doing a great many things about them, things which their planned economy, in which there can be no such consideration as "overproduction", enables them to undertake and achieve on a massive scale. I could not begin to cover all of them. They include raising the prices paid by the government to the farmers for livestock and livestock products, without raising prices to consumers. They include a very drastic reduction of agricultural taxes of all kinds, amounting to 43 per cent reduction this year, and a still greater reduction next year, as well as cancellation of unpaid back taxes. They include 150,000 new tractors this year - in addition to the almost a million already at work - 42,000 new harvester combines, 2,000,000 varied agricultural implements and machines....Next year there are to be 5,000,000 more cows than at the beginning of this year. There is also to be a great increase in the growing of varied types of vegetables.

All this will contribute greatly to the over-all living standards of the people in providing more products for the light and food industries, and in the living and cultural standards of the collective farmers themselves.

For along with all these tremendous efforts for increased material well-being goes similar emphasis on cultural opportunities, as has been the case at all stages of Soviet development.

New schools are being built by the tens of thousands - 30 per cent more have been built this year than last. The Soviet Union is swiftly moving towards the day when high school education will be universal and compulsory. This year over 400,000 young people have been newly enrolled as freshmen in the institutions of higher learning, 30,000 more than entered last year.

The opening of the magnificent new Moscow University science building this fall, where 6,000 students and post graduates live and study with no worries about the expense - for all of them get stipends - was a great festive occasion. Higher education is growing and expanding not only in Moscow but all over the Soviet Union - among all its various nationalities. In Azerbaidzhan, for example, 93 students out of every 10,000 of the population are attending college - in Iran, across the border, 3 out of every 10,000.

There are educational opportunities for everyone in the country who wants to go on studying. And along with this, there is the rich and expanding growth of every kind of cultural activity - art and music, theatre, literature, and ballet. It is truly a people's culture - opening to the people of all the Soviet nationalities the riches of their own and other nations, both past and present, giving them the fullest opportunity to participate themselves in cultural activities. With the whole people as their audience and their critics there is a stimulating challenge to artists in every field for constant creative growth.

All of this - and much, much more that there is not time to speak of - indicates that the major efforts of the Soviet people and their leaders are absorbed in giving full scope to the great creative forces that reside in the people - and not to the business of destroying humanity and the fruits of its labors. Only peace can safeguard these achievements and these plans. There is no threat in them to anyone in the world - unless the power of example be a threat.

That is why, under the present McCarthyite madness, these facts must be kept from the people of America, because when they are known, that means the end of the war program. That is why the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which seeks to bring these facts to the people, is, along with other organizations concerned with peace, now being prosecuted under the monstrous McCarran Act. That is why efforts are now being made through the Post Office Department to suppress our magazine, New World Review, devoted to presenting facts essential to international understanding and peace.

These efforts to silence all voices for peace and friendship among the nations, this hysteria that floods our land today, engulfing even those who set it in motion, are the greatest challenge that has ever confronted the American people. Each one of us has greater responsibilities than ever before.

While time remains, we must find new unity and strength in our fight for peace, for the trade and cultural interchange which the whole world needs as the very breath of normal international relations. This is our plain duty as Americans who understand that the highest interests of our country can only be served by turning it from the road to fascism and war, by restoring the democratic liberties of our people.

Seventy-nine per cent of the American people, according to the latest Gallup Poll want negotiations with the Soviet Union to end the cold war. Such negotiations are possible, if entered into honestly, with a readiness to discuss the basic issues affecting war and peace. Let nothing divert us from intensifying our demands for negotiations with the Soviet Union, China and other powers, negotiations that will bring lasting peace in Korea and the Far East, an end to the threat of war in Europe and all the world's trouble spots, negotiations to save humanity from the horror of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and open the way to a secure and abundant life for us and for all people.

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"PEACE AND HYSTERIA"

DR. W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

Anthropologist - Historian - Author - Editor

To us who have long been convinced of the mass hysteria in which this nation is engulfed, there comes today increasingly the problem of what constructive directions our activities can at present take. The organized and measured search for truth seems impossible because of the cowardice of scholars and lack of funds for unfettered research. The reasoned approach to the public is narrowed by the fear among listeners and the falling level of public intelligence...

It has...been characteristic of this nation to preen itself on its religious belief, in sharp contrast to the "Godlessness" of others. It would seem then the time for all men, whether they accept this estimate or not, to require their world to test its own professions; by practicing the Golden Rule of loving their neighbors and even loving their enemies. It goes without saying that those who have practiced or tried to practice these principles are few; and perhaps today fewer than ever among the free democracies of the West.

Could we not then in the Christmas season which fronts us induce masses of Americans to treat the Soviet Union as we would like the Soviet Union to treat us; not only to love our Russian friends but try to love even our Communist enemies; and to prove this as the Soviet Union has lately and logically suggested: by stopping the increase of the troops and forts we are placing on her borders, which increase our own taxation and cost of living and threaten our economy with bankruptcy not to mention the destruction of our own peace of mind. ...

If now we protest against practising the Golden Rule because others will not practice or even recognize our religion, might it not be well for us today to be sure of our ground here. And to ask if we are quite certain that other countries and particularly the Soviet Union, have made no attempt to do unto others as they would have others do unto them? We can only make such a comparison, of course, if we refer to facts which everyone admits are substantiated.

For instance, the world must have peace; there must be no more war nor preparation for war; we must stop planning for murder and destruction. These words we must use by repetition and reiteration to impress upon our souls that present civilization has nothing to gain from war and far more to lose than by any stretch of the imagination we can possibly think.

But is this all? Can we do nothing today to implement this thought? Can we not ask, does not the Soviet Union also realize this, and if she does, what has she done about it in the past? Perhaps we do not quite remember how in 1917 the millions of Russian people simply stopped fighting. They had too few weapons with which to fight, too few clothes to wear, too little food to eat. And they simply laid down their arms and refused to continue the war. They met everywhere the astonishment and bitter opposition which is always poured upon people who will not die at the request of others. The Russians persisted. They tried to make peace with Germany on any terms, and accepted a peace so shameful that it seemed to many of their own followers unthinkable. But the Russians insisted that the only thing that was unthinkable was further fighting and they gave up. This was the first decisive break in the total war.

The efforts of the Russian people toward peace did not stop there. They wanted to build a new world. Whether or not they could, let us not pause to ask. Certainly it cannot be our contention that they had no right to try. Yet to hinder them from this effort the Western world began almost universal war against the Soviets. So that from 1917 to 1926 the Eastern European world was fighting the armed aggression of the Western world which was employing perhaps the most ungodly set of spies, adventurers, thugs and murderers which a modern nation has ever faced.

It could not even be said that the Russian people were fighting then to spread revolution. Many of them thought revolution surely would come to the world in time by the world's own will; but all that the Soviets were fighting, starving and suffering for, before the world depression came, was to save themselves from the hell of conquest and tyranny, and to achieve peace on earth.

That ideal of peace remained in the Soviet Union between the two world wars. The Soviets tried to make peace with Germany, England, France and the United States. They tried to make peace in the League of Nations. They strove to keep their borders from falling into the hands of aggressive enemies who wanted to use them for attack. And they gave up parts of Finland, Poland and the Baltic States, re-annexing them in part only to keep them from becoming bases of aggression. They repeatedly offered alliance to Britain, France and America, only finally to be contemptuously repulsed at Munich. They knew how little German alliance meant when it was offered, yet had to accept when nothing better was in sight.

When Germany, drunk with power, turned on the Western World, the Soviet Union was the only nation which could defend the West. It did this. If ever the world saw a defensive war it was the death struggle of the Soviets from 1939 to 1945. There was nothing about it first or last that had in it the least likeness to aggression on the part of the Soviet Union.

Life, love, hope, plan, private wealth and public property were offered in bitter sacrifice which reached down into the guts of this people to a degree no nation on earth today has paralleled. Their allies doubted and deliberately postponed aid; they dallied and waited, avoided and evaded the main target and at the end, when the Soviet Union headed the greatest armament on earth, not a single nation really questioned the reasonableness of her peace terms.

After the war came conferences - what else can men conceive but reason and understanding after upheaval and turmoil? These talks came in 1943 and 1945 and were unusually successful. They were not perfect but they were at least a direct path to a peace which ended two world wars. They gave mankind the greatest hope for future peace that the world has seen for a generation.

The success stemmed from the fact that three leaders of three great peoples who wanted peace, met and planned it. At Teheran in 1943 they planned a united front against Germany, at Yalta in 1945 they planned to disarm Germany and form a United Nations Organization for peace while, at the earnest insistence of the United States and Britain, the Soviets promised to help crush Japan. Later that same year at Potsdam the leaders, with Truman instead of Roosevelt, tried to complete plans for disarming Germany and breaking up her cartels, and for forming a new Poland after two centuries of partition and to begin to repay Germany's destruction, especially in the Soviet Union.

In all of these treaties the effort of the Soviet Union to agree with the world and forward world peace was not at first questioned by any of her fellow nations.

It is, indeed, difficult today to grasp what has happened since August, 1945, in these eight years of disaster which have not only been evil in themselves, but have also given birth to so great a flock of evils that sometimes one rises in the morning to wonder if this civilization has the innate capacity to cure itself. Men saw the evil coming and none saw it clearer than Americans of vision and courage.

This nation today does not remember how broad and deep was that cry of the brain and conscience of America early in 1949 to the people of the world. The best of the intellect and ideals of this country joined in that appeal sent to the great nations and especially to the Soviet Union and its sister nations.

But, too, it cannot be forgotten that the response from the East was broad and enthusiastic. Writers, musicians, artists and scientists, statesmen and artisans, sent sympathy. And many were eager to come and sit in conference. More than 500 American sponsors who joined in the call to the World Cultural Conference for Peace to be held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City together with thousands who joined abroad, were persons who believed that in the modern world understanding and accommodation between capitalist and communist nations were possible.

Then in the United States there came an outburst of opposition against conference, consultation or any attempt at understanding, which has never before been equalled in our history. It was incited by some of the most sinister and selfish elements in this nation. The subject of conference was popular and the meeting was given more publicity than any recently held in the United States except national political conventions. Yet Americans insulted our guests, jeered at them, almost mobbed them. They frightened the nation and drove it toward hate and war. It has not yet recovered.

The attack upon this convention representing as it did the arts, sciences and professions of the world was engineered by the United States Government, the newspaper press, groups of intellectuals at Columbia and other universities, veterans' associations, some religious bodies and certain immigrant groups.

The State Department, led by Secretary Acheson, used its power over passport visas to exclude from attendance many well-known scientists and artists; others were admitted on condition of restricted speech and travel, as suspected persons. By careful editorial plan and with a lack of restraint surprising even to persons trained in influencing public opinion, the American press rushed into a campaign to discredit and harass the conference and to smear the delegates and guests. A few newspapers protested but most of the press painted the gathering as a subversive plot by "Reds" engineered on foreign soil. ...

Groups varying from dozens to hundreds of howling, praying pickets surrounded the meeting places and the real, serious work of the conference was scarcely reported. Yet well-attended panels and crowded mass meetings lasting over three days were held; less than 50 of the sponsors withdrew; serious messages and earnest discussions of burning questions were held and wide agreements reached. Yet of this the world and nation heard almost nothing and most persons were left bewildered and afraid by this fine effort.

Our greatest modern disasters were the depression and second world war, and yet no sane scholar could today argue that the Russian Revolution caused depression or that the second world war was Russian aggression on the West, or that the Soviet Union since 1945 has not consistently and alone of the nations sought peace. All that has been forgotten because of what has happened in China and Korea.

But just what did happen there? It would be impossible to get agreement tonight over the facts of what has happened and the blame for the last eight awful years. We can only agree that the whole picture of Western contact with China, Indo-China and Korea is part of the history of Europe and Asia since 1700 and cannot be simplified into a matter of Russian aggression on Asia since the first world war.

The result of the contact of Europe and Asia from 1945 to 1953 has not only been war but results of war worse than fighting. Especially in the United States itself: lying, cheating, stealing and murder, suspicion, sickness and hate and the submergence of beauty and the creation of and search for beauty beneath unexampled ugliness, spreading insanity and universal bad manners. Our need for art and education is as real today as ever. The world cry for peace is a cry for opportunity, decency and justice, for a balanced and satisfying life.

Indeed, it is the only reality, the thing for which men really live, the only thing for which they want to live. Not work as work or for wage. Not wealth for food nor clothes. Not science to know unless the knowledge is worth knowing and we are known. Rather life which in itself is not profession nor deed but joy of existence in a world worth existing. This is what all want and what today we dare not even name lest our neighbors call us mad.

But we cannot go on much longer with hate and fear. There is still earth, sun, sea and sky; there is love and friendship, our conversation, our newspapers and radio, our theaters and books cannot indefinitely be devoted to spies, death and conspiracy.

If we try that vast adventure of loving our neighbors as ourselves, if we free the thoughts of men and stop killing or plotting death, we can face life even if fronting the fair face of beauty we must confess:

"Red was the might that sired thee
White was the hope that bore thee,
Heaven and earth desired thee,
And hell from thy lovers tore thee,
But barren to the ravisher,
Thou barest love, thy child, -
Immortal daughter, peace; for her
Waits man, the undefiled.

************** **************

"A PREVIEW OF NOVEMBER, 1960"

MR. LEON STRAUS

A Vice-President of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union

Three years ago, a magazine called "Collier's" ran a special issue describing the world of 1960. It was a terrible issue, because the world it described and predicted was a terrible world. It told in gruesome detail of the Third World War that it gleefully anticipated would take place between the United States and the Soviet Union. It described the atomic slaughter of hundreds of millions of people and reached triumphant ecstasy as it depicted the victory of our country and our occupation of the Soviet Union....

Well, the people of the United States and the people of the world rejected Collier's bloodthirsty adventure in crystal-gazing. You will remember the wave of revulsion that spread throughout the world at this atom-maniac view of what the future held in store for us and our children.

But there is another side to the Collier story. And tonight I am going to make a strange request of you - the audience at this historic meeting celebrating the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. I am going to ask you to audition a speech which I have prepared for delivery at a meeting to be held in November, 1960 at Madison Square Garden across the street here in New York.

The meeting will be called by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and will celebrate the 27th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between these two great countries. As you will see in a few minutes, it will celebrate a lot of other things. Of course, some of you may think that it is somewhat presumptuous of me to have prepared such a speech seven years in advance - but my answer is that I have the fullest confidence that this meeting will take place and that it will take place under the circumstances I have outlined in the speech. I also am confident that the picture of the world in 1960 which I shall present will be accepted with joy by the overwhelming majority of the American people and of the people all over the world.

This, then, is my draft of that speech, which I submit for your approval:

* * * *

Brothers and Sisters:

First I want to express my deep appreciation to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship for having invited me to participate in this great meeting on the same platform with some of the outstanding figures of our government, of our cultural life, and of our trade union movement. I am happy to join these leaders of our nation in paying tribute to the tremendous contributions that this organization has made in bringing about the world of peace and plenty which we enjoy today.

As I stand here tonight, I cannot help but think back to another meeting seven years ago - a meeting which took place at a time when our country and our people stood at the crossroads between a path of atomic world slaughter and the path that we have so correctly chosen. Some of you here tonight will remember that meeting - it was smaller than this, but no less determined and no less spirited. It was a meeting that was charged with a tremendous sense of responsibility. The entire future of mankind was at stake in the struggles that the American people were waging at that moment to preserve their democratic rights and to transform the policies of our country from those of war to those of peace and security.

It is hard for us to realize it today, but on that occasion the control of our government was in the hands of a small group of cynical, greedy men who were bent on systematically destroying the liberties of the American people and on rushing our nation headlong toward war against the Soviet Union and the other peoples of the earth. A senator by the name of McCarthy was conducting a campaign of hysteria and persecution against churchmen, artists, professionals and trade unionists who dared to speak up in defense of our Bill of Rights and in defense of peace...The word "peace" was decreed subversive - and organizations like the one sponsoring this great meeting were under the most bitter attack and faced suppression by an Attorney General whose name I can't even remember. Trade unions were under severe attacks - and hundreds of Americans were in jails - with dozens of crucifixion trials taking place constantly.

Truly, this was a moment of real crisis and decision for the American people. Had the people yielded and submitted to the McCarthyite reign of terror - had the war-hungry millionaires in the government succeeded in their plans of war and their attempts at world domination - we would not be here holding this celebration meeting tonight.

But they did not - the good sense of the American people prevailed. A tremendous mass movement of protest arose among every section of the people, demanding and end to these disastrous policies. Religious leaders of every denomination fought back against the McCarthy attack on the churches. The trade union movement recognized that the phoney prosperity based on a war economy was already resulting in mass unemployment and mass suffering. The depression that had just barely been averted by the bloody war in Korea was once again rearing its head. The President's Council of Economic Advisers had just issued a report showing that the gross national product of goods and services had taken its first quarterly drop in four years. The farm income of the nation was down 17% in two years, and the farmers were marching on Washington, demanding government assistance. The cost of living was at its highest figure in history, and corporate profits had reached the record-breaking heights of 45 billion dollars a year. Yet the magazines of big business were openly talking of a "creeping recession" and the only disagreement among them was as to when the bust would come.

Meanwhile, vast areas of the world - shut off by the "cold war" embargo policies of our government - were beckoning to the American people for peaceful trade and friendship. The working people of the United States, plagued by layoffs and with the threat of millions of unemployed, saw in such trade the only real hope for security. They could recall that in earlier years, our country had shipped more industrial equipment to the Soviet Union than to any other country. They remembered that in 1931, for instance, in the midst of another depression, we had sent the Soviet Union 90% of our agricultural exports, 87% of our tractor exports, 74% of our foundry equipment exports, 67% of our agricultural machinery exports and 65% of our exports of machine tools. Here were at least 3 million jobs for American workers - and they were ours for the asking. Here was the answer to the fear, misery and starvation that threatened the American people as we faced a new and greater depression.

And it was at that critical moment - seven years ago - that the American people took the turn on the road we have followed since then. A tremendous cry went up from every corner of the land for a conference between the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Premier of the Soviet Union, to work out a peaceful solution of all international differences. In the midst of the witchhunts and the hysteria, 79% of the American people voted in the Gallup Poll for such a conference.

The rest of the story is etched deep in our more recent memories. The pressure of the American people - joined with that of peace-loving peoples all over the world - brought about what we referred to then as the "Big 3 Conference". The tensions that were dividing the world began to diminish....World trade opened up. The ships of the American merchant marine began carrying loads of goods to the countries of Eastern Europe and to China. Our factories went back to full production schedules, but this time their assembly lines rolled out tractors and machines, instead of tanks and machine guns. Atomic energy - the scourge that threatened the world with destruction - was harnessed for the production of cheap electric power for the people.

And we, the people of this great country, began once again to breathe the sweet air of freedom. Scientists and scholars - artists and musicians - churchmen and writers - went back to their job of raising the cultural and ethical standards of our land. We had withstood the greatest attack upon our freedoms in all our history, and we had come through stronger than ever.

I recall these great events to your mind here tonight because this is a fitting moment to pay tribute to the heroic work of organizations like this great National Council of American-Soviet Friendship who stood firm during the darkest hours, who refused to yield to pressure and persecution and to whom the American people owe a vast debt of gratitude. To paraphrase the words of the great President Roosevelt, "their work, my friends, was peace", and with the help of the American people, they have done their job nobly and well. I congratulate them and the great people they led in opening up an era of peace and brotherhood - in helping to shape the future we are enjoying today .

* * * *

This, ladies and gentlemen, is the speech I have prepared for a meeting seven years from tonight. I ask you to join with me in a pledge to do everything in our power - to dedicate ourselves to building of the kind of America and the kind of world I have outlined here tonight. If we do so, I can confidently take the liberty of inviting all of you to be present at the meeting at which that speech will be delivered.

************* *************

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE 1951-55 10/28

Trade Union Committee to Defend Louis Weinstock

80 EAST 11th ST. • Room 545 • NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
GRamercy 5-6555

ALEX SIROTA
Chairman

MORRIS SCHWARTZ
Co-Chairman

FRANK WEDL
Treasurer

PEARL LAWS
Secretary

September 13, 1951

Mr. Paul Robseon
Freedom Associates
53 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Paul Robeson:

On behalf of the committee and myself, I want to thank you for your magnificent contribution at the September 10th Rally at St. Nicholas Arena.

Your participation helped make our rally successful and an important milestone in our fight against the Smith Act and the quashing of the indictments.

Thank you again for your support and encouragement and I look forward to seeing you again soon.

Fraternally yours,

Louis Weinstock

Louis Weinstock

dpowa

INTERNATIONAL
LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S
UNION

150 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE, SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA, PROSPECT 5-0533

HARRY BRIDGES
President

J. R. ROBERTSON
First Vice-President

GERMAIN BULCKE
Second Vice-President

LOUIS GOLDBLATT
Secretary-Treasurer

September 21, 1951

Hold report Show to [illegible] [illegible] et al.

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 West 125th St.
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Paul:

Your letter of September 18 was received. Very glad to hear from you, and to learn that Bill Hood is to visit with you and that many other trade unions are coming through. I have information that the MC&S will come through with some money, but at the present time I don't know how much.

I discussed the matter with President Bridges and Vice President Robertson yesterday. Harry suggested that we wait until Secretary Goldblatt returns from the Islands, which will be September 24, and see what can be worked out. He indicated that he was in favor of giving $1,000, but the procedure in our union is such that we have to operate in a certain way and it will take a little time. However, I will stay right in there swinging until we work something out.

Harry also indicated that he would like to have me represent the International at the Convention, but because of the fact that I am a Regional Director my activities must be confined to my area -- Northern California. Nevertheless, we are going to try to work out something on that also.

The Councils here are doing very well. I have had some difficulties with some of the progressives here -- they just can't seem to understand the importance of the Negro Labor Councils and the Negro's fight for liberation. I am in hopes that I can discuss this matter with you at the Convention next month.

Give my best regards to Mrs. Robeson and to Revels. Will write you as soon as a decision is made on the above matters.

Sincerely,

William H Chester

Bill Chester

WC:mpc
uopwa34

100

SEATTLE NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

August 18, 1953

Dear Members and Friends,

Next Sunday, August 16, is an historic day in our Northwest. The day on which a great Negro concert singer, and fighter for world Peace and Democracy, Paul Robeson, will sing again at the International Peace Arch at Blaine, Wn. on the Canadian border.

As you probably know, Mr. Robeson is the editor of "Freedom", that fighting newspaper dedicated to the full citizenship of the Negro people. "Freedom" is the only paper of its kind in the United States. Thus it is incumbent upon us to support the concert and to support the drive to build the circulation of "Freedom". We must guarantee that from this concert of at least 50,000 people will come no less than a thousand new readers.

Can this be done? Can we get a thousand subs to "Freedom"? You bet we can! How? By every member of NLC --Negro and white--asking a single question of this vast International audience--asking them to subscribe to "Freedom". Remember freedom for the Negro people means peace and civil rights to all.

Officers of the Negro Labor Council have discussed and worked out some of the important details and wish to report the following: 1, we have received from the National office of "Freedom" a thousand sample copies of the June issue of "Freedom"; 2, we have available thousands of sub blanks and envelopes to distribute along with these copies of "Freedom" among the audience; 3, we have requested spot announcements throughout the concert on the need to build and circulate this publication; 4, we urge that the subscription blanks and papers be placed in the hands of the concert audience as early as possible before the concert starts. (Everyone should have blanks by 12:30, and no later than 1:00.) The concert begins at 1:30.

See you at the concert. . .

Paul M. Bowen
Exec. Sec'y

Eugene Wilkins
Seattle "Freedom" Representative

dpowa/35
bwj

President
LAYMAN WALKER
UAW-CIO, Detroit

Executive Secretary
COLEMAN A. YOUNG
ACWA-CIO, Detroit

National Negro Labor Council

410 E. WARREN AVE. • SUITES 214-16 • DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN • TEmple 2-1733

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UER & MWA, N. Y. City

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OLIVER PALMER
Cafeteria Workers Union, Washington, D. C.
MAURICE TRAVIS
MM & SWA, Denver
LeROY WILSON
F&DC (RR), St. Louis

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February 26, 1954

TO: ALL NNLC LOCAL COUNCILS

RE: RAILROAD CAMPAIGN

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter addressed to the President's Contract Compliance Committee on the question of discriminatory hiring practices of the railroads. Also, enclosed is a copy of the statement made at our Convention by Brother Clarence Watkins of Denver, Colorado. As you know, the Convention went on record giving full support to Brother Watkins.

In order to step up the national character of our Railroad Campgaign, you are urged to take immediate action along the following lines:

(1). Have your Local Council pass a resolution and address a letter to the Contract Compliance Committee along the lines of, and supporting, the enclosed letter from the National Office.

(2). Issue a press release locally when you send the letter to the Committee.

(3). Get as many union, church and other organizations to pass resolutions and write the Committee. These letters should not necessarily support the NNLC, but should set forth the demand that the Committee take action on railroad job Jim Crow as well as on the specific case of Brother Watkins.

(4). Report to this Office all actions along these lines and send us copies of all letters, resolutions, etc.

- MORE -

NLC Local Councils   February 26, 1954

Our major objective in the Railroad Campaign is to stimulate separate and parallel actions and demands on the part of the maximum number of other groups, particularly labor and Negro organizations.

This pressure on the President's Contract Compliance Committee is the first step in this direction.

Fraternally yours,

Coleman A. Young

CAY/nb
Encl.

Coleman A. Young,
Executive Secretary

P.S. Enclosed are minutes of the Resident Committee. For additional steps in the Railroad Campaign, we refer you to the section on railroads.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL
NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
NLC

Cleveland Negro Labor Council

5311 Woodland Avenue — Suite 4 — Cleveland 4, Ohio — EXpress 1-5529

Chartered By
National Negro Labor Council
410 Warren Avenue
Suite 314-16
Detroit 1, Michigan

January 20, 1955

Mr. Louis Burnham, Editor
FREEDOM
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Lou:

The Fourth Annual Frederick Douglass-John Brown Banquet has been set by the Cleveland Negro Labor Council for Saturday evening, February 26, 1955 at the York Mason's Hall, 13506 Kinsman Road. Each year we have attempted to present a Negro and a white symbol of these two great champions of freedom.

In view of the tremendous stirrings now taking place all over the land, our Executive Board has agreed upon Mr. Paul Robeson and Mrs. Anne Braden of Louisville as the most fitting examples of the kind of leadership required of the Frederick Douglass' and the John Browns of today in the fight for freedom of the Negro people.

We sincerely hope that Mr. Robeson will be able to accept our invitation to be our guest, with his expenses borne by us. If so, the detailed arrangements can be worked out later with reference to travel expense, time of arrival, length of stay, etc. It has been much too long since the great man has been in Cleveland and his contribution here is sorely needed as a source of inspiration and courage.

As you probably know, Anne Braden is the wife of Carl Braden who was sentenced to 15 years in connection with the Wade case. I won't take for granted that the editor necessarily is familiar with all of the copy that goes into his paper. Anyway, I think you did an excellent piece of the Wade case, in your last issue.

So, that's the story. We want the Man. We gotta have him. Will you see that he comes quitely, or will we have to take other steps??? Let's know real soon because arrangements are being shaped up. Tell us what is required in order to make this trip necessary.

Personal regards to you, the Man, and other friends.

Fraternally yours,

Bert Washington
Bert Washington
President

BW:ch

WESTERN UNION
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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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LOUIS BURNHAM, EDITOR

MV FREEDOM ASSOCIATES 139 WEST 125 ST NYK

MUST HAVE IMMEDIATE REPLY RE EQUEST FOR GUEST SPEAKER FOR FEBRUARY TWENTY-SIXTH BANQUET ARRANGEMENTS AND PUBLICITY AWAITING YOUR CONFIRMATION

ETHEL GOODMAN

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.
January 31, 1955

Mr. Bert Washington, President
Cleveland Negro Labor Council
5311 Woodland Avenue, Suite 4
Cleveland 4, Ohio

Dear Bert:

Your letter of January 20 has been received. Paul wants you to know how much he appreciates your kind invitation to attend the annual banquet and the honor that goes with it. He regrets, howeber, his inability to attend due to preparations for a trip to California during the month of March.

May we suggest that consideration be given to a visit of several days duration in the month of April or early May. During this period we are proposing a series of such visits and affairs celebrating Paul's 30th anniversary as a renowned concert artist, as well as his 57th birthday.

We all agree that it is high time that Paul visited Cleveland and hope that it will be possible this spring. We are preparing a memorandum on the anniversary and will send it to you.

Please express Paul's thanks to the committee and his regrets at not being able to accept the invitation. Extend my personal greetings to Ethel Lee and other friends.

Sincerely,

John Gray

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO 1953 10/29

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL CONVENTION
DECEMBER 4 - 5 - 6, 1953

ADDRESS OF PAUL ROBESON

It is a great privilege to be meeting with you once again in this - for the Negro Labor Council - historic city. Here we first gathered and declared to this nation and to the world - for news travels fast these days - that the Negro trade unionists, united and militant, joined with and by their staunch white brothers and sisters of the whole labor movement, were determined to help in the advance of the struggle of the entire American people to a new level; and particularly within that struggle to set out boldly on the path of the full liberation of the Negro people from whom we spring.

We had come to these decisions because the Negro people themselves were moving - I said *moving*, man - tired of being double-talked, tired of being denied the full fruits of their labors, denied the first class citizenship for which millions of our forbears had struggled and died.

Nowhere in the United States has the fight for decent jobs, for higher wage levels, for workers' welfare, for upgrading, for the full dignity of the Negro trade unionists, leader and rank-and-filer, been sharper. In no city has the fight of the Negro people for the right to live where they want to, to be rid of the slums and the ghettoes, been more fierce. It seems to be just one more bomb after another. But heroes spring up from all sides, crying out bravely, "Here we stay"-- and stay they do and *will remain* "to see what the end will be."

Some Americans have already worked out a blueprint for what the end will be. McCarthy, Jenner, Velde, Byrnes, Talmadge, Shivers, see in the end a world of rotting corpses on foreign battle fields, of darker peoples licking the boots of a new, American "master race," of European, Asian and Latin American nations bowing down before the power of the Yankee dollar, of Africa prostrate at their feet.

They see fabulous riches for the few while the mass of American workers, black and white, yellow and brown, live on the very edge of survival. They contend that "what's good for General Motors is good for America."

They see millions of American workers at the very bottom - Negro workers, poor white workers on the iron ore ranges, in the mines, in the California fruit fields, together with great sections of our Mexican, Phillipine and Puerto Rican-Americans brothers and sisters.

Well, I think I know the temper of the delegates to this convention well enough to know that we say: "That dream of yours is out-dated, gentlemen. This is the TWENTIETH century. You've put your money on the wrong horse. You're living in the wrong century. The dream that's about to be realized is not yours, but humanity's - humanity's dream of a world of brotherhood, of equality, of plenty for ALL of the working masses of this land, of colonial liberation, of full freedom for the Negro people of these United States, *of eternal and everlasting peace!*

Did I say peace? Yes, peace! The end of war, the elimination of armament races, the abolition of atomic weapons, the dedication of the sacred energy of humanity to construction and culture, rather than devastation and blood-letting.

And here at home we, the Negro people, must also be partisans of peace. For what have we to gain from war? Nothing - nothing, that is but more Jim Crow regiments, more high cost of living, more hatred of colored peoples and master-race theories, more dictation by Dixiecrat generals and admirals, more prejudice and repression.

For 90 years since Emancipation our people have been playing "catch-up" in American life. We have been battling for equality in education, health, housing and jobs. We have been struggling to reach a plane of identical treatment with all other Americans.

And now, today, 90 years later - despite all the croaking about the great progress we're making - any Negro who's not looking for a second-string job on Eishnhower's "team" will tell you we've still got a long way to go.

How are we going to get there?

Will shooting down Chinese help us get our freedom? Will dropping some bombs on Viet-manese patriots who want to be free of French domination help American Negroes reach a plane of equality with their white fellowcitizens, and, most important, will a war in support of Malan in South Africa, or the British exploiters in Kenya, or the French in Tunisia place black Americans on the same footing with whites?

To ask the question is to answer it. No! For Negroes to take arms against the New China or against the subject, colonial peoples of Asia and Africa will not advance our cause - it will befould and degrade us in the eyes of the freedom-striving masses of the colonial world and set back our struggle for equality.

No one has yet explained to my satisfaction what business a black lad from a Mississippi or Georgia share-cropping farm has in Asia shooting down the yellow or brown son of an impoverished rice-farmer.

Mr. Eisenhower or Senator McCarthy would have us believe that this is necessary to "save" the so-called "free world" from "communism." But the man who keeps that Negro sharecropper from earning more than a few hundred dollars a year is not a Communist - it's the landlord. And the man who prevents his som from attending school with white children is not a Communist - it's governor Talmadge or governor Byrnes of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

I believe, and I urge upon this convention the belief, that any Negro who carries his brains around with him and has not yet been bought and paid for must agree that it is time for 15 million colored Americans to disassociate themselves from a foreign policy which is based on brandishing the atom bomb, setting up hundreds of air bases all over the world, and threatening colored peoples with death and destruction unless they humbly recognize the inalienable right of Anglo-Saxen Americans to sit on top of the world.

Negroes, as I said, are still playing "catch-up." And with the kind of war that the atom-happy U.S. diplomats are planning we won't be catching up - we'll just be "catching," and relinquishing any hope for liberation and freedom.

I say that, even though Eisenhower is meeting at this very moment with Churchill in Bermuda, we will not, and must not support the British overlords in Kenya - we will fight to free Kenyatta! I say, even though Laniel of France is right there with Eisenhower and Churchill, we must not approve the squandering of billions of American taxpayers' money on the "dirty war" in Indo-China - we must insist that the French rule in France and leave the Viet-namese to govern themselves. And I trust that this convention will record that it is against the interests of Negro workers, the entire Negro people, and the nation as a whole to pursue one step further the suicidal, blustering, threatening, war-minded foreign policy which is the hallmark of this Administration. What Negroes need, and all America needs, is PEACE.

Just join me for a moment in taking a look at what kind of country this could be if peace reigned in the world. What could we do with the forty-to-fifty billion dollars of your money and mine which an arrogant government now spends to build up a war machine here at home and all over the world?

How many counties are there in the South with large Negro peoulations but not a hospital which Negroes can enter? How many thousands of our people have had their life's blood drip away, like Julia Dericotte (whom I knew) and Bessie Smith, one of our great artists, because the county hospital would not take them in? Could not some of these billions be used to build hundreds of hospitals and clinics in rural and city areas, South and North, for Negro and white Americans who now lack adequate medical facilities?

Let's talk about schools for a moment. How many millions - no billions - are really needed to eliminate segregation in education, or to push the level of Southern education up to the inadequate achievement of the North? The money that's not spent for a single H-bomb plant could do this if we really had peace.

Or take housing. Have we eliminated the unpainted rural shacks with the rain pouring inside; the urban tenements and shanties with inadequate plumbing or no plumbing at all, the rat-infested slums in the major cities of the country? Nobody who has traveled through the South or taken a look at the fire-traps here on Chicago's Southside would say that we have. But can we replace these horrible excuses for human habitation with comfortable, sturdy homes for all the American people and at the same time spend billions on war? No, obviously not. If Americans workers, Negro and white, are going to have decent homes to live in then we must have peace.

Yes, peace and vast programs of peace-time construction - hospitals, schools, homes, roads, community centers, bridges and dams - would mean jobs - jobs in the tens of thousands and millions for workers who are now beginning to feel the brunt of layoffs in the electrical trades, in the auto industry, in textile, steel and packing - and you can just keep filling in the others.

Every consideration of the interests of the Negro people, every concern for their security, their fight for equality, their dignity, demands that this convention and every gathering of Negro Americans declare that we must have peace, not war! Let Mr. George Schuyler marry Joe McCarthy if he wants to - we beg to be excused from the ceremony. Let the decrepid Max Yergan lounge around in illusions of 19th century imperialist omnipotence, if he will - we have other ideas. We are convinced by everything that has happened in this nation and abroad that the path to Negro freedom lies in firm conjunction with the giant strides which humanity is taking in all other countries of the world, barring none, towards enforcing the peace and silencing the warmakers.

Now, if you preach this doctrine that I've been advancing tonight - of peace, friendship and brotherhood among the world's peoples - you may still run into a little trouble in the United States. That old devil McCarthy may set out to get you!

But a lot of Americans are waking up to the fact that to be the victim of an attack by McCarthyites may not be fatal.

In fact, the only thing fatal for the American people would be the failure to fight the McCarthite madness. For McCarthyism means destruction of the constitutional rights of free speech and free press and free religion. It means the prohibition of free assemblies such as this one. It means the burning of books which proclaim the scientific truth that all men are created equal. It means the reign of fear, intimidation and terror.

The Negro people, and the masses of American people, have had many obstacles in the climb toward democracy. They overcame the Alien and Sedition Laws of the post-Revolutionary era; they stamped out slavery, they turned back the "Bolshevik" scare after World War I. I have no doubt that they will beat back McCarthyism and restore our traditional liberties. But to do this we must reject the Big Lie on which McCarthyism thrives. The big lie is the fairy tale that the American people are somehow threatened by "communism."

If we subscribe to this falsehood then any militant leader of labor or the Negro people's struggles may be in jail tomorrow. If we concede that the ex-city councilman of New York, the ex-lawyer from Atlanta, Ben Davis, belongs in a Terre Haute Jim Crow jail, then we concede McCarthy's right and Brownell's right to jail you and me and Harry Truman, and to dig up Franklin D. Roosevelt and put him in jail too!

The defense of Davis and his colleagues, the demand for their immediate amnesty, is the very foundation of any claim we have to basic civil liberties. Certainly we of the Negro people, bombed and lynched and falsely jailed for decades can understand this.

Talk about potential allies in this struggle on the McCarthy issue - brother, we'll have plenty. Truman's on the hot seat. Morgenthau, Mrs. Roosevelt, and 20 million-odd Democrats and plenty of Republicans - no matter how hard they try to look the other way, we can move out to them and tell them, "Man you'd better stay with me - we're in the same boat, brother."

We must counterpose to the Big Lie the Big Truth of our times - that any kind of general war will destroy all the peoples of the world, that different social systems must live together in peaceful cooperation and competition, that the American people will not be abreast of the rest of the world until we choose a government really dedicated to the needs and welfare of the working people, the poor farmers, the Negro millions and all the oppressed of this land.

If we are to do our job, we must move among the great rank and file of all workers, and among the masses in our several communities; and for us particularly of the Negro Labor Council, we must move among the stirring masses of the Negro people. Our strength, courage andprogram is for them an urgent and dire necessity.

Yes, our strength and courage and vision must broaden and deepen within the very innards of the magnificent body politic of our great people. Instances spring to mind. The Packinghouse's fight on discrimination is no accident. It represents a deepened understanding of the needs of our people, of many of our most mature trade unionists, men and women of every group in that union sensing way down in their hearts the meaning of this struggle and sure in the knowledge that the Negro stands on the threshhold of gaining his long-sought freedom.

Another example, I was reading in this week's "Courier" an article about Asbury Howard of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, an article written with dignified respect for a great event - his election to the vice-presidency of this great international union. Great credit is due to this union and its fine leaders and rank and file, and great credit is due to the Negro people. For in them is Asbury Howard rooted.

Read his story. Yes, rooted in Bessemer, Alabama, near Birmingham, couldn't get rooted deeper in that Southland. Rooted in his Negro community; fraternal leader, church leader, NAACP leader, labor leader, and a proud leader of the Negro Labor Council. So he brings to his union the tremendous strength and powerful potential of the whole Negro people. The Union was conscious of Howard's strength among his people, as well as in the union. The two came together in a magnificent unity, at a new level. Because of this dual strength - within his union and within the struggle for Negro liberation - Howard, according to the report, was able to bring great strength to his colleagues, Maurice Travis, Clark and others. This is moving into the realm of united strength of all Americans of all colors, of all different origins, giving some measure of full human dignity to one's brother and sister, in this instance a Negro brother.

We must all learn to function in our communities, to win the communities to our side. Here in Chicago, Negro Americans, Irish Americans, Polish-Czech-Americans - we progressives must fight for unity and common struggle. We must convince our different groups of the need for unity between white and black and brown and yellow. White groups must convince white communities that struggle for Negro liberation is their struggle. We of Negro America must convince our Negro brothers and sisters of the overwhelming need for unity with honest, tried and true friends of the Negro people.

In other spheres of American life - middle class, professionals, social agencies - in the joint efforts of the NAACP and B'nai Brith, for example, we must also see the possibilities of progress. Did you see the television program emanating from Washington, D.C. the other night? The B'nai Brith, an organization of the Jewish people - hopefully, I suppose, honoring President Eisenhower with a plaque for his efforts in behalf of minorities - got to the real business of the evening by devoting most of an hour's program to the question of civil rights for the Negro people.

And most importantly the program was a magnificent one in cultural form. A Script by Rodgers and Hammerstein, leaders in the musical comedy field, with actors like Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer, Lucille Ball of "I Love Lucy", William Warfield, the great baritone; Ethel Merman, Jackie Robinson, and others - all around the basic issue of full citizenship for the Negro people.

So clearly here in this militant section of our democratic struggle there is no need to stress the growing importance of Negro freedom to the whole question of the sincerity and truth of American democracy. Certainly we didn't create this concept, this historic fact. What created it? Three hundred years of slavery, a civil war, the movement of colonial peoples, white, brown, yellow and black, all over this earth, the earth-shaking events of 1917 in the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics, the events in the growing Peoples Democracies, in China, in India, in Africa, in the West Indies, particularly British Guiana, in Latin-America - from Mexico south - in our own South, here in Chicago.

Yes, freedom must and will raise its head. And one of the most important, long overdue historic necessities in our great land in this 1953 is freedom, full freedom for my people. Yes, unsegregated schools in the South and everywhere, the right to office in this land, the right to the most beautiful homes, the right to full business opportunities, the right to full cultural opportunity and growth, the right to travel anywhere, the right to speak our mind out, the right to the status and dignity of full citizenship.

We have valiant brothers and sisters who stand with us, who everyday as we have to battle courageously for their rights and privileges. For all American labor also stands under the whiplash of our common enemy. But a Maurice Travis, an Ernest DeMaio, a Jimmy Pinta stand firm. A Ben Gold hurls the enemy staggering back, yes, the National Labor Relations Board, itself.

An outstanding example of deepest unified struggle is reflected in the pictures in the press today showing black and white, Hawaiian, Mexican, Phillipine-Americans standing firm on the San Francisco docks, many of them heroes of historic struggles. So Harry Bridges and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union stand locked in a bitter fight with Jim Crow Lundberg and his Jim Crow union around basic labor issues, around basic rights of Negro men and women to sail ships. And the very heart of this struggle is the Union's Local 10 with 1,800 Negro members, a real force for progress.

Velde and his committee, strangely, arrived at the very moment of Lundberg's provocation with stool pigeons, white and colored, to attack this fine union. If ever there was an issue involving the right of our folks to work, and yes, to live, it's this. I know we will support this struggle to the full. I am a life member of ILWU and stand ready to fly to that picket line, in the line of trade union duty.

So American labor, with us of the Negro Labor Council a very important segment, have the opportunity to play a great role in this century's historic growth, in this historic realization of the full potential and richness of a great people - a people, builders of this land; givers to this land of a great part of its culture; continuing contributors to its material, cultural and spiritual growth.

Let us set about fulfilling our historic tasks. No, not alone, not just alone with the Negro people, but with all sections of the American people - indeed, with the similarly heavy-burdened Jewish people, with the language groups from every section of Europe, East and West, with the descendants of Asian-born forbears, with our brother and sister Americans stemming from the great cultures of the Mayas and the Aztecs of Mexico (Saludos, amigos caridos!) with the Phillipine-American and Puerto

Rican-Americans - indeed, as the Ballad for Americans says, with Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French and English, Spanish, Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Finnish, Canadian, Greek and Turk and Czech and double-Czech Americans!

It has been some time since I have been able to visit my friends in other parts of the world as I used to. The State Department has declared that it's best to keep me at home, you know. But I intend to be going soon again. I have invitations to do Othello in London and to sing and act in many parts of the world.

I am bringing a suit in the Federal Courts to test the right of a few arrogant bureaucrats in Washington to decide to keep an American under virtual house arrest. I am confident that you will be with me in this fight which will continue until the whole constitutional issue is settled.

I am confident that you will be with me in the building of the publication FREEDOM, a voice of the Negro people, and especially of the Negro workers, crying out for peace, democracy and equal job rights. A special issue of FREEDOM dealing with the struggle in Africa is available in the lobby of this convention and I hope every delegate will read FREEDOM and subscribe to it and get friends in the shop and neighborhood to do the same.

The Council on African Affairs, of which I am proud to share the leadership with that great American, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, faces hearings before the mis-named Internal Security Committee under the McCarran Act. It is being persecuted because it fights to arouse Americans to an understanding of their stake in African freedom. It deserves, and I am sure will receive, your support in its fight against this persecution.

I am confident, and I am happy. Confident that we shall win peace and abolish war in our times. Happy that under the sterling leadership of the officers of this Council, the Negro workers are playing a bigger and bigger part in the battle for full and equal citizenship. It has been a long time. But that fact that you are meeting, and that you will not be turned back, means that it will not be as long as it has been.

You are the future. I salute you.

The End

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
DECEMBER 4, 5, 6, 1953

RESOLUTION ON McCARTHYISM AND CIVIL RIGHTS

WHEREAS increasing layoffs, shorter work weeks and the resulting loss in income to Negro workers all focus attention on the walls of jimcrow in industry, still first to be fired after being hired last, Negro workers find it more and more difficult to make ends meet. In addition to the problems faced by all workers, as signs of depression continue to mount, Negro workers must contend with the added burden of super-prices and higher rents. Police brutality in the northern ghetto and increased terror in the South. The American ruling class' drum-beating for war on the international front has its reflection in increased bombings of Negroes on the domestic scene. The still all-too-few civil rights enjoyed by Negroes are being further curtailed. The atomaniacs who seek to save the world have not as yet afforded Negroes any decent jobs in firms with fat government contracts. The Negro people are bitterly opposed to the open pact of Republicans and Dixiecrats in Congress and the administration's declared policy of states' rights, while FEPC, pool tax and other vital questions have been buried.

Eisenhower's millionaire cabinet has lost not time in unleashing new and even more serious attacks upon the trade unions and their most militant leaders, as witness the attacks on Byrnes, Emspak, Bridges, Gold, etc. Taft-Hartley and other anti-union legislation threatens anew the very survival of free trade unionism in America, and while the employers are hammering away at the destruction of trade union machinery in the shops and mills, they have also developed the weapon of McCarthyism.

Congressional investigating committees have become the third party at the bargaining table. Negro people's leaders who seek to extend the American way of life to include 15 million black Americans are being assassinated, slandered or jailed. No one is immune to these attacks which began in 1948 with the persecution and conviction of 11 Communist leaders including ex-New York City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, who is serving his third year in a jim-crow prison in Terre Haute, Indiana, on a charge of "conspiring to teach and advocate." Today the list of those who are hounded reads like Who's Who in Negro America: Bishop W. G. Walls; C. C. Alleyne of the AME Zion Church; Bishops W. A. Fountain, S. L. Green; Carey A. Gibbs, Frank M. Reid, and R. R. Wright, Jr. of the A.M.E. Church, and J. Arthur Hamlett of the C.M.E. Church are only a few of the prominent Negro leaders falsely accused. The State Dept. still refuses to grant passports to such eminent figures as Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

This reign of terror that began with the persecution of leaders of the Communist Party, has spread like a malignant cancer. Today even the Democratic Party is branded as a tool of Russian spies. The 20 years of social progress registered under F.D.R. and the New Deal is stamped with "Made in Moscow". Deceased Chief Justices are accused of disloyalty. Deceased secretaries of state are accused with harboring Russian spies. Not even the dead are safe from attack, and ex-president Harry S. Truman is called upon to prove his loyalty, notwithstanding that it was his regime which paved the way for today's McCarthyite terror by borrowing the Hitler Big Lie of "Communist subversion". The intent and purpose of this McCarthyite madness is all too clear: the silencing of all opposition however mild; the stilling of all who cry peace, the busting up of the trade union movement, thus giving the empllyer a free reign; the silencing of all who demand civil rights for Negro Americans.

- more -

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Plagued for years by periodic frame-ups on trumped-up charges of murder and rape, the Negro communities are now faced with the added burden of political frame-ups. The wood of stoolpigeons, liars and paid informers seeks to become the law of the land. In this atmosphere of intimidation and howls for bloody world war against the colored people of Asia and Africa, the attainment of Negro freedom is virtually impossible. Under the guise of national security, the Brownells and Byrnes seek destruction of the forward movement of the Negro masses. They brand their organizations subversive and their leaders disloyal. We say it is not disloyal to seek full freedom for Negro America. It is Byrnes and Talmadge, not the Negro Labor Council, who announce to the world their hatred and contempt for the American constitution and threaten use of force and violence if Negroes are given their right to an education free of segregation.

WHEREAS the evil of McCarthyism is eating out the heart of America and only the most militant and relentless struggle of a united American people under the guidance of a fighting labor movement can defeat this fascist menace.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council adopt the following:

1. Commendation of its officers for the stand they have taken in reply to Attorney-General Brownell's proposal to cite the NNLC as a subversive organization.

2. That the NNLC and its local Councils will accelerate and intensify the action program to bring economic freedom to the Negro people.

3. That we will join with all other organizations and movements engaged in the struggle against McCarthyism.

4. We call upon all individuals who are called by these witch-hunting committees to stand on their rights and refuse to allow probing into their political, religious and other beliefs, which attemps are designed to entrap them and subject them to further persecution.

5. That we denounce the practice of unneeded Congressional investigating committees and state legislative investigating committees and their invasion into the democratic and constitutional rights of the people.

6. We condemn the Butler Bill and any similar legislation having the purpose to destroy free and democratic trade unions by the government licensing of unions.

- end -

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
DECEMBER 4, 5, 6, 1953
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

RESOLUTION ON JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGRO WOMEN

WHEREAS: Because of discrimination in basic industry and the field of "white collar" and clerical employment, the majority of Negro women workers are still restricted to some form of domestic and service work, receiving low pay and in many instances work under almost inhuman conditions, and

WHEREAS: Negro women are oppressed as workers, as Negroes, and as women, and in order to raise the standard of living of workers generally, and Negro workers in particular, we must take steps to eradicate the triply oppressed status of Negro women.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this Third Annual Convention adopt the following program:

(1). That the special fight for the rights of Negro women be placed in the center of every struggle that we wage for new job opportunities.

(2). That we will leave no stone unturned to earn the confidence of the organizations of women in the communities and their participation in support of our activities.

(3). That a special week be designated as WOMEN'S WEEK, and set aside to dramatize and give our entie attention to advancing the position of Negro women.

(4). That a special Sunday be designated as WOMEN'S DAY, on which the Churches, Clubs, Sororities, Fraternal Orders, etc., will be mebolized to observe, understand and support the struggle to end the third class citizenship status of Negro women.

(5). That the struggle for equal job opportunities in hiring, upgrading and in periods during layoffs be made the key of these special events.

(6). That women's committees be set up in every local council to carry out this program.

(7). Extention of the minimum wage law to include domestic workers.

(8). To cooperate in helping to organize the unorganized domestic workers as part of our basic fight to increase the number of Negro womwn in industry.

- end -

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Ntaional Negro Labor Council Convention
December 4th, 5th & 6th, 1953
Chicago, Ill.

Resolution on the Case of Wesley Robert Wells

Whereas, Wesley Robert Wells, a Negro, has been in the death house at San Quenton Prison in California for the past six years, convicted and sentenced to death undera technicality of California law (for throwing a cuspidor at a guard while being intimidated) which provides the death penalty for a life-term prisoner attacking a guard, and,

Whereas, according to the records, Wesley Robert Wells, a Negro, is the first victim of this law, although it has been on the statute books of the Stste of California for many years, and,

Whereas, at the time of the incident, Wells was not actually a life-term prisoner, and,

Whereas, Wells, now 44 years of age and first convicted 25 years ago for possesion of stolen clothing, has carried on a consistant struggle against segregation and jim-crow in California Prisons, thereby provoking the Warren, Knowland, Nixon Republican machine which controls the State of California and its penal institutions, and,

Whereas, it is clear to us here that to kill Wesley Robert Wells is a way of telling Negroes in California, "Stay in your place," and is the answer to the growing demands of labor and its allies for jobs and F.E.P., and,

Whereas, Warren, Knowland, and Nixon of California are now key figures in the Eisenhower administration in its three branches of goverment and former Governor Warren (now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court) who declined to use his power as Governor of California to stay this unjust execution, can no more clean the bloodstians from his hands if Wells is executed than can Governor White of Mississippi cleanse the blood of Willie McGee from his hands, a legal lynching in California is as much a lynching as an illegal lynching in Mississippi, therefore,

Be it resolved, that this convention, recognizing that the same reactionary administration which would snuff out the life of Wells, also seek to shut off the democratic rights of all americans, support the campaign to save the life of Wesley Robert Wells as a part of the fight for jobs and F.E.P., and,

Be it further resolved, that we take the tru facts of the Wells case to the unions and all other organizations throughout the country where we have chapters and members, asking that they jion the many people in California in this vital struggle by sending letters to the present Governor of California, Goodwin Knight, Sacramento, Calf., who has the power to stay the execution so that justice may be done and the rights of all of us protected, and,

Be it finally resolved, that copies of this resolution and facts of the Wells case be sent to unions, organizations and the press from this Convention and this Convention send a telegram to the Governor of California demanding a stay of execution and that the death penalty be reversed and urge all local councils to do likewise.

GREATER CHICAGO NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

736 East 63rd Street - Chicago 37, Illinois - NOrmal 7 - 6200

To All Members of Chicago Negro Labor Council:

Greetings:

It is indeed a pleasure to ask you to participate as a delegate in our Chicago Conference. We are asking all members who have not registered for 1953 memberships to do so immediately or at the conference.

We shall seek in this conference to prepare and deliver some decisive blows on Sears & Roebuck company, who have thus far refused to hire Negro people in Sales and Clerical Divisions of their Chicago stores. We shall seek at this conference to give further impetus to the fight for F.E.P.C.. We shall seek to concretely contribute to the furthering of Negro and white unity. We shall point out the importance of building a mass membership for the Negro Labor Council.

The Negro people and many other minorities, are constantly under harassment, the denial of equal job opportunities are taking a serious toll of the living standard of the Negro people.

We call this conference in one of the most important periods in world history. A period when Peace has broken thru and become the main word on most tongues around the world. The war in Korea seems to be entering its' last stage.

The tasks of the day demand that we acheive, greater unity and clarity of program and action. We must seek to bring about greater unity of action between our Council and other organizations that are seeking to contribute to the furthering of democracy in our city and State.

As are many other organizations, our Council is still trying to solve the problem of financing our program and organizational needs. We request that you give serious consideration to the question of making a contribution to the Council at the conference during the collection. Ask your social club to make a donation to the Council.

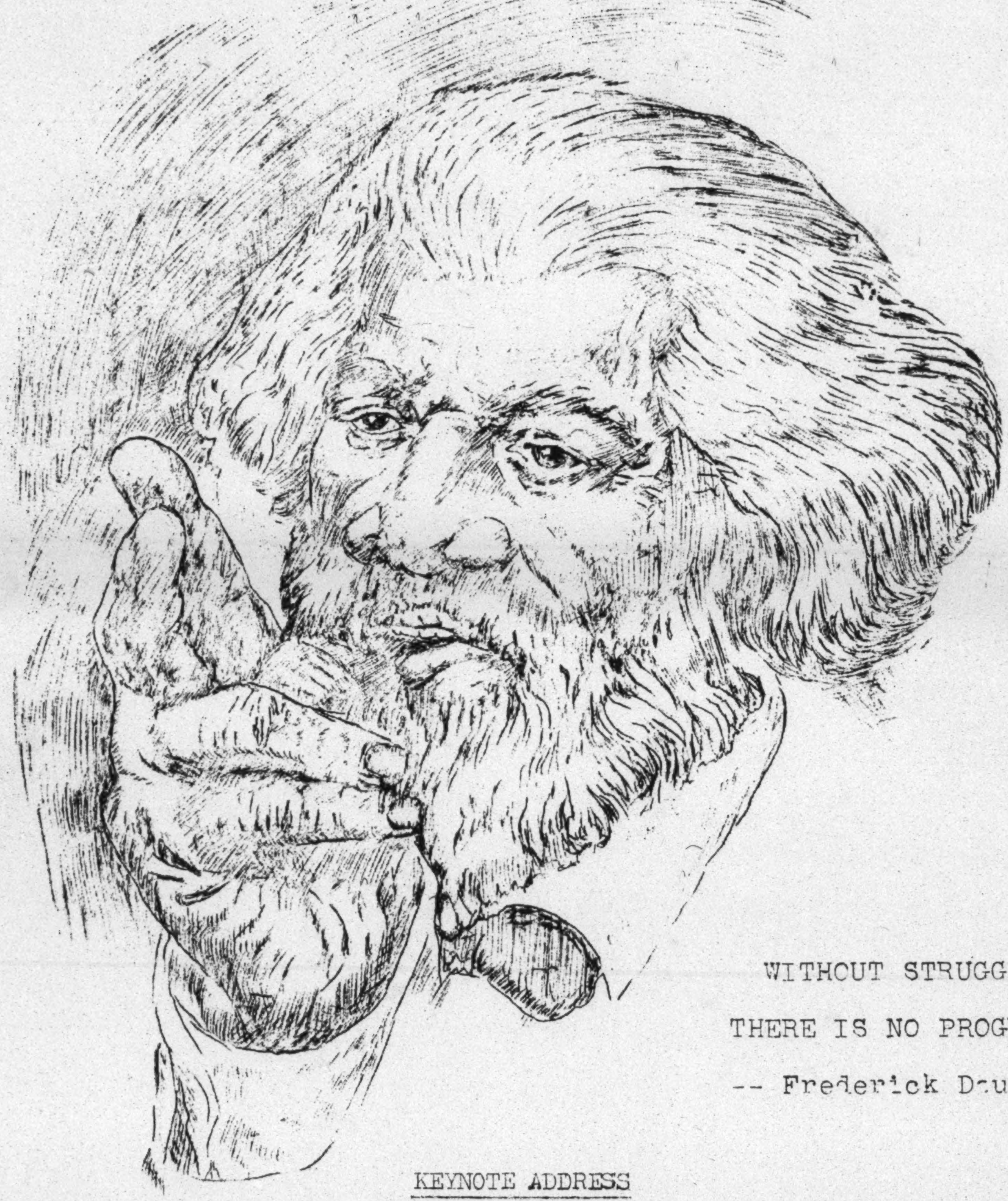
We would like to encourage you to send in resolutions on the subjects that you think are important for the Council to consider.

Fraternally yours,

Chatman C. Wailes
Executive Secretary

P.S. Mail all resolution to Council Office.

THESE THINGS WE FIGHT FOR
WILL BE OURS



WITHOUT STRUGGLE

THERE IS NO PROGRESS

-- Frederick Douglass

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

December 4-5-6, 1953

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DECEMBER 4, 5, 6, 1953

On that memorable, but grim, autum day in Cincinnati, the National Negro Labor Council became a symbol of the New Negro arriving upon the American scene. We there dedicated ourselves to the hard, tough task of driving every vestige of jimcrow and white supremacy notions from our great land. We also marched forward to take our place in the front ranks of the democratic fight in the face of gathering clouds of war - the thunder claps of gathering Fascism in our country.

In view of the present crisis in our fight for freedom and dignity, it was important and urgent that we gather there those days.

More than the National Negro Labor Council was born there! In looking back on Cincinnati, we can more clearly see that a movement was born. A movement that inspired and set in motion black and white workers to join with the Negro people in their fight for full freedom in a world of peace, democracy and equality.

When Brother Hood said in the keynote:

> "We come conscious of the new state in the Negro peoples' surge toward freedom. We come to announce to all America and to the world, that Uncle Tom is dead. 'Old Massa' lies in the cold, cold grave. Something new is cooking on the Freedom Train."

nearly a thousand people rose to their feet saying, "this idea is it." This may have been poetic but all inspiring. Today, there can be no doubt that if we here and thousands of others carry forward this movement, if Uncle Tom ain't dead, and Massa Jim ain't yet in his cold, cold grave, they both soon will be.

Did we not succeed in bringing together the basic forces for human progress? Did we not succeed in a great movement to unite and get ready the black sons and daughters of labor and their democratic white brothers and sisters whose increasing concern for democracy, equality and peace is our main hope and America's hope, and yes, the world's hope for a brighter tomorrow? Are they not here today, not only to finish up jimcrow and bury Uncle Tom, but I ask you, are we not also here to challenge the Attorney General, Mc Carthy, Taft-Hartley and all who stand in the way of jobs, democracy and peace?

We are gethered here to share our Nation's shame that the economic status of the Negro people has steadily declined after reaching a new high in 1944 under the Roosevelt FEPC, and when our government was fighting Fascism. As of today, that decline continues and has now been aggravated by mass unemployment.

We are gathered here in the Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council to chart a further course to help stop this economic decline and to relieve the suffering growing out of present mass unemployment.

This Convention and the Negro Labor Council therefore, takes on ever greater significance than did Cincinnati. Why?

Because this struggle of our's has been brought into sharp focus by the liberation fights around the world. Because history sharply poses the question of the immediate direction and proper tactics for Negro America in our drive for freedom and because the world'd spotlight is turned upon us and our country. Because the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa, South America, the Middle East, can see jimcrow in its nakedness. That's why!

Negro brothers and sisters, white brothers and sisters, this is our time to move! Our country has got to move! The Government is going to have to move! Industry is going to have to move; the trade unions had better move! The churches, fraternitities, schools and every living American institution is forced to move to protect the moral and democratic integrity of our country.

There can be no postponement!

Brothers and sisters - this is it!

But, the desire of the people for peace, democracy and prosperity has placed us in mortal combat with jimcrow and white supremacy.

Is there then in this battle that lies ahead, not great need for the Negro Labor Council, and the movement it represents?

Yes, there is!

Is this gigantic fight too big for the Negro Labor Council alone?

Yes!

At Cincinnati, we never dreamed that we could do it alone. There, we extended our hand in unity and cooperation to all the sister organizations of the Negro people- such as the Negro churches, the NAACP, the Urban League, and the great fraternal organizations.

Furthermore, among the many battles being waged by Negroes for full freedom, the Negro Labor Council selected as its main role, the promotion in the Labor movement of Negro-white unity in the struggle against economic jimcrow. For who, but us workers should have the task of waging a campaign to have the labor movement on its own join the Negro people in an uncompromising fight to break the chains of economic jimcrow.

In spite of this, there are those who seek to destroy the Negro Labor Council, and others who say they see no need for this new freedom movement.

Even before Cincinnati, the top leaders of AFL and CIO were playing the bosses game, they set up a howl of red-baiting against the Council; charged that we were setting up jimcrow, dual unionism, and in general, tried to assure that we would be born dead.

Some Negro organizations fell into this trap!

The Un-American Committee came last year. We sent them on their way. But the man wasn't through yet. He sent Attorney General Brownell (Brownell lied on us even before he lied on Truman). He said - you are subversive, Negroes don't want freedom that bad - only the Communist want this. But, were not surprised at these attacks. Our great symbol, Frederick Douglass had warned us - if you want it you gonna have to struggle. He taught us not to expect freedom without agitation, for if we did, we would be like those men and women who want crops and ain't plowed no ground. Or who would want rain on that ground, and yet be afraid of thunder and lighting. Or who would want to be near the ocean of freedom, yet fear the awful roar of its many waters. We hope there will be none so scarry in the freedom fight.

For three years those who would hold us back have had their say. Today, we are going to do some talking!

Is it not so that the problems of Negro workers in basic industry remain unsolved?

For instance, in the steel industry, Negro workers are restricted to the eight lowest paid and dirtiest jobs out of thirty-two job classifications.

In spite of the tremendous problems of Negro steel workers, and the fact that Negroes comprise 25 per cent of the membership, Negro steel workers have no representation on the steel workers union executive board or are they in district leadership. As a result, Negro caucuses are springing up all over the steel industry.

If the labor movement had been able and willing to solve these grievances against basic industry of the Negro workers, then, there would be no need today for the Negro Labor Council.

Should it not make sense to everyone that the NLC, working in conjunction with the Negro steel workers and their white brothers, who see their own self-interest in the fight against jimcrow, would strengthen the fight of all workers in steel.

We have repeatedly said that we believe it to be the solemn duty of trade unions everywhere, as a matter of vital self-interest, to support the Negro workers in their efforts to unite and to play a more powerful role in the fight of the Negro people for first-class citizenship based upon economic, political and social equality. We believe, further, that it is the trade union's duty and right to encourage the white workers to join with, and support their Negro brothers and sisters in the achievement of these objectives.

We will continue to play this role in basic industry!

One of the Negro Labor Council's major contributions to the fight against job discrimination has been our raising the demand for a "Model FEPC contract clause" in every union contract. The model FEPC contract clause has been now adopted by a number of International Unions, such as UAW-CIO, UE-ind., and UPWA-CIO. In a number of instances, model clauses already exist in Local union and chain contracts.

The fight against job discrimination requires that the model contract clause exist in every union contract. This Convention should adopt as an urgent task, the approaching of all International, Regional, District, and Local unionsthroughout the country, to adopt the model FEPC contract clause.

Our fight for the model contract clause must continue to move forward. So, we must continue on our mission. When we tackled GE in Louisville, we didn't say, "this big baby is too much." From the beginning, we attempted to make this a united campaign, We appealed to all sections of the community and made special efforts to involve the whole labor movement. Among the unions, only the UE responded. The AFL and CIO, to date, have not seen fit to join this fight. We contend the AFL and

CIO must, if the labor movement is to survive in this period, join in this and other democratic job fights.

We have continued to win victories in the Sears-Roebuck chain around the country. But the big citadel, the headquarters here in Chicago, is still holding out. Our campaign against Sears in Chicago has had an impact on the hiring policies of the whole loop area. The majority of the department stores there are now hiring Negro women as clerks and salespeople. We can and must bring our National Sears Campaign to a successful conclusion by breaking through here in Chicago. To achieve this end, the broadest support is required. We, therefore, appeal to the labor movement, the community organizations, and public officials to join in the fight.

Major campaigns have been conducted by our various local councils in such industries as Hotel and Brewery.

Our Council's program has hit the many communities and the labor movement with great impact. Our program on the economic front for jobs, upgrading, for an end to the lilly-white shops, for apprenticeship training, government jobs, local and state fair employment practices legislation, the anti-discrimination clause in union contracts, and the right for Negro women to work everywhere --this program continues to have great impact. Let's again point out the impact for allto see.

If you will remember last year, we pointed out that it has been widely admitted that the formation of the Negro Labor Council led to stepped up activities in the labor movement. For instance, the UAW-CIO sent out directives to its regions telling them to set up Regional FEPC Committees as the Negro Labor Council had gone into action. While they red-baited the Negro Labor Council, they admitted that our program of action was similar in many ways to their program that was only on paper.

We join other Negro organizations in contratulating UAW-CIO and the United Packinghouse Workers on their recent anti-discrimination conferences.

The labor movement needs the National Negro Labor Council.

For those who doubt the need of our program, the need for a Negro Labor Council, let's bring them down front to take a more serious look at the economic conditions of the Negro people in our country.

About the fact that the status of the Negro people in our country has been steadily declining, there can be no doubt. Let us again, however, restate the Bill of Particulars set forth in Cincinnati. But, let us on this day call every white American to bear witness, and to be a hearer of this restatement of this Bill of Particulars, of the wrongs against the Negro people of our country. We even call the devilish Attorney General, who has had the nerve to call our crying out against these wrongs "subversive."

RESTATEMENT OF THE BILL OF PARTICULARS

The most damning single item in the Economic Bill of Particulars has been set forth by the Government itself in its "Report of the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance" established by President Truman under Executive Order 10308 on December 3, 195L. From the Committee Report of January, 1953, we quote:

> "Negroes earn far less than white workers. In 1950, the average annual income of Negro families was $1,869. which was only 54 per cent of the average income of $3,445 earned by white families."

Make no mistake about it. This is why we are here today. We say "Justify this jimcrow treatment of your black sons and daughters, America - or wipe it out!

SHAME OF OUR GOVERNMENT

The Report of the President's Committee further proves that our Government is a major instrument in maintaining for the corporations the billions of dollars of profit they secure from this discrimination. Here's the story from the Report itself:

> "For nearly 10 years, virtually all Government contracts and sub-contracts have contained a provision requiring contractors who preform work for the Government to refrain from discrimination against any employee or applicant because of race, creed, color, or national origin.
>
> "The Committee on Government Contract Compliance found the non-discrimination provision almost forgotten, dead and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language in Government procurment contracts.
>
> "A few contractors have assumed their full obligation under the clause and have opened their employment rolls to all persons qualified for jobs. The majority of contractors, however, have viewed the provision as just another contractual clause of relatively minor importance and have made little, if any, attempt to adhere to its standards.
>
> "Government contracting officers in most agencies have lacked proper machinery to enforce this clause. In many cases even the will has been absent to require contractors to meet their obligations under it."

Where was Attorney General Brownell while this subversive activity was going on?

A lot of people say that the charge that industry and the Federal Government discriminate against Negros and other minorities is a "Dirty Communist Lie." But listen to this Committee statement:

> "If every industrial and commerical firm doing business with the Federal Government lived up to the letter of non-discrimination clause in its contracts, bias in employment would be a problem of the past. Government contracting is so far-reaching and widespread that millions of Americans in every trade and occupation are brought within the protective scope of the provision."

SKILLED CRAFTS AND YOUTH

Needless to say, the number of Negro workers in the skilled crafts is pretty much what it was in 1940, in spite of the war boom. They have so far decided that Mr. Black shall not pass here.

Listen to this - in 1950 there were only 522 Negro tool and die makers in our country out of a total of 151,587, or 0.3%! The highest percentage total in any industrial craft is 2.2%.

One of the urgent reasons why the skilled craft picture must be changed, and changed soon, is its devastating effect upon our youth. Our Council came across the following attitudes of Negro educators: - Last year the principal of a Louisville, Kentucky high school told the graduating class "There is no hope for your getting skilled industrial jobs." The result of this kind of thinking is that no Negroes are trained for industrial crafts in the South.

Our Council in Louisville proved that there is no need for this attitude. We worked out a training program with the Board of Education and so far over 400 young people have been given some skills. A Negro Board of Education member in Cleveland told our Council that the Board was finding it impossible to obtain skilled opportunities in 1953. This, in spite of newspaper "want ads" for trainees placed by General Motors, Steel and other companies.

We as workers, have never accepted the notion that this part of the fight cannot be won and we never will tell the Negro youth that they cannot get these jobs, yet they can die on the battle fields of war. Young Negro fliers, just back from risking their lives over in Korea, are arrogantly denied jobs on the lily-white airlines. Young Negro women are still refused jobs as airline hostesses. We see by the papers that the President of one of the Airlines, Mr. Braniff, is heading up the Brotherhood for the Conference of Christians and Jews. Do you call that a brother? No - No. But this convention should give him a chance to become a brother by changing the policies on his line.

THE SOUTH AND DECENTRALIZATION

Not enough attention has been paid to the warnings our Council gave at our last Convention. We said then that the shift of industry to the South and rural areas throughout the Country threatens to undermine the gains made by the American labor movement throughout the years, and Negro workers in particular. This so-called decentralization of industry is speeded up through the taxpaper's money, which is handed over by our Government as a gift to big industry. The amount of taxpayer's money so far handed over to big business on what they call tax amortization certificate investments in twenty-five billion.

The shift in industry to the South is of particular concern to Negro Labor Councils, for big business seeks to exploit the lack of democracy and the lack of unionization in the South for lower wages and company unionism.

General Electric, International Harvester, Westinghouse, Ford, Textile and other big corporations are rapidly making this shift. We are determined that jobs in these plants shall be opened to all workers regardless of race, color or sex.

The fight for jobs in these industries offers a new kind of opportunity in the South and rural areas. It offers Negro workers a chance to get in on the ground floor, to build seniority and get some of the better jobs early. Another urgent reason for giving full national support is the fact that Negro workers in the North have lost thousands of jobs as a result of these shifts.

Our Negro Labor Councils in the South have begun a campaign to win these new jobs. Last year's convention promised full backing for these Southern Councils and their campaigns. Our Northern councils agreed to adopt some of the Southern Councils and give them regular financial aid and send them literature. The $10,000 was not raised and the major Northern Councils have not given adequate support to our Councils in the South. Our hats must be off, therefore, to the noble fight being put up by our Southern Councils to win these new jobs.

The outstanding fight has been put up by the Louisville Council as previously mentioned, at the giant GE plant going up there. We reported last year that the Louisville Council had begun a campaign for democratic hiring at the Louisville GE plant. A jobs training program in the Louisville public schools was set up to train Negro workers for the specific skills called for in this plant. This accomplishment alone was a major victory in the struggle for Negro industrial training in the school system of the South. A large section of the community has joined this fight, including churches, NAACP, Urban League, and other groups. The Council conducted a series of radio programs, distribution of leaflets, and other publicity efforts. The Council also initiated a back-to-back campaign to win an FEPC ordinance in the City of Louisville. Our slogan in the campaign was jobs for Negroes in all classifications based on population percentages. So far 85 Negroes have been hired out of the total of 2,000. Five Negro men have been upgraded to production jobs, but so far no Negro women have been.

It became necessary for the National Council to join this fight during the middle of last summer. The National Officers, along with the people of Louisville are confident that this fight will be won and will become a landmark in our battle for equal job opportunity in the South.

Numerous other tasks facing Negroes in the South are gigantic. The lily-white textile industry, employing over 300,000 workers, still has a program of exclusion of Negro workers, from its labor force. The large group of Negro workers in the lumber industry, totaling a quarter of a million, are still a mainly unorganized and earn less than 50% of the wages paid lumber workers in the Northwest. The tobacco companies, Camel, Lucky Strike, Chesterfield and Phillip Morris - still continue their campaign of driving Negro women out of the industry. The heartbreaking fight of the Negro railroad workers - particularly firemen, trainmen and brakemen - to keep from being driven out of the industry, after almost 100 years, continues unabated.

It must be said here that we as Negro workers and our white brothers and sisters, particularly those in the trade union movement, are not giving adequate support to the fight of the South. Not nearly enough Negro trade unionist are speaking out in their union halls or in their conventions to get the South organized or to defend the wages and hours laws. Most of us act as if we had gotten free and afford to feel sorry for our brothers and sisters down home if we like. Current layoffs and the shift of industry to the South and rural areas will become sharper and sharper reminders for us that Jim crow is everywhere. We had better straighten up and fly right.

These developments place the organization of the South as the major task that today confronts the American labor movement. While the Negro Labor Council stands ready to assist in this momentous undertaking, we shall continue to agitate the trade union movement to assume this responsibility. We must raise the level of our own organizational effort and devise new means of advancing our job struggle in the South.

LAYOFFS AND ECONOMIC RECESSION

Military preparations in this country have added to the riches of the corporations and the wealthy at the expense of the people. As a result we are faced with the situation of "poverty in the midst of plenty" as the people cannot afford to purchase the products they created. These days the financial writers of the big business press are not speculating as to whether or not there will be a downward slide in the economy, but whether it will be 10, 15 percent or more.

The Washington Administration of millionaires and mammoth corporations want unemployment. They want to use the unemployed as a means of forcing speedup in the plants, to break strikes and bust unions. They want white workers and black worker to fight one another for a shrinking number of jobs. In that way they expect to maintain their overall profits in a shrinking market by a higher profit per unit sold.

Negro and white workers at this late date in history will not be trapped by big business into going at each others throats in a fight over the fast disappearing jobs. We will join together with white workers to force employers and the government to undertake action giving every worker the right to a job. These actions require improvements in the living standards of the American people to provide the mass markets for the products of industry, including increases in real wages, lower taxation for the people, shorter hours of work, vast increases in social services and public works to replace government spending on armaments, solving of the farm depression, and reestablishment of free trade among all nations of the world. A most potent force for providing additional jobs is the elimination of discrimination against the Negro people. This would add billions of dollars a year to the purchasing power of the Negro people and would provide millions of additional jobs producing the products their additional purchasing power would buy.

While our main aim should be to achieve maximum unity with white workers in the fight for jobs for all, we must be alert to protect the jobs of Negro workers even in plants affected by layoffs. We must fight for upgrading and promotional opportunities for Negroes and see that job training programs are established so that Negro workers with long or short service are not restricted to a limited number of unskilled jobs but can bid for a wider number of semi-skilled jobs throughout the plants.

Even in a period of general fall in employment new plants are started up, some old plants do hiring. We must fight for jobs for Negroes in run-away plants. Job opportunities constantly open up as new products are brought into production.

NEGRO WOMEN WORKERS

We hope the most hard-bitten doubters will be moved to action and support after witnessing the bill of particulars on Negro women workers. The general economic plight of Negro women workers has not improved since our last convention. In 1950 the average earnings of all Negro women was $472.00. BLS reports this year that the earnings of all women has gone down since 1950. The increasing number of layoffs has already hit women hard. One Local Union recently told us that already there are no jobs open for women in their shops - any women.

The fight of Negro women workers is closely allied to the fight against the long-standing discrimination of companies against women's rates of pay, their job security and their right of our women is a weapon that employers daily use to undermine all rates and to reap billions of dollars of extra profits.

In this struggle to end discrimination, unions have won many victories and have been able to prove before government agencies how companies discriminate and the extent of the discrimination. These victories, precedents and experience can be of invaluable help in overcoming the substantial discrimination still practiced by companies against Negro women workers.

In advertisements across the land, industry glorifies the American woman in her gleaming GE kitchen, at her Westinghouse laundromat, before her GM television set. (We are sure they were appealing to black women too, although they didn't put it in the Ad.) Nothing is too good for her - unless she is a Negro woman and wants a decent job.

The bill of particulars shows that Miss Negro America can't get jobs in many of these plants, so many Negro families can't buy these pretty things, so many white workers lose their jobs and suffer too. Let the witnessess we call note that there is still not one black woman in decent Air Line jobs in all America. That GE in Louisville and other plants refuse to hire Negro women as production workers - that Ford, GM, Chrysler and other large corporations arrogantly say "we will not hire black women" as they run away to other areas for lower wages. Let the witness lookout upon this vast land and show us the Negro women, clerical or technical workers on the railroads.

Yet this is the reward so far for this women who pulled the cannon trigger in Washington's Army. At whose breast some of America's best known white sons suckeled, especially in the South. Who led the under-ground railway and aided in the fight for woman sufferage. America -- here then is no begger for alms - but one of your main builders and protectors.

White brothers, Negro brothers, white sisters, it is time to stop saying -- "yes it's true - industry pushes Negro women around, white men do too, so do Negro men and white women". Yes she is on the bottom of the economic and social ladder and mad at everybody."

The time to crusade is NOW. I warn you that none of our rights can be won without her full support.

HOW MUCH LONGER MUST THEY FACE THE DREAD OF NO JOB? OF THE RATS EATING THEIR BABIES OR BEING BURNED TO DEATH IN CHICAGO OR ANY OTHER SLUMS.

NEGRO PEOPLE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

The proof that the things we fight for will be ours can be seen by the determined fight of Negroes throughout the country for political representation. This can be attested to by the recent election victories in Atlanta, North Carolina and Virginia. The election of a Negro Bourough President in Manhattan, the situation in Cincinnati, where a Negro City Councilman won top vote, entitling him to become Mayor of the City, and numerous other election victories are additional evidence of a growing recognition on the part of Negro voters that representation in government through political action is necessary before economic, social and political equality can be won.

The right to vote movement is proceeding at a more rapid pace in the South in spite of Klan terror. In Alabama one of its leaders is our beloved Vice-President, Asbury Howard. Negro people everywhere through their organizations and leaders are joining the fight against McCarthyism, the McCarran-Walter Law, Taft-Hartley and all other undemocratic laws.

The E. E. (Equal Education) campaign started by the Pittsburgh Courier and the NAACP "Free by '63 slogan are proof that the Negro people are moving into greater motion politically. Once political support of our economic fight is upon the scene, these things will be ours.

COLONIAL OPPRESSION

As we stand here this day, world peace and the move toward Hitler-like fascism revolve around our country's attitude on the colonial questions. Our country cannot support the colonial oppression of darker people abroad and at the same time sincerely promote freedom and equality for the Negro people in America. A classic example of this fact is Eisenhower's appointment of that rabid Negro-hater, James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, to represent us in the United Nations. Eisenhower not only insulted the Negro people of America by this appointment but he shoved Byrnes down the throats of the colonial people, and officially endorsed the exploitation of American Jim Crow on a world scale, by placing this Kluxer on the United Nations Human Rights Commission. I'd sure hate to have my human rights dependent on that son of the sovereign State of South Carolina.

Our country's leaders, while proclaiming peace, are backing the Western powers in their colonial oppression all over the world. We are presently backing the British troop invasion of that little land, British Guiana. We are backing Malan in South and Southwest Africa and the colonial murderers in Kenya. The Negro Church, the press and the NAACP understand colonial oppression and do not approve of our government's actions.

ATTORNEY GENERAL JOINS McCARTHY AND UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

History has made the Negro fight for freedom a vital part of the fight for peace and the elimination of colonial oppression. The Negro Labor Council has become a prime target for those who would rob us of our liberties as workers. It is plain to see that we have been labelled subversive and attacked by the Un-American Committee last year and the Attorney General this year because we challenged our existence in this land as second-class citizens and we dare add our voice against colonial oppression, McCarthyism and the dangers of war.

We ask you delegates, here assembled, we ask the American people, and we even ask the liars - in what way is this program and the aspirations of the Negro people subversives? We say it's not! Those who say do not tell the truth!

The Attorney General proposes to put us on the government disloyalty list. We have demanded a public hearing, but the Attorney General says: I will let you know whether or not you can have a public hearing for I am the prosecutor, the Judge and Jury. Is this American? Is this not an inquisition? The document which I hold in my hand is as much of a witch's brew as anything McCarthy ever did.

President Eisenhower said recently, it is a basic American right to face your accuser - Whether with a 45 or with people. Brownell doesn't act as if he listened to the President's speech.

We do not propose to end this fight - we propose to carry forward. If we could we would have in one single action turned this organization, its leaders, into a bunch of cowardly stoolpigeons unable to look the Negro people and the face again. We say to the Attorney General and to the Administration: "Wait a minute; we are not free! We do not propose to take a single American's liberties, to spy on a single American or to help put one in jail that has done nothing to us."

We as Negro workers know mainly one thing. We have a good idea who killed Harry T. Moore and his wife, who railroaded countless innocent Negroes to jail on trumped-up charges, who denied us the vote, who burned our homes, terrorized and intimidated us and humiliated us with endless actions of Jim Crow. We ain't heard nobody, even the worst liars, say the Communists did this to us. We are firmly convinced that McCarthyism and the continued oppression of Negro people in our country, the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, Taft-Hartley and other such undemocratic measures cannot lead to our freedom, and we want no part of you or McCarthyism. We refuse to join you. We urge the Negro people in every walk of life not to join you if they want to get free. It is our firm conviction that they will never do so. We intend to continue our fight for freedom and equality. We loudly proclaim and join the fight to be "Free by '63". We say to the Negro people, to all working people of our country, that what McCarthy, McCarran and you are doing is the pathroad to hell for our country.

The issues of the day-- peace, colonial oppression, our own fight for freedom, make it important that we again call to America's attention Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson's statement to America made at the 1950 CIO Convention. Dr. Johnson had this to say on the question of red-baiting, war preparations, and colonial and racial oppression. I quote from Dr. Johnson:

> "I want to say to you today in all humility and with the deepest sincerity that I am capable of, that I believe our leaders are moving under an illusion, that the immense military program which we are producing and must produce at whatever cost, is itself nevertheless insufficient and cannot be decisive. I willgo so far as to say that, in my humble judgment, we could accumulate that military force until it was unquestionably preponderant [illegible] war and defeat Russia and her satellites, and by [illegible] most precious thing that a nation [illegible] for in this world, namely, the moral leadership of this world."

Dr. Johnson went further and declared that America was at the [illegible] I quote:

> "And I tell you that the man we have met at the crossroads of history, and who is making that question to us, is not in thefirst instance the people of Asia and Africa, or the people of Russia, but the Eternal God himself.
>
> "Says God, 'Why did I bring you up from being the scum of the earth and outcasts of Europe, despised and rejected, to make you the most resourceful, intelligent and great organizing genius of the human race, with reserve capital unparalleled in the human race? Do you think I have brought you to such a place that by order of the use of this power you would seize and control and dominate and inhibit [illegible] vast numbers of men who like yourselves are hungering for the liberty and [illegible] and have just as much right to it as you have, because they are my sons?'
>
> "Says the Eternal God, 'You will either answer me yes, or I will strip you naked before humanity and I will walk into your temple before your eyes, in spite of your military might, and I will take the candlestick of your

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leadership in my hands and black it out before your face, clear out of Westerm civilization, and I will plant that light in Asia, to your overlasting shame and humiliation.

"Do you hear me? Don't you see that there is no military power that can decide the issue that you are facing?"

This last line by Dr. Johnson is important to note. He made this statement in 1950, shortly after the beginning of the Korean conflict when most people were afraid to speak out for peace, and he called his outlook the pathway to peace. History has proven him right. More than that, the peoples of the West, the East, Asia, Africa and the people of America desire that we negotiate our differences with other peoples and that we end discrimination in our own country. We too reject the road to McCarthyism which can only lead to Hitler-like Fascism.

RAILROADS

No discussion of any bill of particulars dealing with job discrimination, basic industry, or the South, can even begin to be complete without singling out the railroad industry. The treatment of Negro railroad workers is so cruel, legend has it that John Henry has turned over in his grave and is walking around at night with his hammer in his hand. Since the Chicago Conference of 1950, we Negro workers have declared that brutal Jim Crow on the railroads was the fountainhead of job discrimination in our country and the main evil source of trade union-division around the Negro question. Past conventions of the National Negro Labor Council have called for a major national campaign to tackle this problem. We have not done so. The memory of John Henry alone as a great railroad builder and worker deserves better treatment from us. If we are serious about tackling basic industry and the real sources of job Jim Crow, we can no longer postpone tackling these giant corporations. No industry in America has greater threads running through the lives of Negro people than does the railroad industry. Negro workers throughout the railroad history have waged a bitter battle to get into the industry and remain there. In the railroad industry, especially in the South, Negroes have been driven from jobs which they held during slavery and from the very beginning of railroads in the South. Hundreds of Negro workers died building the American railroads. No industry holds greater drama in the struggle of the Negro people, past and present, than does the railroad industry. If this convention of the Negro and white trade unionists and other democratic groups are willing and ready to seize upon this history, upon this drama, we can present to America the kind of imaginative, far-reaching jobs campaign never before witnessed - one only has to look at the history of this industry to know that it is so.

Historically, Negro employment on the railroads had as its main base the brutal exploitation of Negro workers by the roads as a source of cheap labor, both in building the roads and later in manning them, when Negroes were constantly used to hold down and to depress the wage levels of white railroad workers. The employment of Negroes in the train and engine services has always been confined almost exclusively to the southern and border states. Until World War I it was usual for the railroad in those areas to use Negro firemen and trainmen on from 25% to 90% of their runs (you will note, contrary to general promotion customs, however, Negro firemen and trainmen have almost never been promoted to engineer and conductor). Before that time, Negro railroad workers received lower wages than white workers for performing the same work. Thus southern railroads continued to find in the Negro a convenient tool with which to fight unionism and depress wages. The result was that wages in the South, for these occupations, were considerably below those in other areas. Something interesting happened during

World War I: Manpower requirements offered Negro workers, for the first time, jobs in the great industrial centers, and Negroes began to leave the railroads in great numbers. The government had taken over the railroads and William Gibbs McAdoo, under Woodrow Wilson, ordered the equalization of wages for Negro workers brought into line with those of whites in the South, in order to stop experienced Negroes from leaving the industry. Look at what the companies were really gaining: Negro firemen and brakemen employed by the B. L. & A. as late as 1945 were paid from $2 to $3 a day less than the white workers. On occasions when leaders of the Negro associations have asked the management to equalize the wages of Negroes with whites, they have been told, "If we have to pay white man's wages, we might as well hire whites." The war equalization of wages made the railroad bosses loss interest in Negro workers, since they were less of a source of "cheap labor." For instance, one of the last Negro firemen hired on one of the southern railroads - and he was hired in 1899 - told some of the leaders of the National Negro Labor Council that when Mr. Charlie lived, things weren't so bad. He couldn't understand it now that young Mr. Charlie was running things, and he was the last of a long line of Negro firemen. The train porter who does brakemen's work for a long time was a further case in point. While the porter received a few cents more for doing this work, it was much less than brakeman's pay. The same can be said of Pullman porters who traveled in charge but did not receive conductor's pay, or the dining car waiter who ran in charge, but did not receive steward's pay. Thus it was that the Negro railroad worker was a target for cheap labor to the bosses, and for the unions a source of conflict, and in some cases a target for job extermination.

Negro workers had no desire to play such a role. The rise of the American trade union movement in part held the solution to this question. It was in the hands of the Knights of Labor, Brotherhoods, and AFL unions to determine whether or not we should have an organized, unified working class. History tells us that the Negro working man of that day pleaded for unity, pleaded to be admitted to the unions. Isaacs, head of the Negro Workmen's Association, made entreaties to the great union bodies of that day. The great Frederick Douglass made repeated entreaties, warning that awful penalties would be the cost to the nation of a split working class. These pleas were to no avail. It cannot be said therefore that the question of unity, of pitting black against white, to the profit of the railroad owners, was not called to the attention of those unions. The debate raged. They could have and should have ducked the bosses' trap. In many cases however, they elected to make the Negro the target instead of the boss: for instance, a campaign was begun to eliminate Negro firemen and trainmen from engine service. This extermination campaign began in 1899 at the Trainmen's convention. Their slogan was "Give support towards clearing our lines of Negroes." The systematic campaign of the unions begun by the trainmen in 1899 is a classic example of working class disunity, and the awful price that was paid by the failure to see the cost to all white workers, particularly in the South. This extermination campaign, which is still being pushed by the bosses upon the union, has been damagingly successful.

The unbelievable fact is that in the period between 1910 and 1940, the number of Negro firemen, trainmen, and brakemen has been cut by more than 50 percent.

As a result of this extermination, not only have the Negro workers in the railroad industry suffered grave economic harm and restrictions, but the impact upon the policies and progress of the whole American labor movement can scarcely be doubted, although in the present day union setup, none is as terrible or undemocratic as the railroad unions.

Our purpose in presenting this brief bit of history is to show where matters stood then, but also to call to the attention of this convention that the rise of the CIO, the left-progressive independent unions, and the whole world democratic fight now make victory in railroads possible, even if it were not possible then. If this convention takes on this fight, Jim Crow's mother will never recognize his face!

ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

The railroad industry is a public institution subject to public control. The railroads admitted this when they fought for free public lands, and government subsidies. They also claimed so whenever the railroad workers were seeking the right to strike for higher wages. It is incumbent upon us to make their practices and policies one of public examination and correction, yet the government agencies set up to qualify the railroads as public institutions under the Railway Labor Act, the National Mediation Board, and the Railroad Adjustment Board, have been used by the companies and in some cases the unions to aid and abet almost every attempt to eliminate or limit Negro workers in the railroad industry. For instance, Mr. Herbert R. Northrup, former instructor in economics at Cornell University, and consultant to the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, had this to say in his book, "Organized Labor and the Negro":

> "The Negro railroad worker suffers from serious discrimination by employers and unions -- discrimination that is assisted by the policies of government agencies. The refusal of employers to promote qualified Negroes or to pay them equal wages for equal work and the secular decline in railway employment has encouraged the white labor unions to attempt to eliminate Negroes from the industry. As a result, Negro firemen and trainmen, among the highest paid workers of their race, appear to be doomed at a time when railway employment has increased to a point where an actual shortage exists..." (At pp. 99-101)

Time and again the Adjustment Board has been used to achieve the objectives of the companies and the unions on collusive agreements eliminating or limiting Negro workers, yet neither the Negro workers nor the associations representing them are represented on the board or even permitted to appear before the board when their cases come up. Mr. Northrup had this to say about this Adjustment Board.

> " The Adjustment Board has refused to permit individuals to petition it for relief although this seems contrary to both the language and the intent of the Railway Labor Act..."

The Mediation Board, which is part of the Railway Labor Act set-up, was and we believe remains distinctly anti-Negro in character. F or instance, on June 8, 1936, Dr. William L. Leiserson, then chairman of the board, advised the Engineers and Fireman to pull out of an election for bargaining agent because the Negro workers who were a majority might influence the outcome of the election. Similar sentiments were expressed by the late James W. Carmalt, member of the board, and put in writing to the Engineers' and Firemen's unions on January 4, 1936. In it he reviewed the history of the dispute and offered his services to help preserve peace. In this letter he made the Negro question the center of his letter and the discussion. In this connection was perhaps one of the most anti-Negro acts committed by a government agency in modern times. Mr. Northrup said:

> "The serious injustices suffered by Negroes by the provisions of the Labor Act, sound public policy demands that this law be drastically amended rather than serve as a model for future labor legislation." (At pp. 99-101)

With the scales so heavily weighted against them, the heroic efforts of Negro firemen, trainmen and brakemen, to protect their jobs, stands out as one of the greatest chapters in American history. Much has been written about this or that cowboy hero, but nothing about these brave men who built the railroads, and upon whose backs the riches of our country were established. This convention must, therefore, tell this glorious tale.

No industry holds greater drama in the struggle of Negro people, past and present, than does the railroad industry. If this convention, the Negro and white trade unionists, and other democratic groups are willing and ready to seize upon this history, upon this drama, we can present to America the kind of imaginative, and the most far-reaching jobs campaign never before witnessed. No one looking at the history of this industry can fail to know that this is so.

A lot of people say they want to whip Jim Crow - but he's big and he's bad! We say this dirty rascal can be whipped on the railroads. How are we going to whip him?

We call into motion every Negro Labor Council. We say to the American trade unions, join us now; the problems facing you no longer permit you to stay out of this great democratic fight.

We call upon all Negro organizations, churches and fraternities to unite to drive Jim Crow into his hole as a landmark in our fight to be "Free by '63."

I call upon you delegates assembled, to give out hundreds of thousands of leaflets at the great railroad terminals throughout our country. I call upon you to raise thousands and thousands of dollars to put this democratic story on radio, television, in the newspapers, etc. I call upon you to solemnly pledge and reassure all the little Black children throughout America as they wind their little trains around the Christmas tree, that some day, they too, will be engineers at the throttles, or conductors walking the aisles, or the lady selling tickets.

In addition to the major national campaign around railroads, I propose that this convention undertake the following projects:

(1) Increased concentration on the fight in basic industry for Model FEPC Clauses, upgrading, on-the-job training, etc.

(2) That we make plans to step up our jobs campaign in runaway shops in the South and rural areas, and at the same time give every support and encouragement to the efforts to organize the Negro and white workers of the South.

(3) That we must come to stronger grips with the airlines as a related campaign to the railroad fight in the coming year.

(4) That all Councils set up youth committees and give added attention to industrial training programs along the lines of the Louisville plan, especially in the South.

(5) We must give major support on the legislative front to all fights, and against anti-labor and anti-democratic legislation.

(6) In addition to continuing our special fight for jobs for Negro women, we must step up the campaign to fully involve Negro women in the growing fight for women's rights. That as a part of the stepped up efforts by each Council to bring women fully into the freedom fight, we set aside a day in the coming year which each of our Councils will celebrate as "Negro Women's Day."

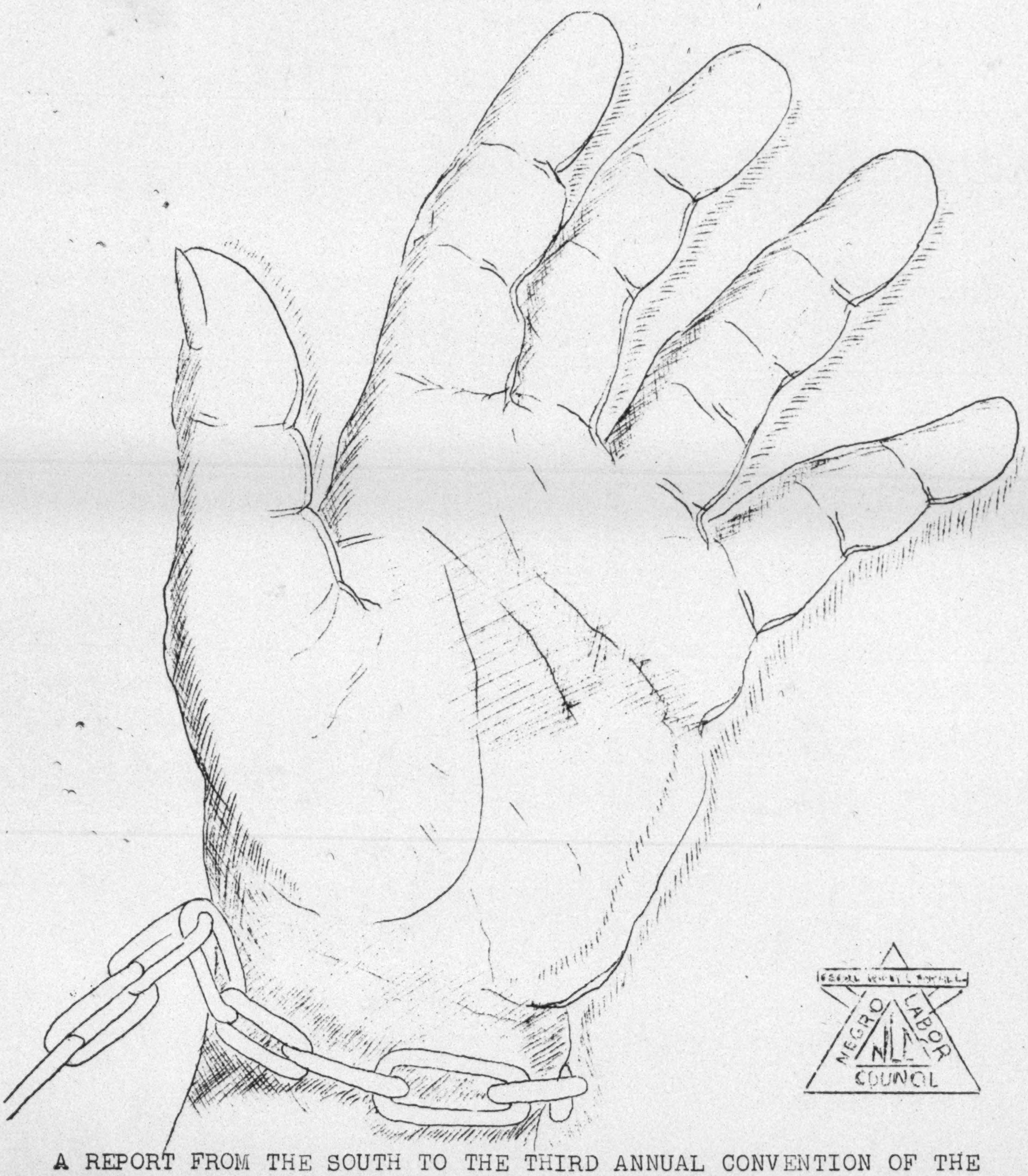
(7) We declare our unity with the oppressed colonial peoples of the world and we call upon our country to withdraw all forms of support to colonial oppression.

Brothers and sisters, let the Freedom Train roll - faster and faster - and tomorrow **MUST** be a better day for us all.

THESE THINGS FOR WHICH WE FIGHT SHALL BE OURS!

End

FREE OUR HAND



A REPORT FROM THE SOUTH TO THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE
NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

A Report From the South

By Viola M. Brown, Regional Vice-President,
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Asbury Howard, Vice-President at Large,
Bessemer, Alabama

Sterling O. Neal, Vice-President at Large,
Louisville, Kentucky

Ever since our founding convention, our Council has raised the question of turning our eyes toward the South. Today we must go further than that. We must not only look towards the South, but we must be there in action. If the Freedom Train is rolling with Negro people on board, we must always understand and remember that the majority of the Negro people are still living in the South. We must understand that the cancer of Jim Crow that is eating at the heart of Freedom must be cured where it has its deepest roots--in the South. We must understand that there will be no complete freedom in the North or East or West as long as fascist-minded elements control the lives of Negroes and whitesin the South.

THE SOUTH AS A COLONY

Drawing on widespread terror and hate propaganda, big business, working through its crooked politicians and their agentsin the South, is reducing the South to the status of a colony. Back before the turn of the century, the WallStreet bankersand financiers saw the South as a fertile field for expansion. They moved in and took over such heavy industries as railroads, the cotton mills, and the coal, iron, steel and tobacco industries, and have more recently extended their holdings to oil, electric power, textile, rayon, chemicals, and others.

To further strengthen the hand of reaction tight control has been kept on the government machinery, through the denial of right to vote and the passage of laws seting forth a separate set of rules for black andwhite--thus making it more difficult for black and white to unite. Terror has perhaps been the greatest weapon used to subjugate the Negro people andmaintain the status quo in the South. The brazen andopen existence of the Ku Klux Klan guarantees that the whiplash and the faggot are at the disposal of the oppressorsof the Negro people. The more subtle forms of lynching, carried out by the courts, such as the murder of Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, the jailing of Mrs. Rosa Ingram, and many others, are also part of the pattern of the bosses to have the kind of undemocratic atmosphere that will afford them a base for fascism.

NEGRO PEOPLE SUFFER

During allthis period black and white workers have been pitted against each other, while the wealth derived from the natural resources of the South has been drained off. Negroes who held many skilled jobs have been driven into the lower-paying and dirtiest jobs, and in many cases kept out of entire industries. In 1949 the median annual income of Negroes in the South was $995, or approximately half that of white families. For the Negro the struggle to earn enough money to buy bread is a constant nightmare.

Statistics show that the life span of a Negro man is 7.4 years shorter than that of a white man, andthat Negro women are robbed of 8.5 yearsof life compared to white women. The infant mortality rate among Negro children is twice that of white children. In 1948 24,000 Negro people died before their time, just because their faces were black.

THE BIG STEAL

In addition to the untold hardships and the indignities suffered by the Negro people, the program of big businessis playing havoc with the livesof southern white workers. The poisonousmyth of white supremacy holds down the standards of allworkers in the South. Southern white families and single individuals are paid an average of $648 a year less than white workersin the North. This represents a 20% cash penalty paid by southern white workers because of discrimination against Negroes. For these workers asfor Negro workers, this cash differential translates itself into poor housing, low health standards, disease and early death. Anyone familiar with social and economic conditions in the South knowsthat white working people, like Negroes, suffer from the high disease rates that come from poverty. They die young and many of their children die in infancy--all because they have not learned to unite with their Negro brothersand sisters to prevent a few corporations from draining away the wealth. Educational opportunities for southern white workers follow the same pattern. The Louisville Courier Journal reported in 1952 that one-third of the draftees from Kentucky were being rejected because of illiteracy and bad health.

These white workers, like their Negro brothers and sisters, must awaken to the hoax being perpetrated against them under the guise of white supremacy, and many have. In these places where the issue is put squarely and posed on the basis of what discrimination cost them in terms of their own welfare, the response has been encouraging. In those cases where white workers in the South become thoroughly convinced, they have emerged as the staunchest fighters for Negro rights and for unity.

UNITY PAYS OFF

An outstanding example of what can be accomplished along these lines is the Harvester plant in Louisville, Kentucky. When Harvester moved to Louisville to pit Negro and white against each other, in this traditionally Jim Crow town, an appeal wasmade to the white workersto organize on the basisof equality, and after seven yearsof struggle for unity, these workers despite the corporations' efforts to smash the union now enjoy the highest pay in mass productive industry in the South, and among the highest in the nation. Our Louisville Council directed a leaflet to the white community, asking them to sign FEPC petitions and pointing out the self-interest angle. The results were gratifying. Out of 5,000 signatures collected overall, the majority of them were collected from white workers.

More andmore workers in the South, black and white, arebeginning to struggle against the deplorable conditions in rural communities.

Meanwhile the appointment of Byrnes encourages the southern governors to intensify their attacks on and executions of Negroes in the South. In North Carolina alone in the past year 6 Negroes whose guilt was very doubtful were executed. The other day, 48 Negroes were fined several hundred dollars for sitting near a young white woman on a bus in South Carolina. The trade unions have not spoken loudly or long enough about the rights of Negroes or for the assistance necessary to develop a real campaign fof jobs for Negroes in the South. We want to commend the struggle for Negro rights and against white supremacy going on in some unions now, and we want to urge them to push this fight by encouraging a broad organizing campaign in the South and for the promotion of Fair Employment Practices.

The appointment of Governor Byrnes proves the weaknesses of the labor movement concerning the Negro people and on Southern organizing...for had the trade unions been pushing organization of the South, such an appointment could have been exposed and defeated and might not have been made.

Further, the fact that the run-away plants have come in the South in such numbers - highlights more clearly than even the need for just such a trade union movement for organizing Southern workers - without which labor in the whole country is in serious doubt of being undermined.

The fact that the trade union leaders in the country have kept silent and have not assumed their responsibilities in leading the workers against the greatest danger to them - is why these things have been able to happen.

This does not mean there is no spirit of fight-back among Southern workers. If the workers in the rest of the country are feeling the pinch of high prices and the increasing crisis, it is not difficult to see that the Southern workers, and especially the Negroes, are suffering from the growing recession. With years of extremely low pay, Southern workers have no reserve of savings. Some plants have shut down because of pile-up of materials. Huge Hanes textile mills in Winston Salem are working 3 and 4 days a week. Such conditions find these workers ready to struggle.

But we in the Negro Labor Council cannot stand by and wait for these struggles to unfold. As Negro workers who understand what the fight is about and where it is going, we must be in the forefront of the struggles of the workers and Negro people of America. We must be in the midst of the organizations of the workers and the Negro people, pushing forward the fight for jobs and for the organizing of the unorganized, for the right to vote and be represented on all levels of government, for real freedom for all, for peace and prosperity. We will not be able to lead these struggles alone, but if we work correctly, we can stimulate them and provide the kind of leadership that will be needed.

We have seen how in the electrical industry three big companies, General Electric, Westinghouse and Sylvania, will add by 1954 more than 25,000 to Southern employment. At the same time we are seeing a large increase in unemployment among the Negro people in the South, and particularly among Negro women. This convention must seriously consider the problem which these facts present, as well as the problem of organizing the millions of unorganized workers in the South, if the program that is outlined in the eleven points dealt with in our call, are to be realized.

These problems cannot be solved merely by reporting on them at our convention. They are serious and difficult problems and require special attention.

Yes, the South has been relegated to the status of a colony, with white supremacy running wild, and the "southern differential" being used asa club over all of America's head.

However, in spite of the organized plot against the people of the South, many important struggles are taking place. The overall struggles of the Negro people in the South, for representation, the right to vote, to end Jim Crow in housing, schools, etc., is taking on new proportions, and is drawing in all sections of Negro life. The fights taking place around the right to work, however, hold out new hope to southern workers.

TRI-STATE COUNCIL LEADS FIGHT

One of the important struggles now taking place in the South is being led by one of our local councils. The Tri-StateNegro Labor Council is in the forefront of the fight to end discrimination in the giant tobacco industry in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The main culprit in this struggle is the Reynolds Tobacco Company, the world's largest tobacco manufacturing plant, makers of Camels and Cavalier cigarettes, and Prince Albert and other smoking tobacco. This corporation was successful in destroying one of the largest local unions in the South, one that bargained for more than 10,000 workers -- black and white. Following the destruction of the union, thousandsof militant Negro women have been laid off, many of them with more than 20 years' seniority. Others have been transferred to seasonal work which affords them only three to seven months' employment a year. For the past eight years they have been decreasing the number of Negro workers through mechanization of the stemmeries. At the same time they have been expanding their cigarette-making departmentsand adding hundreds upon hundreds of new white workers. In 1943 Reynolds employed 6,000 Negro workers (in the main women) and 4,000 whites. Today they employ 6,000 whites and only 4,000 Negro workers. This reflectsthe company's program to systematically eliminate Negro workers.

IN THE LION'S DEN

Our Tri-State Council is challenging the man in one of his strongholds, and is mobilizing the community in one of the historic struggles of our time. Many times the fight proceeds at risk of life and limb; on numerous occasions the enemies of the workers are parked across the street from the meetings, trying to intimidate and provoke. Despite the difficulties, broad sectionsof the Negro people and others are rallying to the call--the NAACP, various church groups, and many white forces.

Other tobacco companies being tackled by the Tri-StateNegro Labor Council are the six plantsof the Greenleaf Tobacco Processors, the Brown & Williamson Co., and the Taylor Brothers' Tobacco Co. In textile they are tackling the Aristo Mills and the Hanes textile operations. They are also moving on the new Western Electric plant and some local furniture outfits.

GENERAL ELECTRIC'S OPERATION DIXIE

Our Council in Louisville, Kentucky, hasbeen engaged in a campaign to win democratic hiring in the giant new General Electric plant in that city for nearly two years. This huge world monopoly moved to Louisville in 1951 seeking to exploit the community as a low-wage area. They moved south wih the same aim as other corporations, hoping to play on the anagonisms of black and white, and has been lost by Negro farmers between 1945 and 1953. These people must either join the vast army of Negroes working under near-slave conditions in the cotton fields, cane breaks, turpentine farms or what have you, or become landless wanderers who end up in the urban ghettoes unable to earn a decent living.

THE SOUTHERN DIFFERENTIAL

Discrimination against Negro people in the south and the resultant new wage pattern of the south also has its effect on northern workers, both black and white. The maintenance of the "southern differential" has thrown northern workers into competition with low paid southern workers - - and has worked like gravity constantly pulling their living standards down. It has also served to undermine the relatively strong trade union movement in the north, and has weakened considerably their bargaining power with the corporations.

The evil effects of the "southern differential" on the entire American nation can be dramatically proved by the present "Decentralization program" of big business. Many hugh corporations in the electrical, farm equipment, automotive, textile, chemical and other industries are moving their operations from the industrial centers of the north, and are running away to the South.

They hope to further exploit the south as a low wage area by capitalizing on the concept of white supremacy by taking advantage of the disunity that exists between black and white. In the process the people's tax monies are being used against them (the people). Under the Defense Production Act, wall street has worked out a deal with the crooked politicians called the "Rapid Tax Amortization Program". In plain language this means that corporation's can build new plants, and write off the total cost through tax kickbacks over a period of five years.

TRADE UNIONS FEEL SOUTHERN DIFFERENTIAL

The effect of the "southern differential" on the trade union movement is becoming more and more a problem. Unless the unorganized factory and planation workers of the south are brought into the labor movement, the bargaining power and thus the wages, conditions and the trade unions, themselves may be headed for the rocks. To approach the coming period of economic chaos and depression with the vast majority of Negro and white workers of the south unorganized and left at the tender mercy of the bosses could mean disaster.

Yes, the south has been relegated to the status of a colony, with white supremacy running wild, and the "southern differential" being used as a club over all of America's head.

The Negro people have not accepted all the attacks quietly. In addition to broad protest meetings around the Harry T. Moore killings, and much protest against the executions of Clyde Brown and the Daniels Cousins, the Negro people throughout the South have pushed their struggle for better schools and for unsegregated education. In line with this, there has been much increased registration by Negroes, and 6 new City Councilmen have been elected in all sections of North Carolina in the past spring. More Negro candidates ran in North Carolina and the south than ever before. In Atlanta, Georgia, a Negro was elected to the City Government. The slogan of the NAACP, "Freedom by '63", has won broad support among all sections of the Negro people and is stimulating new activity by Negroes all over the south.

Even though, like colonial peoples in the rest of the world, the Negro people and the workers of the South are facing increased attacks and oppression, still new and broader opportunities are unfolding to organize mass struggle which can end discrimination and win full citizenship forever.

TRI-STATE COUNCIL LEADS FIGHT

The fights taking place around the right to work, however, hold out new hope to southern workers. One of the important struggles now taking place in the south is being led by one of our local councils. The Tri-State Negro Labor Council is in the forefront of the fight to end discrimination in the giant tobacco industry in Winston Salem, North Carolina. The main culprit in this struggle is the Reynolds Tobacco Company, the world's largest tobacco manufacturing plant, makers of Camels and Cavalier cigarettes, and Prince Albert and other smoking tobacco. This corporation was successful in destroying one of the largest local unions in the south, one that bargained for more than 10,000 workers -- black and white. Following the destruction of the Union thousands of millitant Negro women have been laid off, many of them with more than 20 years' seniority. Others have been transferred to seasonal work which affords them only three to seven months' employment a year. For the past eight years they have been decreasing the number of Negro workers through mechanization of the stemmeries. At the same time they have been expanding their cigarette making departments and adding hundreds upon hundreds of new white workers. In 1943 Reynolds employed 6,000 Negro workers (in the main women) and 4,000 whites. Tod ay they employ 6,000 whites and only 4,000 Negro workers. This reflects the company's program to systematically eliminate Negro workers.

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COUNCIL WINS JOB TRAINING

In anticipation of GE's traditional policy toward the hiring of Negroes, our Louisville council negotiated with the board of education and was successful in getting them to provide special training to equip Negro men and women for jobs such as machine operations, assembly work, welding, electronics and many other related occupations. Many of these specially trained Negro workers, who number in the hundreds, have applied for jobs at this plant. So far not one who took training has been hired. Of a potential working force of 16,000 about 2,000 people are employed. Of these, roughly 100 are Negro and they are relegated in the main to such occupations as janitors, sweepers and other menial jobs. Except for maids, no Negro women have been hired.

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NEGRO COMMUNITY UNITED

Our Council has carried this issue to the community and the effect has been tremendous. The NAACP, the Urban League, the Millitant Church, the Kentucky Bureau of Negro Affairs, numerous church groups and civic groups have joined the campaign. The two series of radio programs conducted by the council highlighting the GE situatuation has brought a new awareness to the Louisville community of the effects of discrimination. Delegations of citizens have visited the company. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed, and this world monopoly is facing a hostile community.

We submit that the outcome of the fight for fair employment at the Louisville GE plant will exert a tremendous influence throughout the south a more and more basic industries open their runaway plants. The winning of the right of Negroes in Louisville to work at their highest skills will go a long way toward laying the groundwork for organizing the south into trade unions on the basis of equality. The Louisville council is determined to carry on the fight until the demand of 16% of the total working force, which is the portion of Negroes to the population of Louisville, is met.

Our council in Louisville also has submitted an FEPC ordance to the city council. A group of ministers have opened a campaign to win employment of Negro drivers on the local bus lines, and our council has thrown its support to this movement. A united Negro community is emerging on the scene in the common struggle for jobs.

NEGRO FISHERMEN CHALLENGE THE MAN

The heroic struggle of the Manhadden fishermen along the Atlantic coast promises to be one of the outstanding labor struggles in the history of our country. These 5,000 Negro fishermen have been on strike for nearly two years to force this 25 million dollar industry to recognise the union and to bargain in good faith. For 75 years the Negro fishermen have performed one of the most dangerous of all occupations -- that of hauling the precious Manhadden from the sea. When the fish are running they are forced to work 20 hours a day, 7 days a week, with no overtime pay for repairing boats and nets.

From the beginning the bosses refused to discuss the fishermen's demands. To negotiate with Negroes was out of the question. They had the state government and the police on their side, and generations of racist oppression which they thought would keep the "Negro in his place."

Under the leadership of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, however, these workers have challenged the anti-union, anti-people, white supremacist in the Manhadden fishing industry, and with the support of their wives and the community are conducting one of the most militant strikes in labor history!

STRONG MAN COMING ON

The south today is producing new fearless leaders among the Negro people -- steeled in struggle and determined to be free. This new Negro emerging in the south is best symbolized in the person of our council's National Vice President at large from Bessamer, Alabama, Brother Asbury Howard, who is also Southern Regional Director of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

The occasions on which the Klu Klux Klan and the anti-Negro elements in the labor movement have been made to retract under his leadership are too numerous to record here. The battle that took place in the Red Ore Mountain region near

Bessamer, where he and his colleagues defended themselves against the guns of unscrupulous steel union organizers and Klan elements, is perhaps the epic struggle of our time.

FREE OUR HAND

The struggles now taking place in the south are key to the overall struggle of working people to throw off the yoke of oppression all over America. With grave economic problems facing our country growing out of the cold war, and the man's program of fascism in an attempt to ride out the threatening depression, it behoves all of us to support the struggles of the Negro people in the south for full freedom and for unity. THERE CAN BE NO FULL FREEDOM OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN OTHER SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY UNLESS THE BLACK BELT OF THE SOUTH IS SET FREE! THERE CAN BE NO FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN AMERICA UNTIL THE SOUTH IS ORGANIZED ON A DEMOCRATIC BASIS! There can be no real democracy in our country for black or white as long as the Negro masses in the black belt of the south are hemmed in and persecuted because the masses have not awakened to the evils of white supremacy!

We, your black sons and daughters of the south maintain that we can make a major contribution to the nation and the world, if the necessary means are put at our disposal. We need literature, organizational assistance, and most of all money. Give us these tools and we will not only make the south a safer place to live, but a safer place for those Negroes who left to come back to.

All we ask is that you free our hand!

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
DECEMBER 4, 5, 6, 1953
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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RESOLUTION ON JOBS AND FEPC

The concentration of the NNLC on struggles for economic equality, for new jobs for Negro workers and with emphasis on jobs for Negro women, already has proved to be the key — the first long step to full freedom of the Negro people. Not only has it served to unite Negroes from broad sections of the community in common struggle, but it has proved to be the anvil upon which a high degree of unity between Negro and white workers has been forged.

The Negro people and their allies among the white workers have demonstrated again and again all over this land that the economic walls of Jim Crow will come tumbling down under the force generated by the insistent demands and the organized struggles of a people united and determined to have freedom.

The weight of our jobs fight has been felt in every phase of American life. In winning jobs in such places as Sears-Roebuck, General Electric, the public utilities, the white collar field, and numerous business enterprises servicing the Negro ghetto, we have not only gained entree to thousands of jobs traditionally closed to Negroes, but have been the pace-setters in the overall struggle to bring economic freedom of black America.

Our jobs fight has brought a new awareness on the American scene of the evil effects of the poisonous ideology of white supremacy. More and more organizations, trade unions, Negro people's organizations, civic groups, church groups and others are adopting anti-discrimination programs, recognizing that Jim Crow and job discrimination are devices of the employers designed to drive down the living standards of all workers, black and white.

More and more unions are calling conferences around the vital question of eliminating discrimination in industry, and numerous collective bargaining agreements now include our model contract clause. The need for FEPC legislation on a federal, state and local level is becoming a matter of growing concern.

Our fight, however, has just begun. 1953 finds the American people, and particularly the Negro people, facing new and growing problems as a result of the sharpeneing economic crisis in our country growing out of the cold war and the tension that prevails in the world.

The stifling of world trade through high tariffs and embargoes, in short, the "economic blockades", has shrunk the foreign markets for American goods and has increased the dangers of unemployment and depression as witnessed by layoffs now taking place in the farm equipment, textile, auto, steel industries and spreading to other basic industries in our country — and these layoffs are increasing. Negro workers who in the main do not have comparable seniority to white workers in industry are already joining the army of unemployed in disproportion.

In face of these new factors, and in order to turn back the tide, we must not only pursue our present program, but must step up our jobs fight and direct our fires at the enemy stronghold — the basic sections of industry.

One of the largest and most basic sections of industry that must be tackled by our Council is our nation's giant railroad industry. Over a period of many years, they have not only barred Negroes from the more skilled and higher-paying jobs, but systematically have worked to make those jobs traditionally held by Negroes lily-white. In carrying out this program the railroads have had the support of the federal government and have been aided by the Jim Crow policies of the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Under the Railway Labor Act the government controls the policies of this industry. In addition to the people's tax money being used to subsidize the railroads, the government has granted lush contracts for mail carrying, transporting troops, moving freight and many other like services. In spite of the many complaints filed with the government on the part of Negro workers, the Railroad Mediation Board and the Railway Adjustment Board have consistently refused to give redress and have even denied Negro railway organizations the right to appear before these bodies when their cases are being handled. The fight to end job discrimination in this industry means tackling the economic problems of the Negro people at their source.

- more -

Our Councils can no longer be satisfied with winning a job here and there from this or that small enterprise, but must shift the emphasis to the giant trusts and monopolies who stand to gain most from Jim Crow. This means participation in well-planned, nationally coordinated jobs campaigns.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council will take every step necessary to see that the following program is carried out in the coming period:

(1) To concentrate on railroads as the key industry to crack this period, giving first priority to this phase of our jobs fight.

(2) To tackle the basic sections of industry — the giant trusts and monopolies which constitute the greatest threat to the Negro people and other minorities in our country.

(3) To especially direct our fire at the southern railroad industry where Negro workers who previously constituted the majority of the working force have been practically eliminated.

(4) To continue the fight to break Jim Crow in the General Electric chain, with special attention to the new southern plant in Louisville, Ky.

(5) To give special attention to our southern Councils' campaign to end Jim Crow in the textile and tobacco industries.

(6) To complete the unfinished task of cracking on a national scale the discriminatory hiring policy of Sears-Roebuck.

(7) To push for a model contract clause in every collective bargaining agreement in the country.

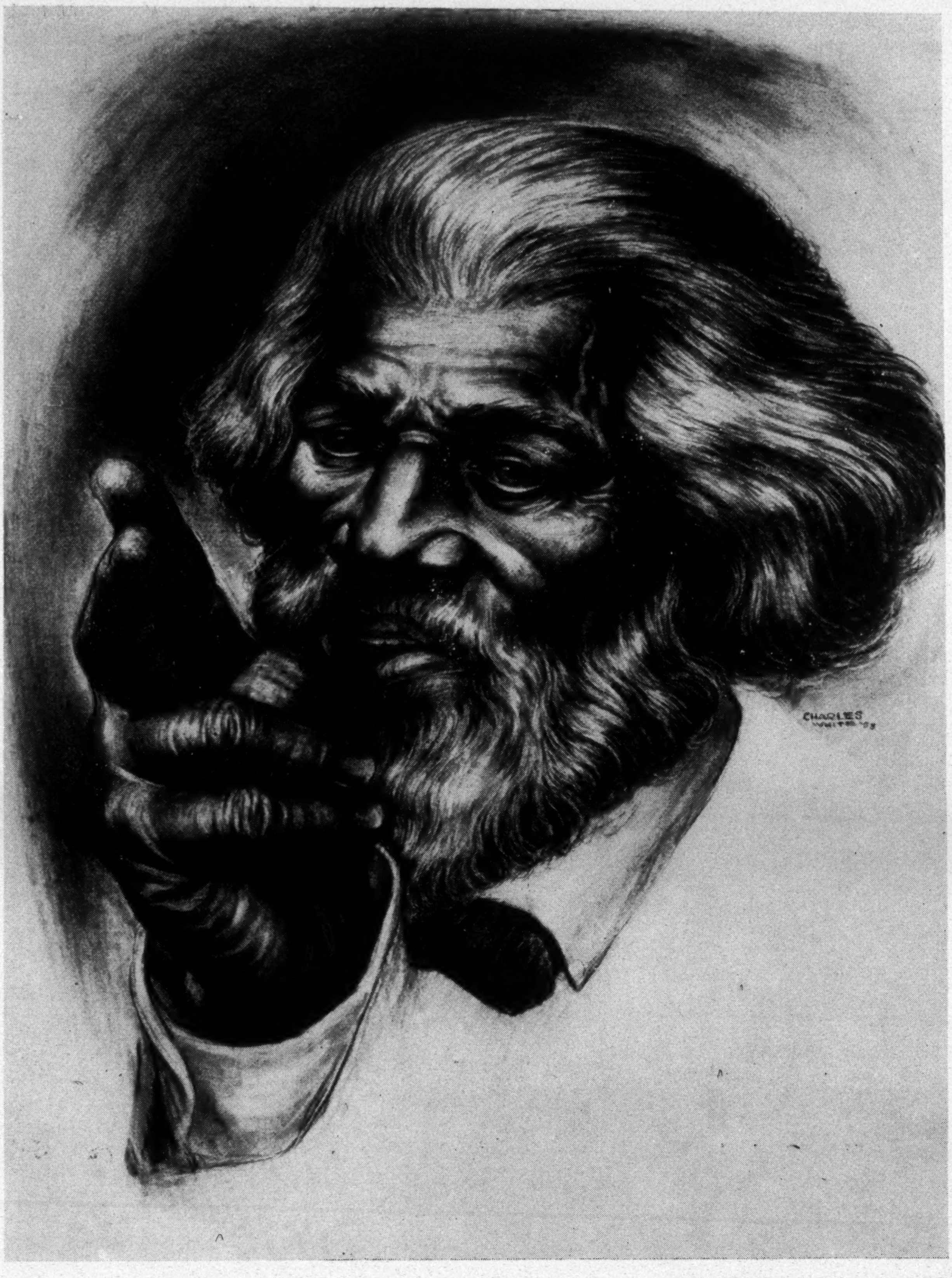
(8) To continue the fight for federal, state, and local FEPC legislation.

(9) To work with any and all organizations to achieve these ends.

(10) To fight for the restoration of world trade, to provide jobs for all American workers, black and white.

- end -

YEARBOOK



"Without Struggle There Is No Progress" . . . FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Third Annual Convention

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

DEC. 4-5-6, 1953, PERSHING HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILL.

Price .25

GREETINGS TO NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL ON THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION FROM THE FOLLOWING SHOP UNITS OF

LOCAL 453

UAW-CIO

* * *

ACME BARREL
BRIGHTLEY GALVANIZE
GENERATOR
NATIONAL MALLABLE MELROSE PARK
NATIONAL STEEL
STRICK TRAILER
MARAMONT AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTS

* * *

We Will Continue to Give Our Fullest Support to the Council and Its Program.

We Will Seek to Carry Forth the Decisions Into Our Shops and Community.

* * *

LOCAL 453

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

Statement of Principles . . .

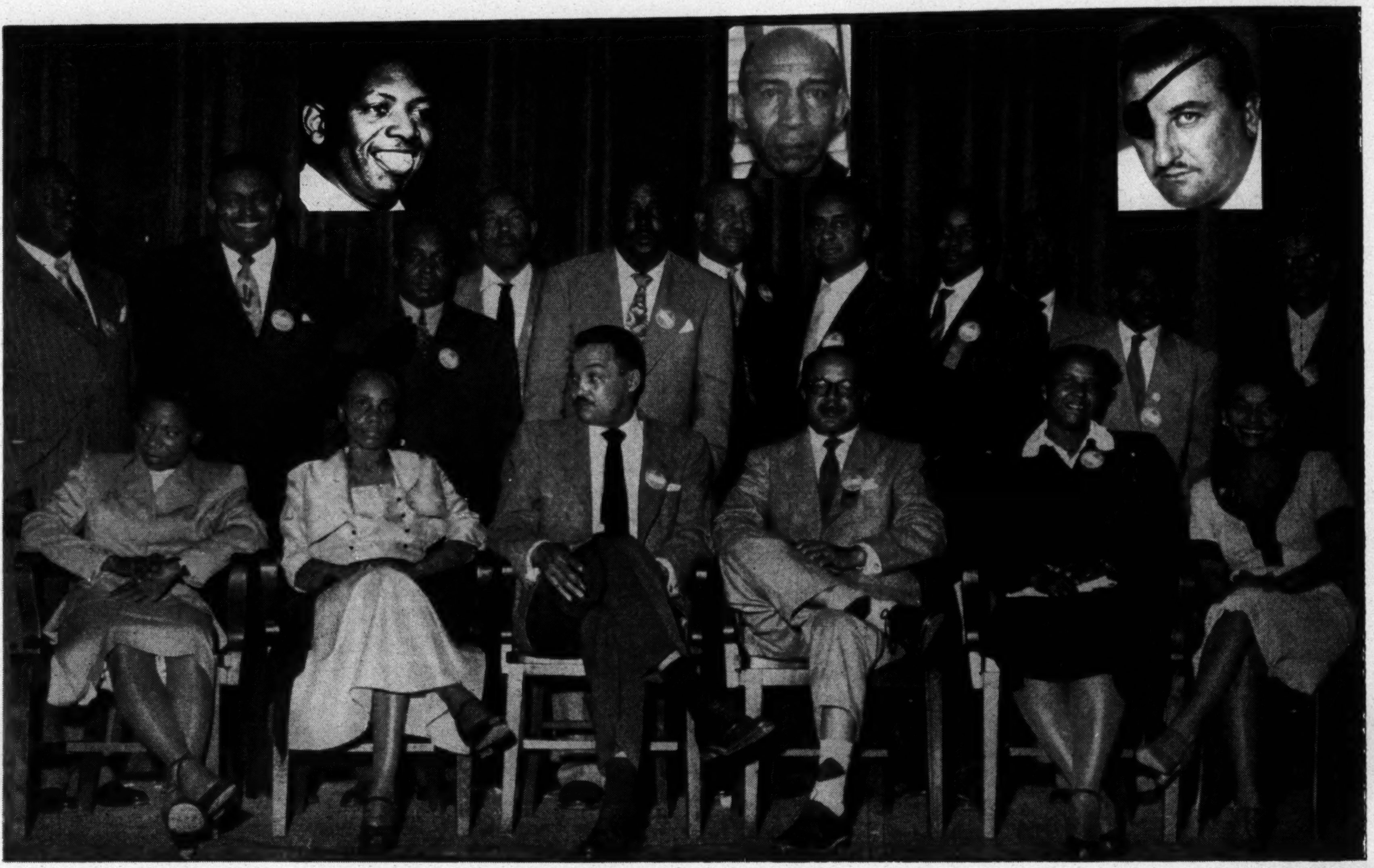
WE, THE MEMBERS of the Negro Labor Councils, believe that the struggle of the Negro people for first-class citizenship based on economic, political and social equality is in vain unless we as Negro workers, along with our white allies, are united to protect our people (Negro) against those forces who continue to deny us full citizenship.

Realizing that the old forms of organizations which were dedicated to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro people have been unable to bring full economic opportunity for the Negro worker in the factory, the mine, the mill, the office, in government; to stop wanton police killings of Negroes throughout the land; to stop mob violence against us; to bring the franchise to our brothers and sisters, in the South, and gain our full say in the political life of our country with proper representation in government on all levels; to buy and rent homes everywhere unrestricted; to use public facilities, restaurants, hotels, and the recreational facilities in town and country, we form the National Negro Labor Council (NNLC), an organization which unites all Negro workers with other suffering minorities and our allies among the white workers, and base ourselves on rank and file control regardless of age, sex, creed, political beliefs, or union affiliation, and pursue at all time a policy of militant struggle to improve our conditions. We pledge ourselves to labor unitedly for the principles herein set forth, to perpetuate our councils and work concertedly with other organizations that seek improvement for Negro and other oppressed minorities.

We further pledge ourselves to work unitedly with the trade unions to bring about greater cooperation between all sections of the Negro people and the trade union movement; to bring the principles of trade unionism to the Negro workers everywhere; to aid the trade unions in the great unfinished task of organizing the South on the basis of fraternity, equality and unity; and to further unity between black and white workers everywhere.

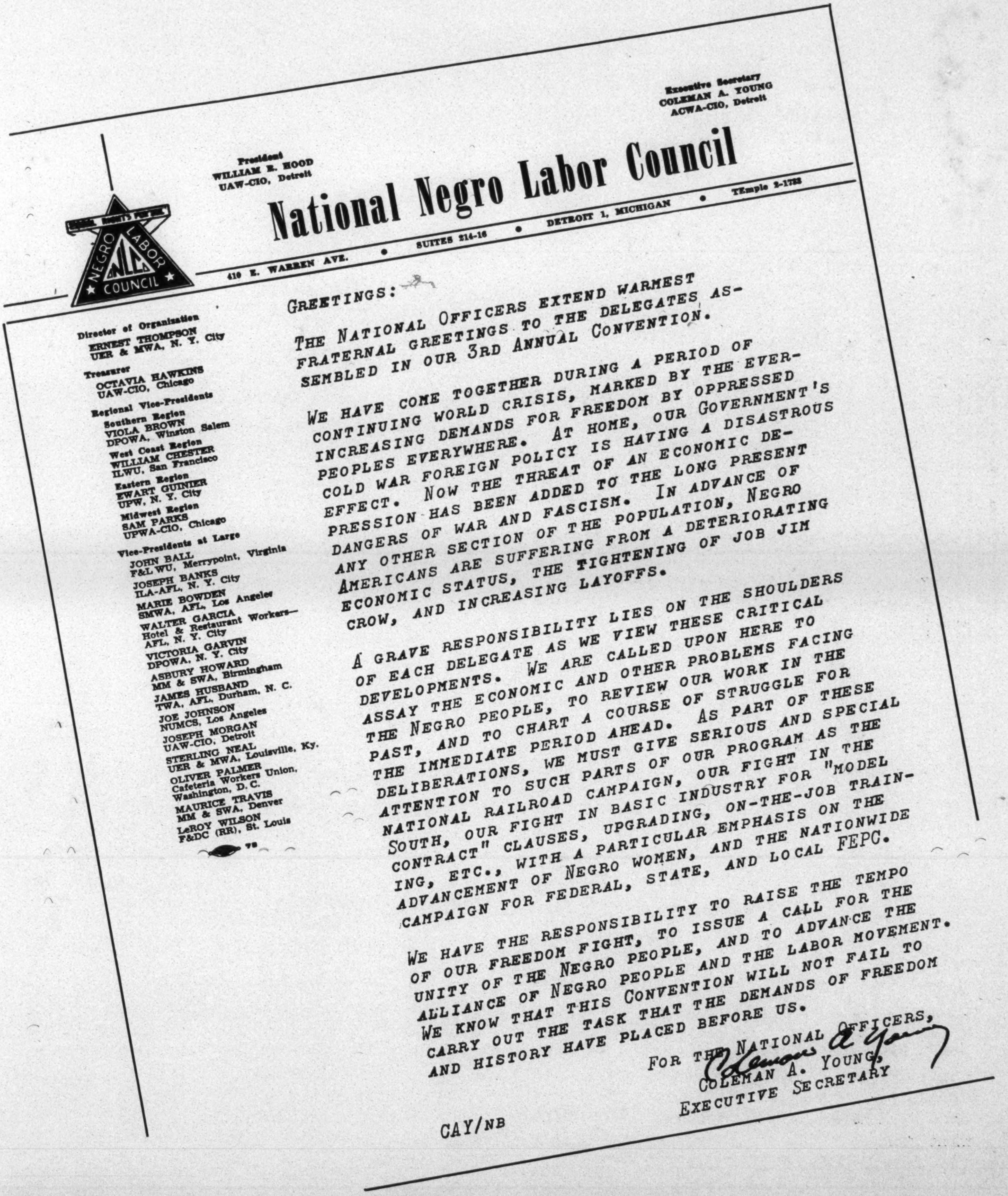
Preamble . . . Constitution of the NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

Greetings from the National



NNLC National Officers seated left to right: Marie Bowden, Vice-President, Los Angeles; Octavia Hawkins, Treasurer, Chicago; Coleman A. Young, Executive Secretary, Detroit; William R. Hood, President, Detroit; Viola Brown, Southern Vice-President, Winston-Salem; Victoria Garvin, Vice-President, NewYork. Standing, left to right: Asbury Howard, Southern Vice-President, Birmingham; William Chester, Western Vice-President, San Francisco; LeRoy Wilson, Vice-President, St. Louis; Ernest Thompson, Director of Organization, New York; Sam Parks, Midwest Vice-President, Chicago; Joseph Banks, Vice-President, New York; Ewart Guinier, Eastern Vice-President, New York; Sterling Neal, Vice-President, Louisville, Ky.; Joseph Morgan, Vice-President, Detroit; John Ball, Vice-President, Merrypoint, Va.; Oliver Palmer, Vice-President, Washington, D. C. Inserts, left to right: Joe Johnson, Vice-President, Los Angeles; James Husband, Vice-President, Durham, N. C.; Maurice Travis, Vice-President, Denver. Missing from picture: Walter Garcia, Vice-President, New York.

Officers . . .



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WILLIAM R. HOOD
UAW-CIO, Detroit

National Negro Labor Council

Executive Secretary
COLEMAN A. YOUNG
ACWA-CIO, Detroit

410 E. WARREN AVE. • SUITES 214-16 • DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN • TEmple 2-1733

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OLIVER PALMER
Cafeteria Workers Union,
Washington, D. C.
MAURICE TRAVIS
MM & SWA, Denver
LeROY WILSON
F&DC (RR), St. Louis

GREETINGS:

THE NATIONAL OFFICERS EXTEND WARMEST FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO THE DELEGATES ASSEMBLED IN OUR 3RD ANNUAL CONVENTION.

WE HAVE COME TOGETHER DURING A PERIOD OF CONTINUING WORLD CRISIS, MARKED BY THE EVER-INCREASING DEMANDS FOR FREEDOM BY OPPRESSED PEOPLES EVERYWHERE. AT HOME, OUR GOVERNMENT'S COLD WAR FOREIGN POLICY IS HAVING A DISASTROUS EFFECT. NOW THE THREAT OF AN ECONOMIC DEPRESSION HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE LONG PRESENT DANGERS OF WAR AND FASCISM. IN ADVANCE OF ANY OTHER SECTION OF THE POPULATION, NEGRO AMERICANS ARE SUFFERING FROM A DETERIORATING ECONOMIC STATUS, THE TIGHTENING OF JOB JIM CROW, AND INCREASING LAYOFFS.

A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY LIES ON THE SHOULDERS OF EACH DELEGATE AS WE VIEW THESE CRITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. WE ARE CALLED UPON HERE TO ASSAY THE ECONOMIC AND OTHER PROBLEMS FACING THE NEGRO PEOPLE, TO REVIEW OUR WORK IN THE PAST, AND TO CHART A COURSE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE IMMEDIATE PERIOD AHEAD. AS PART OF THESE DELIBERATIONS, WE MUST GIVE SERIOUS AND SPECIAL ATTENTION TO SUCH PARTS OF OUR PROGRAM AS THE NATIONAL RAILROAD CAMPAIGN, OUR FIGHT IN THE SOUTH, OUR FIGHT IN BASIC INDUSTRY FOR "MODEL CONTRACT" CLAUSES, UPGRADING, ON-THE-JOB TRAINING, ETC., WITH A PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE ADVANCEMENT OF NEGRO WOMEN, AND THE NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL FEPC.

WE HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY TO RAISE THE TEMPO OF OUR FREEDOM FIGHT, TO ISSUE A CALL FOR THE UNITY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE, AND TO ADVANCE THE ALLIANCE OF NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. WE KNOW THAT THIS CONVENTION WILL NOT FAIL TO CARRY OUT THE TASK THAT THE DEMANDS OF FREEDOM AND HISTORY HAVE PLACED BEFORE US.

FOR THE NATIONAL OFFICERS,
Coleman A. Young
COLEMAN A. YOUNG,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

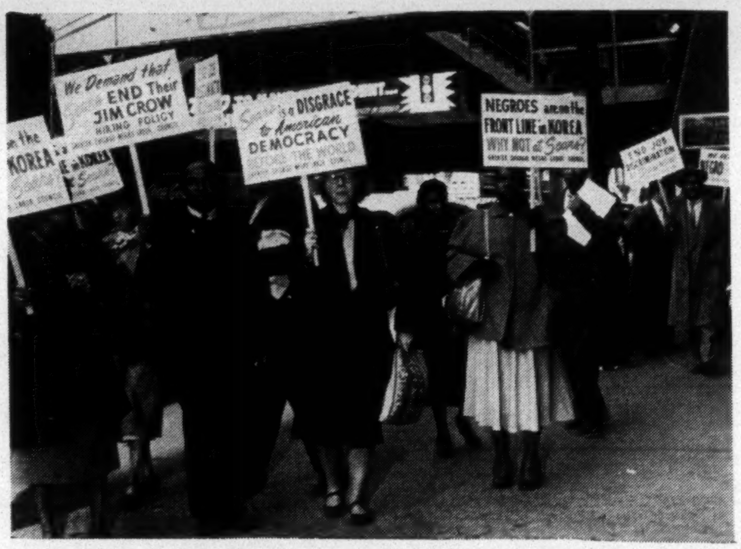
CAY/NB

Welcome to Chicago . . .

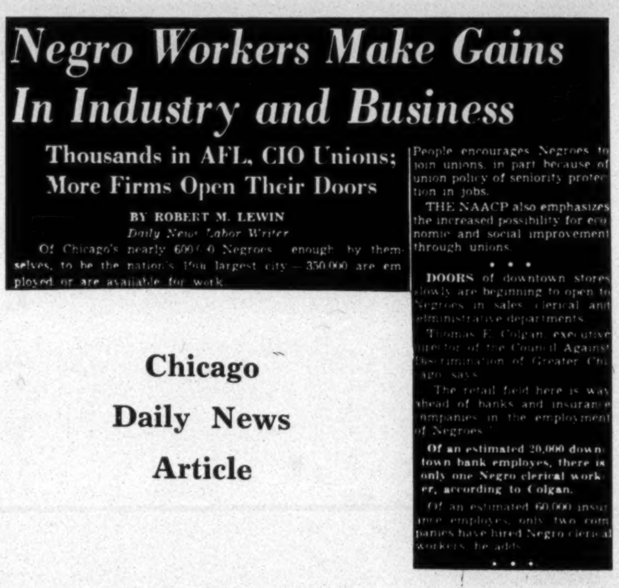
Chicago
Negro
Labor
Council

Women's Committee Second Annual Tea

This . . . Contributed to . . . This


We Demand that END Their JIM CROW HIRING POLICY
is a DISGRACE to American DEMOCRACY BEFORE THE WORLD
NEGROES are on the FRONT LINE in KOREA WHY NOT at Sears?
on the KOREA
END JOB DISCRIMINATION

Sears Picket Line



Negro Workers Make Gains In Industry and Business

Thousands in AFL, CIO Unions; More Firms Open Their Doors

BY ROBERT M. LEWIN
Daily News Labor Writer

Of Chicago's nearly 600,000 Negroes — enough by themselves, to be the nation's 10th largest city — 350,000 are employed or are available for work.

People encourages Negroes to join unions, in part because of union policy of seniority protection in jobs.

THE NAACP also emphasizes the increased possibility for economic and social improvement through unions.

• • •

DOORS of downtown stores slowly are beginning to open to Negroes in sales, clerical and administrative departments.

Thomas E. Colgan, executive director of the Council Against Discrimination of Greater Chicago, says:

"The retail field here is way ahead of banks and insurance companies in the employment of Negroes."

Of an estimated 20,000 downtown bank employes, there is only one Negro clerical worker, according to Colgan.

Of an estimated 60,000 insurance employes, only two companies have hired Negro clerical workers, he adds.

• • •

Chicago
Daily News
Article

ONE YEAR AGO the article appearing here could not have been printed by the Chicago Daily press. This is not to say that the new situation on State Street is totally a result of our Council's activities, for other groups have in their own way also helped to bring the hiring of Negroes by all of the major downtown stores excepting Sears Roebuck and Company. We will continue our activity until Sears adopts a Fair Employment Policy.

INDUSTRY: Our Council members in industry have been outstanding in their work to help gear their unions to give more attention to the problem of eliminating discrimination in hiring and upgrading. The most outstanding job in Chicago has been the Packinghouse Workers Union. In the coming year our Council intends to give more attention to working among the industrial sections of our city.

GREETINGS FROM

RAILROAD FOOD WORKERS UNION

CHICAGO DISTRICT

◆

Congratulations For All The Fine Work That You Have Done For Our People. We Hope You Will Continue. We Welcome Your Participation and Activity to End Jim Crow In the Railroad Industry.

◆

We Have a Large Fine Hall for Rent for All Occasions

FINE LOCATION — MODERATELY PRICED

SEE OR CALL MR. COBBS

6245 COTTAGE GROVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS HY. 3-3177

Greetings to National Negro Labor Council

ON THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION FROM

Chicago Leather Workers, Local 43

INTERNATIONAL FUR & LEATHER WORKERS UNION

* * *

WE WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT FOR NEGRO AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS.

* * *

WE CONGRATULATE THE COUNCIL ON ITS ACHIEVEMENTS.

* * *

WE PLEDGE TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE COUNCIL AND ITS PROGRAM.

Greetings for a Successful Convention

END JOB DISCRIMINATION
IN ALL INDUSTRY

* * *

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF

LOCAL

347, UPWA-CIO

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

HURK PHARMACY

P. GUTTILLA, R. Ph.

* * *

1201 N. Wells Street, cor. Division Street

* * *

PHONE MIchigan 2-0188

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

GREETINGS TO THE . . .

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

FROM THE UNDERSIGNED DELEGATES TO THE
18th ANNUAL UE CONVENTION HELD IN CHICAGO,
SEPTEMBER 21st THROUGH 25th
CONGRESS HOTEL

DOROTHY KONETZ
JOHN WRIGHT
RUTH ALLEN
MRS. LOREN McGRICK
CARL MAYAIN
TONIE SENTNER
MRS. PAUL PREAC
MR. and MRS. MELVIN HUPMAN
MARGARET LONDY
MARY DeMAIO
RUTH GOJACK
F. W. STOVER
TOM WRIGHT
ADOLPH ROBIN
MRS. ELIZABETH DEGNAN
MRS. ELIZABETH CRAWFORD
INA LaMIAUX
ASHTON MARSHALL
FRANK J. TLOPA
EDWARD McKINLEY
WILLIE WELLS
WILLIE P. STOREY
JAMES OFFUTT
V. B. EDWARDS
WILLIAM T. NULY
FLORENCE ROMIG
ROGER E. JACOBSON
RAY FRANSEN
LEWIS KING
R. B. WILLIAMS
L. SEBASTIAN
RICHARD KRATZ
W. J. TOWNSEND
THOS. WELTON
JOS. KUKUCKA
RUSSELL NEWMAN
EUGENE TOOKE
EDWARD J. ZUBRICKAS
LAWRENCE L. GEBO
JAMES DeMASSEO
DEL HOLCOMB
HAROLD BUCK
JOSEPH VINCI
CARL PAYNE
BENTON SUTER
R. J. SMOGER
McKINLEY WHEELER
CURTISS VAN METRE
HAROLD W. MORRIS
CY PELAR
HARVEY GORDON
JOHN A. TREDY
ARCHER COLE
W. HAMILTON

CARL MUELLER
ED MILLER
LINDA FRANKLIN
WM. EWASKIW
SYLVIA COHEN
VICTOR CASALE
NICK LONGO
FRANK MURPHY
HARRY RASSI
ANTHONY LIZZANO
J. GILLAGHM
IDA HOLLUM
C. ZIEGLER
M. SIGGINS
HARRY V. PHELPS
JOHN BODEN
GENEVA BOOTH
ARTHUR EISENBERG
M. WHEDBEE
NAT B. JORDAN
EDWARD LANDY
FRANK A. CMENO
A FRIEND
A FRIEND
RITA KOCHERT
DOROTHY HARWOOD
JUANITA BIGGS
TOM TYLER
BURNIS AYERS
MARVIN DUCKERT
JAMES A. KANDT
RAY HOAGLAND
CARL W. BLACK
HELEN SMOKER
KATHERINE DIXON
MARY JANE BAKER
WILLIAM A. IVES
GEORGE T. CAPE
VERA FISEL
ELDA MEKL
RUTH DANIELS
WINFORD ALLEN
WILLIAM DELL
NOBLE COCHRAN
S. M. WEIDEMIER
DAVID MATES
CHARLES RELLY
MELVIN TROUT
HENRY STAUFFER
BILL THANIEL
DAVID WINBURN
ROBEY DEMPS
BILL ELCONIR
CARL BROUT

LUPE MENESES
ANDREW MONTGOMERY
CHARLES W. HOBBIE
WILLIAM STROOPE
OSCAR BYAM
A. J. EBERHARD
G. HARRIS
SHIRLEY W. PORTER
WM. R. SMITH
JOHN A. PETURSCH
HERBERT EVELANDS
RITA EBLE
H. H. ESPENLAUB
G. L. KORNELL
THOMAS WALKER
JIM PAYNE
W. H. ALLEN
ELMER RALPH
CHARLES SCHMIDT
LOREN MYRICK
CHAS. WOODRUFF
CARL MARSHALL
CHAS. T. FRIDAY
WM. S.
WALTER BALASZ
JOSEPH CRAWFORD
THOMAS DIGNAN
MAUDE LEWIS
MAVIS KENT
JAMES SCOTT
ELWOOD J. HAIRSTON
CHAS. BURKE
MILDRED CORNWELL
ALFRED ELLIS
AGNES FEEHRER
ROSEMARY W. KING
FRANK PALAGGI
VINCENT NERERICE
MARY THOME
JOE STERN
MARIE J. REED
ALBERT J. KENDALL
CHARLES STEINES
KATHERINE PAYNE
PEARL LAWS
DOROTHY BURCH
JOYCE A. GRUMADAS
HAROLD F. SCHROEDER
A FRIEND
M. MEAGHER
JOE DERMODZ
JANET BARISH
THELMA SLAPPY

GREETINGS TO THE

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

National Negro Labor Council

FROM

UE District Council 8

2100 THIRD AVENUE

ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS

GREETINGS

LOCAL 810

United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers

OF AMERICA

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

THE CLOVER CLUB

802 E. 63rd STREET

and

THE BAGDAD

840 E. 63rd STREET

SALUTES NEGRO LABOR UNIONS WITH 100% UNION HELP IN BOTH PLACES

GREETINGS FROM . . .

Packinghouse Workers
Local 25, UPWA-CIO

* * *

"END JIM CROW IN RAILROAD INDUSTRY"

GREETINGS

LEXINGTON LAUNDRY AND CLEANERS

FA. 4-0732 1214 E. 61st STREET

SERVING THIS NEIGHBORHOOD SINCE 1910

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

GREETINGS FROM

LAKESIDE FURNITURE

COMPLIMENTS OF

JIM'S LIQUOR STORE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

GREETINGS FROM . . .

PERSHING LIQUOR STORE

BU. 8-6466-7 • Free Delivery

"END JOB DISCRIMINATION"

HARRISON DERUISA

Greetings From Tri-State Area

GREETINGS FROM

DURHAM NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

P. O. Box 1795
Durham, N. C.

GREETINGS FROM

Winston-Salem Negro Labor Council

Rm. 204 135 E. Third Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

For Justice in the South

THE PEOPLE'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 2008
Winston-Salem, N. C.

GREETINGS

MIRMELLI DRUGS

L. MIRELLI, B.S.R. PH. A. G. GORYN R, PH.
441 W. DIVISION ST. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
Phone WHitehall 4-6080 RE 6. No. 11338

COMPLIMENTS OF

BEATRICE M. LANUM, R. N.

LEO M. GOLDMAN MARVIN M. HIRSCH

GREETINGS FROM . . .

LOCAL 1150, UE

TO A FIGHTING ORGANIZATION

Build Unity of Negro and White Labor

GREETINGS FROM CHICAGO FRIENDS

A Friend, J. Reaves, Ralph Turner, C. J. Crawford, Boone M. Childs, W. H. Wangerin, N. S. Wigfall

---

CHICAGO DELIVERY SERVICE, Inc.

RADIO DISPATCHED

BUtterfield 8-0400
361-3-5 E. 6st Street

HUMPHRIES BROTHERS FINE CLEANING

373 EAST 61st STREET

Much Success in Your Effort to Eliminate Job Discrimination

GREETINGS

QUALITY CLEANERS

Chicago, Illinois

GREETINGS

QUINN'S SERVICE STATION

Superior Service to a Neighbor.
Greasing - Washing by Experts

58th and Wabash Ave.
Chicago 37, Illinois

GREETINGS AND WISHING YOU A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION TO BETTER CONDITIONS FOR NEGRO WORKERS

IRVING and DOROTHY GLENN

GOD BLESS NNLC

Senior Missionary Society
Mt. Sinai Baptist Church

Compliments of

Dr. Charles B. Homes
Optometrist

ALLEN'S GROCERY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

GREETINGS

740 BARBER SHOP

Satisfactory Service for Men, Women and Children

740 E. 63rd Street
Chicago, Ill.

Greetings To The

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

A Friend of Paul Robeson

GREETINGS

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
CONVENTION 1953

OTTO MASCHOFF
St. Louis, Missouri

GREETINGS FROM

O'HARE'S TAVERN

1315 N. Kingshighway
St. Louis, Missouri

GREETINGS FROM

A FRIEND

Forward to a Great Convention

GREETINGS FROM

THE ST. LOUIS EMERGENCY DEFENSE COMMITTEE

GREETINGS IN SUPPORT OF THE FIGHT FOR JOBS BY

ST. LOUIS NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

A FRIEND

Greetings To The Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council

ARTS, SCIENCES and PROFESSIONS

St. Louis, Missouri

Greetings To The Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council

WOMEN WILLING WORKERS CLUB

St. Louis, Missouri

From left to right: Hershel Walker, Executive Secretary; Orvil Leach, Vice-President; Mrs. Johnnie Perry, Secretary-Treasurer; Wesley Hornsby, Sgt.-at-Arms. (James Moore, President, is in the hospital).

Greetings from the

ST. LOUIS NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

We Greet the Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council

THE ST. LOUIS Council's struggle with Sears-Roebuck and Company in the past year has given us courage and confidence that the St. Louis Chapter of the National Negro Labor Council can win a victory at Sears, and this will open the door for a broader fight for jobs for Negro women in all the large department stores in St. Louis.

The St. Louis Council has been in a constant fight with the Sears Company since May, 1952 and since September 11, 1952 a picket line and a leaflet distribution has been going on in front of the store.

We still are bringing in new forces in this fight, hoping to end this part of the fight as soon as possible. Some progress has been made in the St. Louis area on the hiring and upgrading of Negro workers in general. The Council has given its full support in the fight for upgrading of Negroes in construction work and has made some progress, Negro carpenters and bricklayers have been hired on the public housing project and this fight will continue.

A fight for a State FEPC law is beginning and the Local Council pledges full support in this fight. Our Local Council pledges greater support to the National Office in the following year than in the past, and will work harder to build our Local Council.

WE WARMLY GREET

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
of the
NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

* * *

YOUR GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO TRUE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY WILL HELP TO SHAPE HISTORY

* * *

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

DENVER, COLORADO

Greetings From the Greater

Partial showing of officers of GNYNLC: John Elmore, Tom Sullivan, Robert Whiley, Vickie Garvin, Roy Best, Arnold Kolodny. Not Shown: Joseph Banks, Walter Garcia, James Malloy, Nina Evans, Lula Stone Jones, Kathryn Nelson, Wilfred Coger, Stanley Rosenberg.

The Greater New York Negro Labor Council

salutes our staunch members and friends who have remained firm in battle this past year. We pledge continued and full support to the victory that will be be ours for freedom and democracy.

MORE AND BETTER JOBS FOR NEGRO WORKER

★ Hotel industry: Since the Cleveland Convention, our steady hammering has produced the following "cracks" in the hotels' "iron curtain":

5 Negro maids upgraded to housekeeper at the Statler, Taft and Whitehall hotels; 1 Negro maid upgraded to floor supervisor at the Park Sheraton; 1 Negro waitress hired at the St. George (now union delegate for her shop); 1 Negro waiter upgraded at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Picket lines, 40,000 leaflets, 5,000 postcards, community street meetings, and protests from local unions, hotel guests and the general public forced these managements to "open the door." Hotel and Club Employees, AFL, has now offered $500.00 award for outstanding contribution to fight against discrimination.

★ Brewery industry: Following the first breakthrough in hiring last year, our Brooklyn chapter this fall secured agreement of F&M Schaefer to retain 4 Negro workers on permanent basis, and to hire 20 Negroes for seasonal work next year.

UNITY WITH OUR SOUTHERN BROTHERS AND SISTERS

★ Regular leaflet distributions in front of General Electric's home office in support of our Louisville NLC's campaign for hiring of Negro production workers at GE's new plant.

★ Sale of hundreds of "I gave to the South" buttons.

★ Collection of funds for our southern campaign.

New York NLC Convention, Sept. '53

New York Negro Labor Council

- ★ Postcards to R. J. Reynolds, joining demands of our Tri-State Council for hiring and retention of Negro women workers.
- ★ Special meeting on problems of southern electrical, tobacco and fishery workers, featuring Asbury Howard, NNLC Vice-President and newly elected Vice-President of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

BUILDING NEGRO-LABOR UNITY

- ★ Testimony at N. Y. Minimum Wage Board hearing, supporting higher wages for hotel workers. Leaflets joining their fight for contract wage increase.
- ★ Contribution to strikers of Chicago Thrift, members of Intl. Metal Engravers and Marking Device Workers, AFL.
- ★ Statement to Gov. Dewey's State Crime Commission hearing protesting legislation establishing state controlled hiring hall and fingerprinting for longshoremen.
- ★ Protest against strike-breaking, union-busting activities of Hearn's Department Store against members of District 65, CIO.
- ★ Participation in union conferences on problems of women workers.
- ★ Protest against T-H indictment of Hugh Bryson, President, Marine Cooks and Stewards Union.
- ★ Hail of FEP conferences of United Packinghouse and United Auto Workers Unions.
- ★ Participation in convention of Committee for the Negro in the Arts.

POLITICAL ACTION

Participation as leaders and rank-and-filers in

- ★ Fight for Negro representation in city government, which recently resulted in election of first Negro Manhattan Borough President.

WE DEMAND
BETTER JOBS
FOR
NEGRO WOMEN

Picket Line at Hotel Statler

- ★ New York State hearings on housing legislation
- ★ Campaigns involving police brutality.
- ★ Conferences demanding repeal of McCarran Act.
- ★ Support for Rep. A. C. Powell's bills on FEPC and end to discrimination in Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK CITY NLC CONVENTION

Held successful convention last September, attended by 215 delegates and observers from 32 AFL, CIO and Independent local unions, and several community groups. Herbert Hill of NAACP and Burt Beck of IUE-CIO were present as observers. Reported more than 900 new members since last National Convention. Adopted resolutions on right of NNLC to live and to fight; civil rights and civil liberties; defense of Negro leadership; repeal of Hughes-Brees law; recall of Byrnes from United Nations; end of house arrest of Paul Robeson; for more Negro representation in government; end of colonial rule in Africa; for world peace. Mapped plans to launch campaign for jobs in railroad industry, as well as to step up the General Electric and hotel jobs fight. Agreed to hold city-wide conference next year on economic problems of Negro women.

We Greet Your Third Convention and Are Gratified for Your Support In the Fight Against Job Discrimination In the Hotel Industry.

Negro Hotel & Restaurant Workers and Bartenders Association, N.Y.C.

GREETINGS . . .

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL FROM NEW YORK FRIENDS AND MEMBERS

ARNOLD KOLODNY
A FRIEND
FRANCES BORIS
MR. SCHIFFMAN
A FRIEND
R. CHRISTIAN
G. CHRISTIAN
I. BEAUCHAMP
J. FERER
MANUEL MARTINEZ
JULIUS VASQUEZ
A FRIEND
M. GOTLEBB
ALICE BELMONT
A FRIEND
FREDDIE BIRTHWRITE
ART HENRI
M. BIANCA
A FRIEND
A FRIEND

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

FROM THE

**FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL
OF NEW YORK**

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

**Joint Board
Fur Dressers' and Dyers' Unions**

109 WEST 26th STREET

SAM BURT, Manager

LEON STRAUS, Executive Secretary

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

LOCAL 475

UERMWA

* * *

160 MONTAGUE STREET

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

GREETINGS TO THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION FROM

New York and Brooklyn Friends

ROBERT PAUL
PETER VAN DELFT
M. SCARSBOROUGH
JAMES KIRKLAND
DAVID J. WOOD
FRANCES W. ZEIS
QILLIE RHENS
WILLIAM ALLEN
PRESTON GLADNEY
JAMES B. HOOPER
JOHN JONES
CHARLES FAY
STEVE COLLINS
ASHTON MARSHALL
MIKE NIGRIS
ROOSEVELT MONTAGUE
AL WHITE
CARL WISE
ROY BEST
FLIMEN MONTAGUE
PAUL MILLER
LEON TABER
LEO LUBIN
LEON SHAW
NORMAN LONDON
GOLDY FLON
ANDRE CARBE
ALTHEA CAINES
HERBERT SCHMERLER

ROY McLEOD
JOHN LOPEZ
FANNIE MILLER
FRED STOVER
MERGIE ANSORGE
BERT ALVES
OSCAR BOWMAN
BOB WHILEY
PAULA WHILEY
SONIA CHAIKIN
SHELTON MADDOX
JOSH GREEN
J. T. WOOLSEY
DOREE PRICE
HATTIE BATES
GEORGE MURPHY
JOHN GRAY
A FRIEND
VICKIE GARVIN
LEWIS PERCIKOW
FRANK BERMAN
HARRY KERNER
WILLIAM SURENKO
ABE TERSHON
PEARL CLARK
MARY CARROLL
EDNA ROOKE
JOHN BROWN
DOROTHY THOMAS

MARGUERETTE SHAW
EILEEN WENTZEL
AGNES BILLER
GRACE ALISCINA
THEOLA GARRETT
VICTOR GARRETT
VICTOR TEICH
FRANCES COX
CHARLIE BELL
LILLIAN ROSS
SIMON GESON
RUTH BALL
JAMES PATTERSON
BERT ROBERTS
HENRY WALKER
MANNER WERTZ
SAMUEL RICHARDSON
SAMSON MILLS
LORENZO LAW
WM. BLACKWELL
LAURA MADDELL
BEN MILLER
SHEALAR WEISMAN
MURRAY SHERMAN
PROJECT FOOD CENTER
E. D. JONES
RUTH SCHIENBERG
JOSEPH VANTERPOOL

GREETINGS TO THE 3rd CONVENTION OF THE

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

The American Communications Association, by unanimous convention vote, adopted the following program against discrimination:

"1. To fight vigorously for compulsory federal fair employment practices through legislation or presidential executive order, and for an FEPC clause in every union contract..

2. To support all efforts to enact effective anti-poll tax and anti-lynch legislation.

3. To condemn with all the power at our command police brutality visited on the Negro people and on other minorities and to demand effective action to bring the guilty to book.

4. To demand immediate effective action by the federal government to insure that the perpetrators of the Miami bombings and killings are caught and properly punished for their crimes.

5. To support adequate legislation, locally and on a national scale to prohibit discrimination or segregation in housing and education."

We express our continued support for this program and our appreciation of the great efforts of the National Negro Labor Council in behalf of similar objectives. We extend the good wishes of our membership to the Convention and their support to the struggle to achieve full citizenship for the Negro People.

AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

Joseph P. Selly, *President*

Joseph F. Kehoe, *Secretary-Treasurer*

WE SALUTE THE 3rd ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

In the name of the millions of black and white Americans whose lives have been warped and distorted by the deliberate development of a racist "culture" and religious prejudices which, while creating great wealth for a few, create poverty and disease leading to premature death for many — We cry:

"Put an end to all repressive legislation curbing freedom of speech, press, and assembly, and making for thought-control and a police state.

"Smash the fetters that tie the hands of labor; let it take its rightful place in the leadership of national affairs.

"End the terror against militant Negro leadership.

"Free those political prisoners whose only crime is that they led in the fight for peace as against war and democracy as against McCarthyism.

"Make every expression of racism, religious prejudice and hatred of the foreign born a national crime against the people.

"Let the democracy of a free people govern the relations of men that we may live in peace with respect for human dignity and equal justice for all."

To these things we pledge ourselves.

Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

FOR THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

POLITICAL PRISONERS RELIEF COMMITTEE CRC

1951 THIRD ANNIVERSARY 1954

Freedom

A Newspaper That Fights For

Equality Freedom Peace

SUBSCRIBE TODAY

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53 WEST 125th STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

GREETINGS FROM

MEMBERS OF

LOCAL 107

PAPER BAG AND NOVELTY WORKERS, AFL

NEW YORK CITY

LOCAL
430

UERMWA EXTENDS WARM FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO MEMBERS AND OFFICERS OF NNLC ON THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Council On African Affairs

53 W. 125th STREET N. Y. C.

GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES
MEMBERS OF

Local 140,
Furniture Workers,
C.I.O., N.Y.C.

GREETINGS
FROM THE WORKERS OF THE

SUPREME KNITTING
MACHINE COMPANY

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

A
Friend

Fraternal Greetings to the Negro Labor Council
On Your Third Convention

We Support Your Fight Against Job Discrimination
In the Hotel Industry

Group of Hotel Workers,
Local 6, NYC

GREETINGS TO THE THIRD CONVENTION
OF NNLC

UE Local 1227

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS
DISTRICT COUNCIL 3

United Electrical, Radio
and Machine Workers
of America (UE)

JAMESTOWN, NEW YORK

GREETINGS FROM

LOU AND LOWE

OF BROOKLYN

GREETINGS FROM

U. KATZ

GREETINGS FROM THE OFFICE WORKERS

UE NATIONAL OFFICE

GREETINGS FROM

ARNOLD PERL

KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK

Group of New York Railroad Workers

NYC

GREETINGS

HERTZ DINER

NEW YORK CITY

GREETINGS

WISH YOU A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION

UE FRIENDS

GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES

NATIONAL COUNCIL LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

LEON WOPSY, Chairman

MEL WILLIAMSON, Administrative Secretary

BLUM'S PHARMACY

L. FRANKEL, PHG., PROP.

1802 AVENUE M BROOKLYN, N. Y.

GREETINGS TO YOUR THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

MEMBERS OF UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF
CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA - AFL
NYC

SINCERE GREETINGS

DR. BERNARD BENDER

NYC

GREETINGS FROM WORKERS

LOCAL 430, UE

LORAL ELECTRONICS, NYC

Fine Watch and Jewelry Repair

EMPIRE JEWELRY SHOP

S. SCHERKER, Prop.

135 East 34th Street
New York, N. Y.

BEST WISHES FROM

**SMORODIN'S
CANDY STORE**

191 UTICA AVENUE
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

GREETINGS FROM A

**WILLIAMSBURG
PROFESSIONAL**

GREETINGS FROM

YAT SING
CHOW MEIN RESTAURANT
DI. 2-9214
5109 Church Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

BEST WISHES

**MERIDEE
COTTON SHOP**

1019 Flatbush Avenue
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Greetings From a Group of

OFFICE WORKERS

NYC

Evergreen Dairies
INC.

42 RUSH STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

BEST WISHES

EMIL HOERING

NEW YORK CITY

BEST WISHES

SALUS & RAICES

723 E. 141 Street
Bronx, N. Y.

BEST WISHES
FOR CONTINUED SUCCESS

OFFICE STAFF

UERMWA 475 • NYC

GREETINGS FROM

PETERSON'S

115 QUINCY STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

GREETINGS FROM

GUS CAFE, Inc.

TO NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

GREETINGS

**Workers in
PREMIER TEXTILE**

NYC

GREETINGS

**ALLIED
CUSTOM HATTER**
JULIUS KUTSCHER
and HERBERT CHRISTMAS
285 and 588 Lenox Ave. NYC

BEST WISHES FOR
CONTINUED SUCCESS

**GROUP OF N. Y.
GARMENT WORKERS**

GREETINGS

**LaSALLE STREET WINE
and LIQUOR STORE**
42 LaSalle Street NYC

Greetings from the Los Angeles Negro Labor Council

JIM CROW HIRING
JIM CROW HAS GOT TO GO
TOO!
NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
NEGRO WO

From left to right: Henrietta Moody, Editor of "Struggle"; Marie Bowden, Vice-President; Cleophas Brown, President. Other officers: Frankie L. Simms, Treasurer; Robert S. Robinson, Executive Secretary (on leave).

With Best Wishes
for a
Successful Convention —
and Continued Solidarity
for FREEDOM,
DIGNITY,
EQUALITY

The Council looks back with pride on the activity of the year, particularly the campaign resulting in victory against the Bell Telephone Company in Santa Monica Bay Area which provided jobs for 14 Negro women. In the same area, we were successful in forcing a Safeway Store in an all-white community to employ three Negro people (two women and one man).

The Council, working with other union organizations, set up training classes for legal and medical secretaries and, as a result, was able to place many Negro women in jobs, such as legal and medical secretaries, in the offices of white lawyers and doctors, also medical technicians and many clerical jobs are on our list of victories.

Determined Council members are carrying on a 2-year campaign which includes, among other things, a weekly picket line, sound truck, and leaflets, to force the Hoffman Radio and Television Corp. to open up jobs for Negroes on the assembly line. This determination will continue until the walls of jim-crow tumble down.

The major railroads, operating out of Los Angeles — S. P. and U. P. and Santa Fe, are feeling the heat of a pressure campaign organized by the L.A.N.L.C. in protest to their jim-crow hiring policies in regard to engineers, firemen, brakemen and conductors. Copies of our protest letters have been distributed to the community. We are inviting unions and fraternal organizations to join with us in this important campaign.

That's JIM CROW
HOFFMAN DISCRIMINATES AGAINST NEGRO WOMEN
JIM CROW HIRING
LOW WAGES for ALL

The Los Angeles Council considers the fight to save the life of Wesley Robert Wells (a frame-up vicitm of California jim-crow justice at present awaiting execution on death-row at San Quentin), a most important part of our N.N.L.C. civil rights program, and are actively participating. The implications surrounding him are of national and international importance to the freedom of the Negro people in the U.S.A. and the McCarthy attack on the American people as a whole. As an established organization in the community, people look to the Council for guidance, and assistance in their daily problems.

Our Council building, located in the heart of the Negro community, consists of a reception room, private office, work shop, with buffet bar and patio.

Fraternal Greetings

To Your

3rd ANNUAL CONVENTION

YOUR STRONG FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IS AN INSPIRATION TO US IN OUR FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM AND FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL PEOPLES.

Members of the

LOS ANGELES LODGES
OF THE JEWISH PEOPLES
FRATERNAL ORDER

TO SPEED THE DAY WHEN NEGRO AND WHITE WOMEN WILL WALK IN DIGNITY HAND IN HAND TO TAKE THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN AN AMERICA OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE.

* * *

Emma Lazarus Jewish Womens Club

* * *

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born warmly greets the Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council. We are inspired by your achievements in the fight for FEPC and we pledge to support your program of action in our struggle to repeal the Walter-McCarran Act and in defense of its victims.

Los Angeles Committee For Protection of Foreign Born

326 WEST 3rd STREET
LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA

GREETINGS

American Metal Products Co., Inc.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION

RETAIL CLERKS

LOCAL 1442

AFL

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

GREETINGS

J. & E. LOCKETT

GREETINGS

RITE PLUMBING

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

GREETINGS

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF NNLC

MINNIE & HARRIE

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

GREETINGS . . . YOUR FRIENDS:

Milly and Phil Rafaew, Seymour Brodsky, Rex and John Kranen, Esther and Lorry Gossman, Hilda and Harper Poulson, Mae Talbot, May Culbertson, A Friend, Fanny, A Friend, Sonia.

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

GREETINGS

THE FURNITURE WORKERS, UPHOLSTERERS AND WOOD WORKERS, LOCAL 576

Warmly greet your Convention and pledge support to your program for elimination of discrimination against Negro workers.

5851 Avalon Blvd. **Los Angeles, California**

GREETINGS

DR. SUGAR

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

GREETINGS FROM . . .

THE GOLDEN RULE REALITY

1905 20th - Ex. 4-8810 **4764 W. Adams - RE. 9875**

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

MARBRO'S

Established 1922

THE SMARTEST CLOTHES FOR WOMEN AND MEN

REASONABLE PRICES

317 Santa Monica Blvd.
SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

GREETINGS FROM

SAN GABRIEL FRIENDS

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

To The Third Annual Convention of The Negro Labor Council
Continue The Good Work — We Are With You

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA — LOCAL 1421

5851 Avalon Blvd. **Los Angeles, California**

HEARTY GREETINGS TO YOUR CONVENTION

Together we can win Fair Employment and save the life of Robert Wesley Wells from the Jim Crow frame-up in California's San Quinten Prison.

LOS ANGELES CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

326 West Third St. **Los Angeles, California**

GREETINGS FROM HOLLYWOOD

SID AND GEORGE

GREETINGS

To The Third Annual Convention of the Negro Labor Council

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S LOCAL UNION No. 26

5851 Avalon Blvd. **Los Angeles, California**

GREETINGS

To The Third Annual Convention of the Negro Labor Council

"Keep The Freedom Train Rolling"

MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS, LOCAL 700

5851 Avalon Blvd. **Los Angeles, California**

GREETINGS

JEWISH PEOPLES FRATERNAL ORDER

LODGE 760

Santa Monica, Calif.

HARRY TANNER

USED CARS

2030 W. Pico Blvd.

Los Angeles, Calif.

GREETINGS

MARIAN & MANNY

GREETINGS . . . MAY YOU HAVE MANY MORE SUCCESSES IN 1954

A FRIEND

West Los Angeles, Calif.

GREETINGS

Lillian and Bill Goltz of Progressive Opticians

Los Angeles, California

COMPLIMENTS

From the Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council of Los Angeles

7410 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif.

GREETINGS

A FRIEND

COMPLIMENTS OF

A FRIEND

**TURCHINSKY'S
EAST SIDE
BOOK SHOP**

The Best and Latest in Books

2411 Brooklyn Ave. AN. 3-9607
Los Angeles 33, California

GREETINGS

PAULINE EPSTEIN

GREETINGS FROM

DANCE 5552 Hollywood Blvd.
ASSOCIATES HO. 2-0231

**School of Modern Dance
For Children and Adults**

Staff
BELLA LEWITZKY
CARL RATCLIFF
MARGE BERMAN

GREETINGS TO THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

NNLC

SANTA MONICA I. P. P.

GREETINGS

Third Annual Convention

Gilbert Drummond

Santa Monica, Calif.

Greetings To

Third Annual Convention

NNLC

From Santa Monica CRC

SAVE WESLEY WELLS

Greetings from Los Angeles Friends:

FREDIA MENDELSON
PEAR and NORBY RAPP
LIL and MIKE KESSLER
LEE and QUINT
MARY and ALLAN
ESTHER and IRVING COLLIN

GREETINGS

A FRIEND

COMPLIMENTS OF

A FRIEND

Greetings from the

LOS ANGELES CHAPTER

**UNITARIAN
FELLOWSHIP
FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE**

The Los Angeles East Side Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born
Greets the

**3rd ANNUAL CONVENTION
of the NNLC**

The ILWU Regards
The National Negro Labor Council
As a Vanguard Fighter

in the developing struggle for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people.

Our 10th BIENNIAL CONVENTION, meeting in San Francisco last April, adopted a statement embodying the following convictions:

> *"Today, as every day since 1934, ILWU fights race prejudice, religious prejudice, prejudice against the foreign born, prejudice against political minorities. ILWU has prospered and grown strong in the face of endless attacks precisely because it is a multi-national union based on the unbreakable unity of Negro and white, American-born and foreign born, Anglo-Saxon and Japanese, Hawaiian, Filipino, Mexican and Chinese."*

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL."

International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union

150 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO 2, CALIFORNIA

HARRY BRIDGES, *President*
J. R. ROBERTSON, *First Vice-President*
GERMAIN BULCKE, *Second Vice-President*
LOUIS GOLDBLATT, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Greetings from . . .

NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL OF THE EAST BAY

Front row, left to right: Alexine McMorris, Sec'y; Clarence L. Davis, Jr., Pres.; Odessa Ross, Chairman, Membership and Finance. Back row, left to right: Board Members, Isaac Bush, McCoy Hopson; Vice-Pres., Booker T. Wallace; Treas., Anderson T. Carter; Matt Crawford, Welfare Chairman; Carl Brooks, Jobs Committee Chairman.

1953 has been a busy year for the members of the East Bay Chapter of the NNLC. While the activities of the members of the Council were not always carried on in the name of the Council it can be said that our membership has been in the struggles for FREEDOM.

F. E. P. C.

Members of the East Bay Chapter circulated the NAACP's petition for a State FEPC. We know that as a result of this campaign the law is going to be passed in this State before too long.

NEGRO REPRSENTATION

A member of our council ran for the position of Board of Supervisors from a district which is in the heart of the Negro community. While our member was not elected we feel that the fact the race was made served to raise the demand for Negro representation to a new high level.

JOBS IN INDUSTRY

The heretofore lily-white Auto Industry in this area has been cracked, as a result of members and friends of the council pushing the NNLC's program for non-discriminatory hiring.

TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION

Members of the council have carried on a struggle for representation in the unions in this area. We've come forward with candidates for union positions on a scale greater than ever before.

Our members in the independent unions have helped to fight against raiders and union-busting efforts from all sources .

PAUL ROBESON'S RIGHTS

We are very happy over the fact that Brother Robeson made two brief and inspiring visits to our area. The first in June and the second in August. In June the pressure was turned on and the management said "sing but no speech." We heard Brother Robeson sing and recite Simple's letter to Dr. Butt.

In August members of the ILWU came forward and talked business with the management of the same hotel and we heard Bro. Robeson sing and speak. Here the value of a strong organization was shown.

Council members had a chance to go with Mr. Robeson on a Sunday filled with activity. He brought the 11 A.M. message at the Temple of Truth Baptist Church, the church where he did a Concert the Friday night before. He spoke and sang to a packed house at another Baptist Church. Attended a recital at another large Baptist Church. Spoke and sang at a Methodist Church. We saw friends of Mr. Robeson standing in line to get his autograph.

–Forward to Greater Victories in 1954–

GREETINGS FROM . . .

District No. 2

INTERNATIONAL FUR & LEATHER
WORKERS UNION

GREETINGS TO THE
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

National Negro Labor Council

PHILADELPHIA LEATHER WORKERS

LOCAL 30

International Fur & Leather Workers Union

**CLARENCE and
CHILLIE L. DAVIS**

GREET THE THIRD
ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE NNLC

GREETINGS

**LeGRAND
LAWSON COLEMAN**

M. D.

GREETINGS

CLARK HOTEL

2541 San Pablo
Oakland, California
TEmplebar 6-3294

COMPLIMENTS OF

RALPH GAUCHER

M. D.

BEST WISHES TO NNLC

WILLIAM DOYLE

GREETINGS FROM

A FRIEND

BEST WISHES
AND
CONTINUED SUCCESS

A FRIEND

GREETINGS TO NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR
COUNCIL THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

Fur Dressers and Dyers Union

No. 196

13 N. 13th Street, Room 303
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

GREETINGS FROM

**OLIVE DAVIES
HAND LAUNDRY**

1722 N. 23rd Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
ST. 4-1360

BEST WISHES

From

A FRIEND

PHILADELPHIA

GREETINGS

For Peace and the Fight
Against Discrimination

**Local 623, United Electrical
Radio and Machine Workers
of America (UE)**

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

GREETINGS FROM

**THE DOMESTIC
WORKERS UNION**

OF PHILADELPHIA, PENN.

Greetings from New Jersey . . .

Seated left to right: Betty Rix, Sec'y; Arnold McGhie, Pres.; Essie McRae, Exec. Bd.; Lillian Shuchter, Rec. Sec'y; Standing left to right: Luther Graves, Exec. Bd.; William Bell, Exec. Bd.; Eddie Taylor, Dir. of Org.; Walter Dyer, Treas.; Katie Jackson, Essex Co. Comm. Inserts: Lorrayne Haye, Exec. Bd.; Harold Smith, Vice-Pres. Not in picture: Lorrayne Payton, Hudson Co.; William Morton, Middlesex Co.; Eldest Brenson, Mercer Co.; Arthur Rueben, Essex Co.; Bill Adams, Camden Co.; Isom Lindsay, Trustee; Marjorie Upchurch, Essex Co.

THE New Jersey Negro Labor Council is currently conducting a campaign for jobs for Negro workers in the Newark Brewery Industry. This industry has always maintained jim-crow hiring policies.

It was the opinion of the New Jersey Council that the Krueger Brewing Company on Belmont Avenue, Newark, should be the starting point of this campaign, because of its location in the center of the Negro community. Upon the demand of the NJ Council, a conference was held with the management of Krueger's at the beginning of the year. We raised the demand that the company hire Negro production workers.

The officials of the company stated that they were sympathetic to our demands and would make every effort to meet them. However, after three months, we still had nothing but their sympathy. At this point the Council began to make known to the company the meaning of our national slogan: "Without Struggle There Can Be No Progress." We informed the company that we were in the process of mobilizing a community-wide boycott on their beer. Mass leaflet distributions and a mass picket line in front of the Krueger factory.

THEN THE WALLS OF JIM CROW STARTED TUMBLING DOWN! The Krueger management called our office and requested a conference. A second conference was held. The company stated that as of that date they had employed the first two Negro production workers. (The first in their 95 years of business).

The Jersey Council sent communications to the Negro Ministers; a speaker was sent to the Ministers' Alliance; letters were sent to the local Urban League, trade unions, the Mayor, the Mayor's Commission on Group Relations. A short time afterwards Ballantine, one of Newark's brewers, employed approximately 16 Negro production workers. The Jersey Council regards this as only the beginning and is girding every force possible for a major struggle in this industry.

The Jersey Council is currently playing an important role in New Jersey in the fight for Negro representation in government. In the recent campaign in Newark for the voters' approval of a new City Charter which provides for Ward elections, as recommended by the Charter Commission, the N. J. Negro Labor Council distributed some 25,000 leaflets in support of the Charter. In a press release in the Newark Evening News, the Council stated the new Charter would provide, for the first time in the history of the City of Newark, a genuine possibility for the election of a Negro to the City's government body.

On Election Day, November 3rd, the NLC members toured the Negro community with sound trucks jointly with members of the CIO, AFL, independent unions, NAACP, and the Charlie Matthews Association (Third Ward Democratic Chairman), urging the Negro community to vote "Yes" for the new Charter. The Negro community as well as the rest of the city, voted overwhelmingly in favor of the new Charter. The Council is taking immediate steps to guarantee the election of at least one Negro candidate in the May, 1954 elections.

LOCAL 49A

United Packinghouse Workers, CIO

SUBSCRIBES TO THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL BECAUSE OF ITS PROGRAM FIGHTING FOR EQUALITY OF ALL PEOPLE.

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MAY YOUR THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION BE AN INSPIRATION TO ALL FREEDOM FIGHTERS

LOCAL 231,

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COMPLIMENTS OF . . .

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NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

GREETINGS FROM . . .

Joint Board
Fur Dressers & Dyers

IFLWU — LOCALS 135-140-145

SANTO, BERACQUA, President

RUTH LERNER, Executive Secretary

GREETINGS TO NNLC
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

LOCAL 286,
United Packinghouse
Workers, CIO

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JERRY LaCOSTE, Trustee
FRANK PORTER, Trustee
WILLIAM OATMAN, Guide

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM

Eastern Division
National Farmers Union

25 N. MONTGOMERY STREET
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

Perth Amboy Smelter & Refinery
Workers Union, Local 365
IUMMSW

1025 STATE STREET
PERTH AMBOY, N. J.

COMPLIMENTS OF . . .

Carteret Smelter & Refinery
Workers Union – Local 837

CARTERET, N. J.

OF THE INTERNATION UNION OF
MINE, MILL & SMELTER WORKERS

"FOR A GREATER DEGREE OF UNITY, WE MUST REMEMBER, AN INJURY TO ONE, IS AN INJURY TO ALL."

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

from the

LEATHER WORKERS UNION
LOCAL 27 — I. F. L. W. U.

NEWARK, N. J.

RELIABLE PRINTING CO.

UNION PRINTERS

84 THIRTEENTH AVE. NEWARK 3, N. J.
TELEPHONE: BI. 2-8927

GREETINGS TO THE NNLC

ROBERT HABERMANN'S

Appliances For Every Household Need

127-129 SPRINGFIELD AVE. NEWARK, N. J.

GREETINGS

LOCAL 407 UE

40 N. CENTER STREET • ORANGE, N. J.

WILLIAM H. BELL, Chairman
LOCAL 407 UE FEPC

GREETINGS TO THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

From the New Jersey State Committee of the
MORNING FREIHEIT

HY MANDEL
NEW JERSEY MANAGER

COMPLIMENTS OF

AMERICAN EYESIGHT SERVICE OPTICIANS

7 HILL STREET MA. 3-3212 NEWARK, N. J.

MEET YOUR FRIENDS AT

CLUB THERESIA

133 HOWARD STREET NEWARK, N. J.

WHERE ALL GOOD PEOPLE CONGREGATE

WALTER ROTH

GREETINGS FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONVENTION

RILEY AND DOWNER UNIT

LOCAL 407 — UERMWA

GREETINGS

BI. 8-5400 - BI. 3-9779 WE DELIVER

BELMONT WINE & LIQUORS

IMPORTED AND DOMESTIC

Wines and Liquors • Bottled Beer
209-11 BELMONT AVE. NEWARK 3, N. J.

BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

LOCAL 437

United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America

(IND.)

Greetings From . . .

NEW JERSEY COUNCIL MEMBERS & FRIENDS

LILLIAN SHUCHTER	ISOM LINDSAY
ARNOLD McGHIE	BEATRICE GIBSON
JERRY SHUCHTER	WALTER DYER
LUTHER GRAVES	WILLIAM BELL
KATIE JACKSON	HAROLD SMITH
JESSIE JACKSON	EDDIE TAYLOR
ALFRED PETE CLAIR	LUCIUS WHITE
LORRAYNE HAYES	WALTER ROTH
ARTHUR GILMORE	ANNIE M. TAYLOR

PHILIP KOHLBACKER

Compliments

From

A FRIEND

PRINCE RANGE CO.

106 Prince Street **MItchell 3-9100**

NEWARK, N. J.

IDA H. ROCKLIN
Stylist Optician
MItchell 2-3087 318 Halsey St.
Newark 2, N. J.

BEST WISHES

From a Friend

GREETINGS . . .

Seated left to right: Lasker Smith, James Dixon, Gerald Boyd, Arthurine Wright. Standing center: Elenora Dixon, Charlotte Neal, Barbara Vincent, George Peterson, Imogene Stokes, Carl Shelby, D. C. Jones. Standing, rear, left to right: Erskine Putnam, Major White, Richard Campbell.

Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council

The Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council, following the mandate of the 1952 Cleveland Convention of the NNLC, tackled the Highland Park Store of the Sears-Roebuck Company.

During the course of our fight with the Sears Company, it was necessary to throw a picket line around their Highland Park Store, after they refused to meet to discuss their Jim Crow hiring policies.

With the hard work of our membership and friends from the shops and the community, we forced Sears-Roebuck Company to promote Negro women in two of their stores from maids to sales jobs.

In support of our National Southern Campaign, the Greater Detroit NNLC presented our militant church, fraternal, and NAACP leader, Vice-President Asbury Howard, of Bessemer, Alabama, before an overflow audience at the Carlton Plaza Hotel. At this meeting, and reception which followed, we not only were able to acquaint our members and friends of the many struggles being waged in the South by the Negro people and their allies, but were successful in collecting substantial funds for our Southern Brothers and Sisters to carry on the fight for freedom. We adopted our Sister Council, Bessemer NLC, in keeping with our National Resident Committee proposals. Although we have not held our Southern Balls, etc., to aid our sister Council, we pledge our support and will follow through on this project.

The Downriver Chapter of the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council, after a successful fight along with community leaders and various organizations, to bring to River Rouge the country's first Municipal FEPC Law mandated by the voters, are now active in helping guarantee that the Law is strictly enforced.

The Downriver Chapter has been very active also in promoting a cultural movement in this area, having staged two very successful stage shows, with the presentation of talented youth from the ranks of the Council and the community.

On January 9th, Detroit will witness the crowning of "Miss Freedom of the Year" which is being sponsored by the Greater Detroit NLC Women's Committee. Victory will be determined by the contestant giving the biggest boost to the Freedom Train by selling the most votes.

We join hands with other Councils throughout the country and our national leadership in the mobilization of the people to clear the tracks for the FREEDOM TRAIN.

GREETINGS TO THE
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

FROM A GROUP OF WORKERS

* * *

BRIGGS LOCAL 742
UAW-CIO
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

GREETINGS TO THE
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

FROM A GROUP OF WORKERS

* * *

Dearborn Iron Foundry
FORD LOCAL 600, UAW-CIO

GREETINGS TO THE
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

National Negro Labor Council

FROM THE GEAR & AXLE PLANT

OFFICERS:

ALEX SEMION, President
AL WILLIAMS, Vice-President
GLADYS JERGOVICH, Recording Secretary
RAY BLACK, Financial Secretary
WALTER YOUNG, Guide,
JIMMY COKLEY, Trustee
VINCE MITCHELL, Bargaining Committee
KEITH MOORE, Bargaining Committee
DAVE MOORE, Removed Vice-President

Gear & Axle Plant
FORD LOCAL 600, UAW-CIO

COMPLIMENTS OF

HOWARD F. RASCH
— *Real Estate* —
DETROIT

Greeting to the 3rd Annual Convention of National Negro Labor Council

We in Michigan who have been indicted under the thought control provisions of the Smith Act, hail your determined fight for the rights of Negro Labor

May the coming year see the repeal of the Smith Act and the enactment of a national Fair Employment Practice Law.

Nat Ganley
Thomas Dennis, Jr.
William Albertson
Phil Schatz
William "Billy" Allen
Helen Winter
Saul Wellman

GREETINGS TO THE
3rd ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

National Negro Labor Council

WE HAIL YOUR VALIANT FIGHT IN THE ALL-IMPORTANT STRUGGLE FOR COMPLETE EQUALITY IN EVERY PHASE OF AMERICAN LIFE FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES, THE SAFEGUARDING OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES FOR ALL AMERICANS IS FURTHERED BY THE WORK OF YOUR ORGANIZATION AND OURS.

VICTORY IS ASSURED FOR THOSE WHO HAVE THE COURAGE TO FIGHT FEARLESSLY FOR THE THINGS THAT ARE DECENT AND JUST.

Civil Rights Congress of Michigan

ARTHUR McPHAUL, Executive Secretary
ANNE SHORE, Director of Organization

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

FROM

LOCAL 96

INTERNATIONAL FUR & LEATHER
WORKERS UNION

ECORSE, MICHIGAN

IN MEMORIAM OF

REV. L. D. SHELBY, Sr.

Organizer and Secretary of Local Union 538, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers System Council Number Forty-four.

Member of International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers, Auxiliary Lodge No. A188.

An employee and fighter for Negro Rights on the Railroad for forty years.

GREETINGS TO THE
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

FROM A GROUP OF WORKERS

FRAME AND COLD HEADING UNIT

FORD LOCAL 600, UAW-CIO

GREETINGS FROM
DETROIT NLC MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

WILLIAM GLENN
REV. JOHN M. MILES
ORVA ALLEN
NADINE BAXTER
COLEMAN and MARIAN YOUNG
WILLIAM LEE
DAVE MOORE
HUGH CUNNINGHAM, Jr.
CHARLOTTE NEAL
GERALD BOYD
LOUIS C. SABO
EUGENE D. CALHOUN
BERNIE BELLINSON
JANICE C. YOUNG
JAMES P. DIXSON
MADISON CLEANERS
WILLIAM NAIFEH
LEON MEAUX
EARL HOOD
CLAYTON HOOD
ELNORA DIXSON
A FRIEND

GREETINGS FROM . . .

HAZEL'S CHICKEN SHACKS

And Her Fine Delicious French Fried Shrimps

Store No. 3 and No. 4
Detroit, Michigan

Greetings to NNLC from

MABEN & DAVIS (Barbers)

1719 ST. AUBIN
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THRIFTY APPLIANCE CO.

"YOU ALWAYS SAVE AT THRIFTY"

6837 W. WARREN • TYler 8-5334
DETROIT 10, MICHIGAN

BRISTOL AND BRISTOL
Funeral Home

1241 JOS. CAMPAU • DETROIT, MICHIGAN
LO. 7-1488 • LO. 7-1489

COMPLIMENTS OF

SID ROSEN

The oppressors of the Negro people are the persecutors of the Foreign Born. Support Repeal of Walter-McCarran Law.

MICHIGAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

Compliments of . . .

CHENE PRINTING CO.

5856 Chene Street
Detroit 11, Michigan

FOR AN EXCELLENT DEAL ON NEW FORD OR TRUCK
SEE **JOE VELLA** AT

STARK HICKEY

8461 Grand River Avenue • TYler 5-4321
Detroit, Michigan

GREETINGS FROM

BURNS MARKET

4818 VINEWOOD VI. 3-3484
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

GREETINGS FROM

GRADY DIXSON

Local 212, UAW-CIO
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

GREETINGS FROM

SACRED CROSS BAPTIST CHURCH

8210 12th Street • Detroit 6, Michigan

GREETINGS FROM . . .

HARLEM CLEANERS AND DYERS

Repairing and Alterations of All Kinds
We Operate Our Own Plant
Special Reduced Rates — Wholesale & Retail
9404 Oakland Avenue • TO. 9-0158
Detroit 11, Michigan

COMPLIMENTS OF

WAILES
SHOE SERVICE

4556 W. Warren • TY. 4-8830
Detroit, Michigan

Greetings From Members of
GREATER DETROIT NLC

GEORGE and
ADA PATRICK
ALMA ROSS
PHIL HALPER

Left to right: Nathaniel McKenzie, Chairman; Mary A. Barnett, Vice-Chairman; Russell Story, Chairman of Jobs; Walter E. Barnette, Chairman of Publicity. Nancy H. Kinnaird, Secretary-Treasurer; Horace Carr, Chairman of Membership.

Greetings from

LOUISVILLE

Officers of the Louisville Area Negro Labor Council, pictured above, extend greetings to all convention delegates from members in Kentucky and Southern Indiana. Founded in January of 1952, the L.A.N.L.C. has taken part in many struggles. Some have been successful, while others are continuing. One of the first projects was to get the Louisville Board of Education to start vocational training for Negroes so they would be eligible for hiring at the runaway G.E. plant near Louisville. After this was done, the Council began a fight to force G.E. to practice democratic hiring. This battle is meeting with some success. Other projects include a drive to force the breweries to hire Negroes and to get the City Council to pass an FEPC ordinance. The L.A.N.L.C has been able to get the cooperation of broad groups in the community. It has in turn joined these groups in fighting for the hiring of Negro drivers on the local transit system. We have faith that we shall break down the barriers in the South, as other Councils are doing elsewhere.

LOUISVILLE AREA NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
1690½ Prentice St., Louisville, Ky.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM

UE DISTRICT COUNCIL

No. 7

* * *

STERLING O. NEAL, President
ALBERT KENDALL, Vice-President
VIRGINIA HIPPLE, Recording Secretary
FRANK G. GREENE, Secretary-Treasurer

* * *

365 WEST FIRST STREET
DAYTON, OHIO

UE LOCAL 707

GREETINGS TO THE
THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE

THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

* * *

DEC. 4-5-6, 1953

GREETINGS . . .

TO THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

* * *

WE PLEDGE OUR SUPPORT AND CO-OPERATION TO YOU IN YOUR FIGHT FOR THE FULL ECONOMIC FREEDOM OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

* * *

OFFICERS & MEMBERS
UE LOCAL 735
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Greetings from Cleveland

Standing, left to right: Mattie Williams, Treasurer; Lou Jennigs, Trustee; Carlos Grubbs, Publicity Director; Edward Webb, Chm. Program Committee; John Carter, Rec. Sec'y; Bert Washington, Pres.; Julia Brown, Trustee; Ray Dennis, Member-at-Large; Robert Williams, Sgt.-at-Arms; Louis Chatman, Member-at-Large; Isaac Turner, Chm. Jobs Committee. Seated: Sally Clark, Member-at-Large; Sue Biles, Chm. Membership Committee; Ethel Goodman, Exec. Sec'y; Jimmie Grubbs, Freedom Train Rider; Vivian Grubbs, Youth Dir.

REPORT *for* 1953

REPORT FOR 1953: We have no such glowing report as our tremendous victory over Sears-Roebuck Company as reported to the 2nd Annual Convention. However, the effects of that victory traveled a long way. This was because we had mobilized the community around the demands that we raised. All large department stores now employ Negroes in positions formerly denied them. The East Ohio Gas Company was announced as the next target of our Council. We began to assemble the facts. This big public utility caved in without a struggle because a large section of the community had been demanding an end to jim crow here. Our entry into the picture hastened the change in employment policy.

Serving most of northern Ohio, the E. O. Gas Company upgraded the Negro doorman to a position in the office. He was well qualified and had been working nights as an International Business Machine Operator. The company went so far as to make an effort to find a Negro woman who had applied for clerical work three years ago only to be turned away empty-handed. These events are regarded as important victories, but victories only on the fringes of the fortress of industrial jim crow. Employment, job classifications, exclusion of Negro women have not changed essentially in the past ten years for Negro workers in basic industry. There are no pushovers here.

Through the cooperation of UE Local 735 and the deep conviction of one of our Board members who is an official in that Local, Negro workers are now employed by two shops which heretofore have been lily-white. Following some work in the aprenticeship and job training field, the application of a Negro youth has been accepted for the first time by the Fisher Body plant for job training. He has been notified to be available, but follow through is still necessary here.

We have yet to come to grips in a serious way with big corporations such as General Electric and General Motors here in Cleveland, although some beginnings have been made. GE, at its Nola Park home of the lamp division, claims there are no job openings for several Negro women who have applied for work. However, we accept the challenge to the effectiveness of our program made by basic industry, and our concentration shall consist of seeking out and raising those demands of the Negro workers which will rally the largest sections of the trade union movement and the Negro communities in support. We hail the determination of this 3rd Convention of NNLC to wage effective warfare against these forces which have denied full, fair and equal employment as well as job security to Negro workers in the great railroad industry of our country.

On to full unity of the Negro people for freedom! On to economic freedom of Negro men, women and youth! Equality, Fraternity and Dignity for all workers!

Greetings From Officers and Members of Local 209 (ILWU)

CLEVELAND, OHIO

COMPLIMENTS OF

EUGENE BRUDNO

GREETINGS FROM A GROUP OF

Cleveland Friends

(LIST OF NAMES DESTROYED BY FIRE)

GREETINGS TO THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF

National Negro Labor Council

FROM

N. E. Trade Union Council On Negro Rights

ROY M. ATUS, President
ROYAL JONES, Vice-President
GEORGE MARKHAM, Corresponding Secretary
ROGER ARMSTEAD, Treasurer
ARTHUR SOCKOL, Recording Secretary
N. E. Trade Union Council on Negro Rights

14 DILWORTH STREET
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

GREETINGS FROM THE

Ohio Committee For Protection of Foreign Born

GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES
BY THE

JEWISH CLEVELAND MORNING FREIHEIT

FREE PRESS and PUBLICATIONS

5103 EUCLID AVE.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

Fraternal Greetings for Peace and Freedom from the Ohio Bill of Rights Conference

11 Smith Act Defendants

IN MEMORIAM

JOSEPH HABER

OCTOBER 29, 1953

GREETINGS

Sanford Furniture

13921 KINSMAN RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM THE

HUNGARIAN WOMEN'S FEDERATION

GREETINGS FROM

JOE KRAUSE

ELECTRICAL WIRING AND REPAIRING

965 LINN DRIVE LI. 1-3530
CLEVELAND, OHIO

GREETINGS

I. GOLD PACKAGE STORE

350 MAIN STREET PHONE 48923
BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

GREETINGS FROM

BROAD STREET PHARMACY

487 Broad Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut
Phone 60446
B. J. FRANKEL, Reg. Pharm.

GREETINGS

THE OUTLET FURNITURE CO.

847 MAIN STREET
Bridgeport, Connecticut

GREETINGS TO NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL ON THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION FROM THE FOLLOWING SHOP UNITS OF

LOCAL 758

MM & SWA

ACKERMAN-JOHNSON
CENTRAL DIE CASTING
CHROMIUM PLATING
CHICAGO FOUNDRY
ELESCO SMELTING
ELECTROCAST FOUNDRY
GEM MANUFACTURING COMPANY
MIDLAND SMELTING
MOLDED PRODUCTS
NATIONAL LEAD
WILSON HARDWARE
PRECISION SCIENTIFIC
RINGMASTER
MINDEL BROS.

We Will Continue to Give Our Fullest Support to the Council and Its Program.
We Will Seek to Carry Forth the Decisions Into Our Shops and Community.

LOCAL 758

INTERNATIONAL MINE, MILL & SMELTER WORKERS UNION

SONNY BOSWELL

Welcomes

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

The PERSHING HOTEL INC

200 ROOMS ALL WITH BATHS

64TH & COTTAGE GROVE AVE.
CHICAGO'S FINEST

EVERY MODERN CONVENIENCE — COCKTAIL LOUNGE
DINING ROOM — BALLROOM — BIEGE ROOM — LIQUOR
STORE — BARBER SHOP — BEAUTY SHOP — ETC.

HOTEL · LOUNGE · RESTAURANT

Congratulations On Your Third Annual Convention

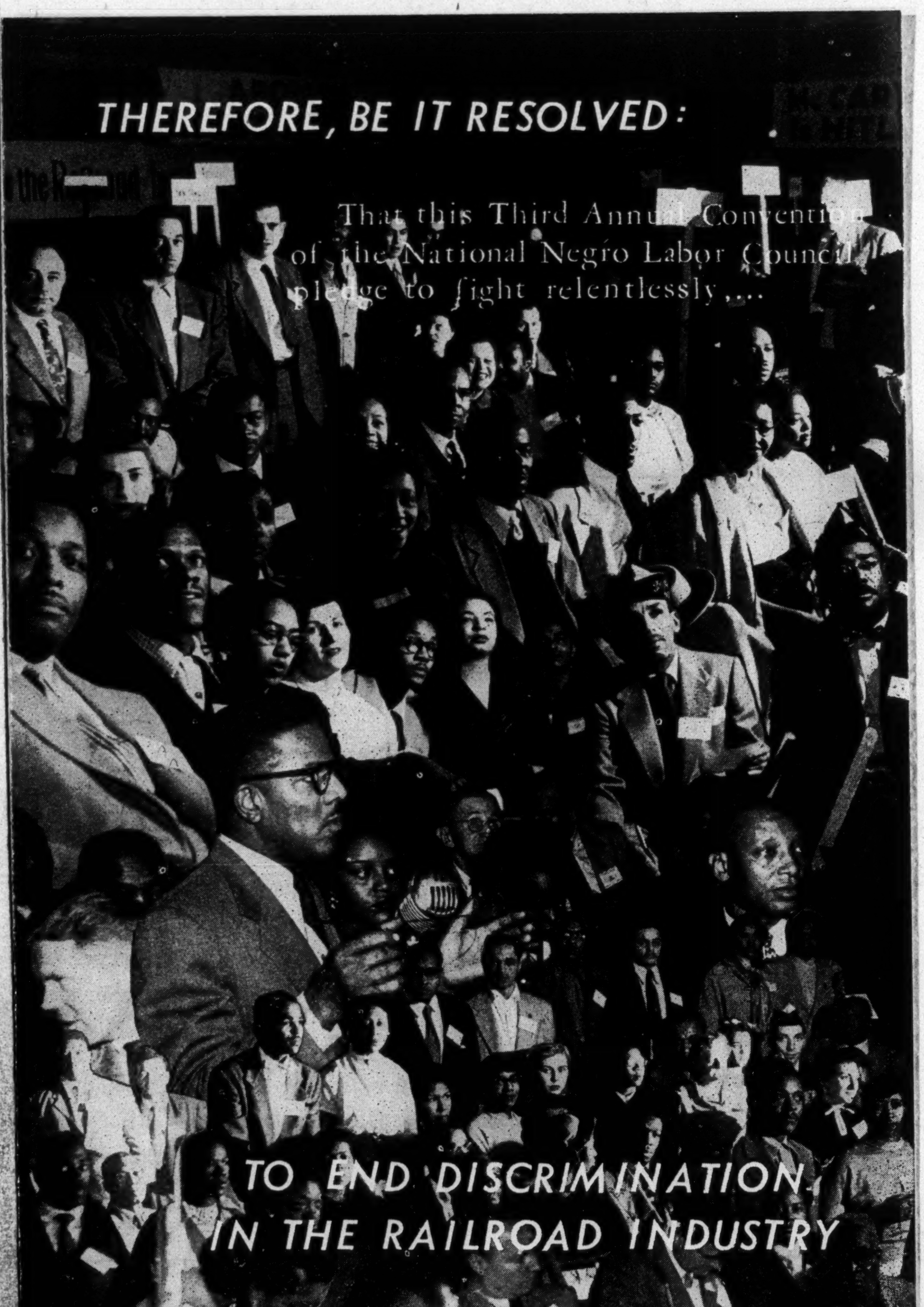
Hotel Lounge

Featuring Home Cooked Food and Fine Steaks and Chops

ENTERTAINMENT NIGHTLY

SONNY BOSWELL

GENERAL MANAGER



THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

That this Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council pledge to fight relentlessly,...

TO END DISCRIMINATION IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY

. . . and be it further resolved:[*]

WE PLEDGE ourselves to set as an immediate objective, the enrollment of the trade union movement, Negro people's organizations, church groups, civic groups, fraternal orders and others in the railroad campaign.

We will distribute thousands upon thousands of leaflets all over America, especially during holiday periods, and attempt to make all of America aware of this industry's crime.

If it takes a year, or ten years, we will not rest until every job category is opened to Negroes and other minorities. This means engineers, brakemen, firemen, conductors, electricians, telegraph operators, carpenters and the various other jobs necessary to operate the railroads.

WE DEMAND that full and equal opportunity be given Negro youth to receive job training on all job training programs conducted by the railroads; that Negroes already employed by the railroads be given upgrading opportunity, regardless of their present employment status.

WE DEMAND an end to Jim Crow eating, sleeping and seating arrangements, practiced by many of our nation's railroads, particularly in the South.

WE DEMAND that the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance conduct an investigation and conduct public hearings on the railroad industry discriminatory hiring practices.

WE CALL upon the government to withdraw all federal funds and subsidies, unless this industry begins the immediate employment of Negroes, Mexican Americans, and other minorities in all categories.

WE URGE the Railroad Brotherhoods to drop their Jim Crow policies and admit Negroes and other minorities into their unions and to join our fight as a means of enhancing their bargaining power and advancing the interest of their own members.

WE CALL upon all democratic forces in our country to join in this fight whether they be Negro people's organizations, trade unions, church groups, the Negro press, civic groups or others, and pledge our full support and cooperation.

* * *

TO HELP achieve these aims, this Convention instructs the Council leadership to set up a National Committee to coordinate this Campaign, and to launch an "Equality in Railroad" fund drive to supply the necessary finances.

***From the resolution on Discrimination in the Railroad Industry adopted unanimously at the 3rd Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council, Dec. 4, 5, 6, 1953, Pershing Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.**

YOU CAN HELP!

Urge . . .

Your Union, Church, Fraternal, or other organization to pass a resolution calling for an end of discrimination in the railroad industry. Ask them to —

Write . . .

- **President Eisenhower,** Washington, D. C.
- **Federal Contract Compliance Committee,** Washington, D. C.
  DEMAND that FEPC be enforced on the Railroads!
- Presidents of the following big railroads:

  Southern Railway System, Washington, D. C.
  Pennsylvania Railroad, New York City, N. Y.
  Santa Fe Railroad, Chicago, Illinois
  New York Central Railroad, New York City, N. Y.

URGE that Negroes be hired as brakemen, stewards, firemen, engineers, conductors, ticket agents, telegraph operators, etc.

DEMAND an end to Jim Crow agreements with the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Support . . .

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL CAMPAIGN TO END DISCRIMINATION IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY

Give to . . .

"NNLC Equality on RR" Fund Drive

For Further information write

National Negro Labor Council
410 E. Warren, Suite 214
Detroit 1, Michigan
or contact Local Negro Labor Council ➔

73

Address of local NLC